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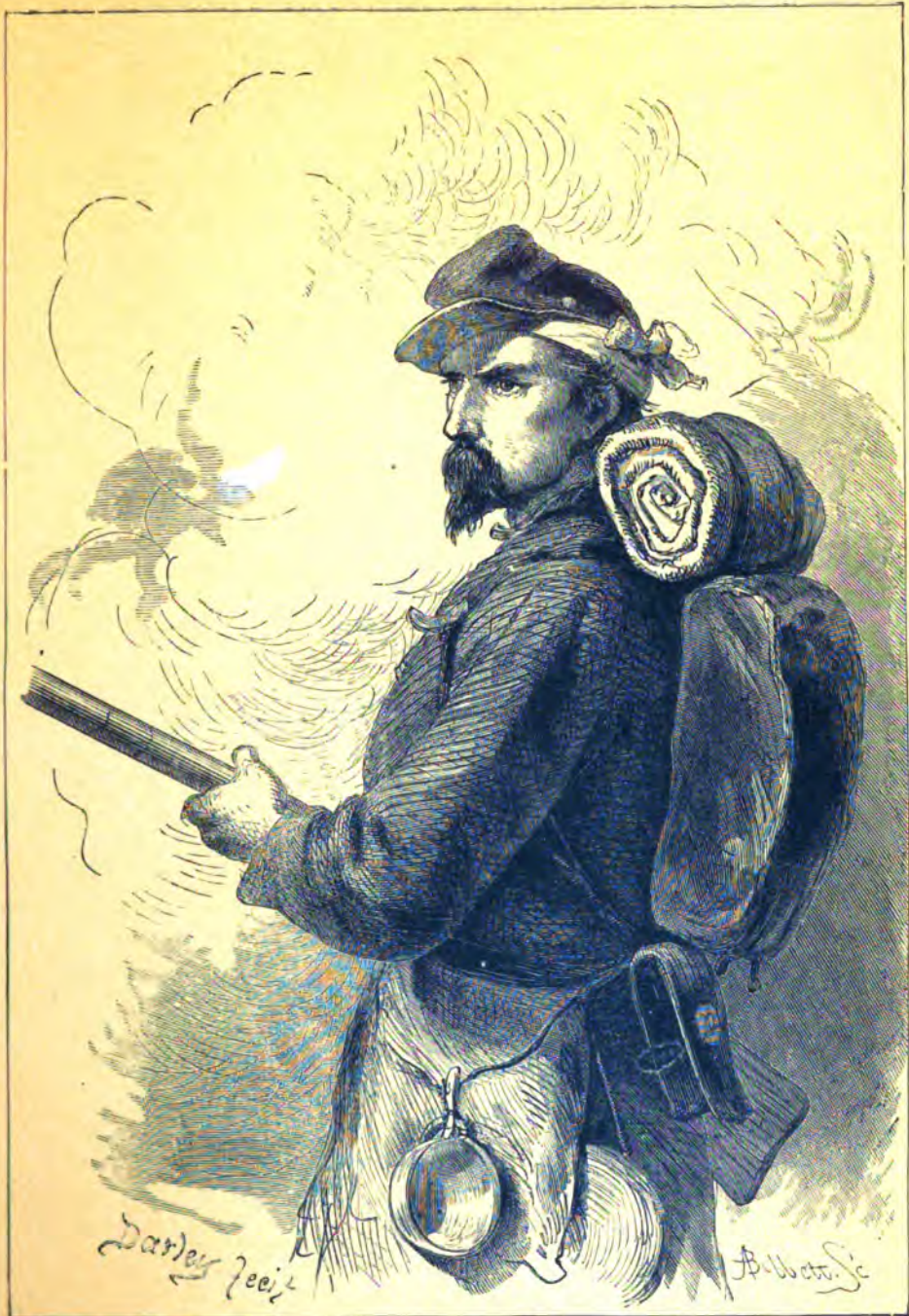


1776



1861





1861

OUR COUNTRY.

A
HOUSEHOLD HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES

FOR ALL READERS,

From the Discovery of America to the Present Time.

BY
BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D.,

WITH OVER FIVE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS

BY
FELIX O. C. DARLEY.

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CHAPTER XXV.

WASHINGTON'S ARMY AT MORRISTOWN IN WINTER-QUARTERS—HIS ACHIEVEMENTS—THE BRITISH IN NEW JERSEY—CHANGE IN PUBLIC SENTIMENT—THE CONGRESS RETURNS TO PHILADELPHIA—STATE SUPREMACY ASSERTED—THE CONGRESS AND THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT—SPIRIT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE—BRANT AND INDIAN ALLIES—THE MINISTERIAL PLAN—AGGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS—STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS—SCHUYLER AND GATES—WILL OF THE KING—MILITARY OPERATIONS IN NEW JERSEY—BOTH ARMIES MOVE TOWARD PHILADELPHIA—LAFAYETTE AND OTHER FOREIGN OFFICERS.

WHEN Cornwallis was assured of Washington's escape and heard his cannon at Princeton, he was alarmed for the safety of his stores at New Brunswick, and immediately began a rapid pursuit. Had the republican troops been fresh, no doubt the British stores on the Raritan would have been a part of Washington's spoils of victory; but they were worn down with the fatigues of two days' hard service; lack of sleep and food; a night march of ten miles in bitter cold, many of the men barefooted and thinly clad, and the excitement of a battle. They could do very little more without rest and refreshment; and when Washington found his enemy close upon him, he pursued the fugitive British regiments only as far as the Millstone River at Kingston (about three miles), where he crossed that stream, broke down the bridge behind him, and rested at Somerset Court-House that night.

Cornwallis had pursued so swiftly, that he reached Princeton just as Washington left it. There he was confronted by a thirty-two pound cannon, whose vigorous discharges by the skillful American artillerists, made the British leader believe the republicans were about to make a stand and give battle. He halted, and wasted so much time in reconnoitering that Washington was allowed to escape. Believing his foe was pressing on toward New Brunswick, Cornwallis continued the pursuit, crossing the Millstone at Kingston after reconstructing the bridge. There Washington had turned toward the hill country around Morristown, by way of a narrow road by Rocky Hill; but Cornwallis, suspecting he was on the march toward New Brunswick, hastened forward over the rough highway, and arrived there at sunset, where he found his stores all safe, and not a republican soldier near. Washington marched to Morristown, where he put his army into winter-quarters.

The American commander had now achieved a mighty victory. Viewed in all its varied aspects, Frederick the Great of Prussia declared the exploits of the Patriot and his handful of followers, between Christmas and Twelfth Day, the most brilliant of any recorded in the annals of military achievements. At the very moment when his army appeared to be on the verge of dissolution, Washington struck a blow so powerful that it paralyzed the enemy. It broke up the British and Hessian cantonments upon the Delaware, and made Cornwallis anxious to secure quarters nearer New York, under the protection of General Howe. It caused Howe to recall a brigade from Rhode Island to strengthen his force at New York; and it was not long before the British were driven to near the sea-shores of New Jersey, and held posts only at New Brunswick, Amboy, and Paulus Hook (now Jersey City), for Washington, with his army encamped in huts at Morristown, was not idle. He had established cantonments from Princeton on the right, under the command of General Putnam, to the Hudson Highlands on the left, under General Heath. He was in the midst of hills, a fertile country teeming with abundance, and generally patriotic inhabitants. His little expeditions sent out to harass the enemy were conducted with so much spirit, that the British were kept in continual dread. The people were thereby encouraged; their martial spirit seemed to revive, and early in the spring of 1777, the thinned battalions of the army began to fill up.

The Continental Congress, which had fled to Baltimore, satisfied that immediate danger was past, returned to Philadelphia early in March, and resumed their sessions there. And the people of New Jersey, of whom not more than a hundred had joined Washington in his retreat from the Hudson to the Delaware, and who, to the number of almost three thousand, had subscribed to a declaration of fidelity to the king, seeing the changed aspect of affairs, and having suffered dreadfully from the unbridled passions of the British and Hessian soldiers exercised on friend and foe alike, now became active partisans of the republican cause. A feeling of revenge gave strength to their purpose and arms. Their action was doubtless accelerated by a proclamation of Washington issued late in January, who, in the exercise of the discretion given him by Congress, demanded, in the name of the associated States, that all who had taken British protection, and professed fidelity to the crown, should take an oath of allegiance to the United States of America, or withdraw within the British lines.

The Legislature of New Jersey, regarding the proclamation as a violation of State supremacy,—a doctrine that was the bane of our national life down to the Civil War—censured the commander-in-chief. A few members of Congress, possessing less sagacity and political wisdom than Washington,

joined in the censure, and seemed ready to deprive him of all power. When a proposition was made to give him authority to name his generals, John Adams said: "In private life, I am willing to respect and look up to him; in this House, I feel myself to be the superior of General Washington." By a bare majority, the Congress, after failing to furnish reinforcements for Washington's army, expressed their earnest desire that he could "not only curb and confine the enemy within their present quarters, but, by divine blessing, totally subdue them before they could be reinforced." This seemed like insulting irony, when we consider that Washington then had less than three thousand effective men at his command in New Jersey.

The apathy and folly of the British monarch and ministers, at this time, were astonishing to men who perceived the gravity of public affairs through the medium of events in America. They were in strong contrast with the energy and wisdom of the managers of American affairs at home and abroad. A British army had been driven from Boston; a British fleet had been expelled from Charleston harbor; the colonies had declared their independence, and full thirty thousand British and German troops had been defied and combated; and yet the Parliament did not meet until the close of October (1776) to consider these things. Then the king, in his speech, congratulated the legislature upon the success of the royal troops in America, and assured them, without the shadow of a good reason, that most of the Continental powers entertained friendly feelings toward Great Britain. After rejecting every conciliatory proposition, and voting men and supplies for the united service in America, Parliament adjourned to keep the Christmas holidays with an apparent feeling that their votes had crushed the trans-Atlantic rebellion. At that moment Washington was planning his brilliant achievements in person.

Meanwhile the American Congress had held a perpetual session. They knew that the European powers had no *real* friendship for haughty Britain. They knew that France, Spain, the States-General of Holland, the Prince of Orange, Catharine of Russia and Pope Clement, all feared and hated England, and were anxious for a pretence to strike her fiercely and humble her pride, because of her potency in arms, commerce, and diplomacy, and her strong Protestantism. Therefore, as we have seen, the Congress sent Silas Deane to France as a commercial agent in the spring of 1776, to procure army supplies, and in the autumn appointed Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee joint commissioners with Deane for the same purpose. The latter had already procured arms from the French arsenals, and abundant promises of men and money from the French minister, Vergennes. The British ambassador to the French court (Lord Stormont) treated the Com-

missioners with contempt. When they asked him to make an arrangement for the exchange of captive seamen, he was silent. When the request was repeated, he answered: "The King's ambassador receives no applications from rebels unless they come to implore his Majesty's mercy." This was then the spirit of the British *government*; the spirit of the American *people* at the same time was displayed by the answer of Nathan Coffin, an American seaman, when he was threatened, to induce him to enlist in the royal navy:

"Hang me, if you will, to the yard-arm of your ship, but do not ask me to become a traitor to my country."



BRANT.

(From a Picture by Romney.)

At the beginning of 1777, the British government prepared for crushing the rebellion early in the ensuing campaign. Reinforcements to the number of more than thirty-five hundred were procured from the German princes, and these, with a considerable British force, was sent to strengthen Howe below the Highlands, and Burgoyne in Canada. Governor Tryon was employed in embodying the American Tories into military battalions under Brigadier-Generals Oliver, De Lancey of New York, and Cortlandt Skinner of New Jersey. Many French Canadians joined the British forces on the Canadian frontier; and under the special instructions of Germain, the Colonial Secretary, which he had received from the king, bands of Indian savages were engaged to fight the republicans, the most

of them under the general command of Joseph Brant, a Mohawk chief, a brother-in-law of Sir William Johnson, and who had been educated by the white people. He had lately returned from England, where he had conferred with the king and Germain, and been well received by the aristocracy. At court he appeared in the splendid costume of his nation (in which Romney painted him), and wearing a highly-polished and ornamented tomahawk in his belt. There he decided to espouse the cause of the crown. He did so, and served the king faithfully and vigorously. The best of the British leaders in America were opposed to employing the savages in their armies; but it was a pet project of Tryon, the king and his pliant ministers, who seem to have listened complacently to La Corne St. Luc, a bitter partisan, who said: "We must let loose the savages upon the frontiers of these

scoundrels, to inspire terror, and to make them submit." Tryon, who was noted for his brutal inhumanity, strongly commended La Corne to the Secretary as a leader of the savages, and wrote to Germain, in the spring of 1777: "We [La Corne and himself] agree perfectly in sentiments respecting the propriety and importance of employing the Indians." He said La Corne had pledged his honor and his life that he would raise a corps of Canadians and savages, and "be in the environs of Albany in sixty days after he landed in Quebec." "Every means that Providence has placed in our hands ought to be employed against the rebels," said the king and his ministers.

It had been determined in the British cabinet to attempt to divide the colonies by seizing the region of Lake Champlain and the Hudson River during the approaching campaign. The Indians were to spread terror over Northern New York by their atrocities, and so open an easy way to the Hudson River and to Albany for British troops from Canada. An expedition composed of regulars, Canadians and Indians, under the command of Colonel St. Leger, was ordered to cross Lake Ontario, land at Oswego, penetrate and devastate the Mohawk Valley, and join the victorious troops that might sweep down from the north into the valley of the Upper Hudson. At the same time a British army was to ascend the Hudson, seize the fortifications in the Highlands, waste the country above in case of resistance, and so accomplish the great design of the campaign of 1777. For that purpose a large army was gathered at near the foot of Lake Champlain, under General Sir John Burgoyne, early in the summer of 1777.

It was late in May before the armies of Washington and Howe were put in motion for the summer campaign. The latter was delayed because of a lack of reinforcements. He had asked for an addition of fifteen thousand men. Germain, believing the rebellion might be stamped out with a much less number of troops than Howe required, wrote to him that not half that number could be sent. Howe was discouraged, and early in April he wrote to the Secretary that his army was too weak for rapid offensive operations. "Restricted as I am by a want of forces," he wrote, "my hopes of terminating the war this year are vanished." He also informed the Secretary and Governor Carleton that he could give very little assistance to the army that was to advance from Canada: and he proposed to evacuate New Jersey and invade Pennsylvania by way of the sea. But Germain, erroneously calculating that Howe had thirty-five thousand men, and counting largely upon the help of the savages and Tories, deceived himself and the British people with a belief that the end of the impending campaign would be coeval with that of the rebellion.

While the two armies were preparing to move, detachments from each

were striking offensive blows here and there. The British sent a strong force up the Hudson River late in April to destroy American stores at Peekskill, at the lower entrance to the Highlands. General McDougall was in command there, but his force was too weak to defend the property. So he burned it, and retreated to the hills in the rear. At near the middle of April, Cornwallis marched up the Raritan with a considerable force from New Brunswick, to surprise the Americans at Bound Brook, under General Lincoln. The latter escaped with difficulty, and with a loss of about sixty men and a part of his baggage.

Toward the close of April, Governor Tryon, with almost two thousand British and Tories, sailed up the East River and Long Island Sound, from New York, landed on the Connecticut shore at Compo, between Fairfield and Norwalk, and proceeded toward Danbury, where the Americans had gathered a large quantity of stores. He was accompanied by Generals Agnew and Erskine. They reached the town on the 25th of April (1777), destroyed the stores, burned the village, and cruelly treated some of the inhabitants. The militia of the neighborhood flew to arms in large numbers, under the leadership of Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman. Perceiving this, and fearing his retreat might be cut off, Tryon retreated to Ridgefield. Near that village a sharp skirmish ensued, in which Wooster was killed and Arnold narrowly escaped capture. His horse was shot dead under him. Arnold could not extricate his foot from the stirrup, and fell with the animal. Seeing this, a Tory ran forward, with his bayonet at a charge, exclaiming, "Surrender! you are my prisoner!" "Not yet!" shouted Arnold, as his foot became free at that moment, and he sprang to his feet. Drawing his pistol, he shot the Tory dead, and flying swiftly on foot to a dense swamp near by, followed by many British bullets, he escaped unhurt. For his gallantry on that occasion, the Continental Congress ordered a horse, richly caparisoned, to be presented to Arnold. Tryon spent the night in the neighborhood, and the next morning hastened to his ships, annoyed all the way by the gathering militia. At the place of re-embarkation, his troops were fearfully galled by cannon-shot from a battery of Lamb's artillery managed by Lieutenant-Colonel Oswald. They had already skirmished severely at a bridge; and they escaped a final capture, only by the good offices of Erskine at the head of the marines who were landed from the vessels, and who beat back the wearied Americans. About sunset the fleet departed. The Americans had lost during the invasion about one hundred men, and the enemy about three hundred. Tryon's atrocities on that occasion were never forgotten nor forgiven by the sufferers.

It is related that when the British approached Danbury, an old citizen

resolved to save a piece of cloth which was at a clothier's at the south end of the village. He had just mounted his horse with it, when the British advanced-guard approached. Three light-horsemen started in pursuit. The old man's animal was not so fleet as theirs. Drawing near to him, one of the troopers cried out, "Stop, old Daddy, stop! We'll have you!" "Not yet!" cried the citizen. At that moment his roll of cloth unfolded, and fluttering like a streamer behind him, so frightened the pursuing horses that he got several rods ahead, and escaped.

The Americans, also, spurred by resentment, took similar aggressive action. Late in May, Colonel Meigs crossed Long Island Sound from Guilford, Connecticut, with one hundred and seventy men in whale-boats, and



ESCAPE OF A CITIZEN OF DANBURY.

at two o'clock in the morning of the 23d, attacked a British provision-post at Sagg Harbor, at the eastern end of Long Island. They burned a dozen vessels; also stores and their contents; made ninety men prisoners, and with these reached Guilford the next day at a little past noon, without losing a man. For this exploit, the Congress voted thanks to Colonel Meigs and his men, and a sword to the commander.

A little later a bolder exploit was performed in Rhode Island. General Prescott, the officer who so cruelly treated Ethan Allen at Montreal, was in command of the British troops there. He was a petty tyrant, and was detested by the people. His headquarters were at a farm-house a few miles from Newport, that belonged to a Friend. It was near the shore of Narraganset Bay. Many of the inhabitants had earnestly desired his removal, and Lieutenant-Colonel Barton of Providence resolved to attempt the perilous task of carrying him away. With a few picked men, he crossed the Bay from Warwick Point, in four whale-boats, passed unobserved through

the British guard-boats with muffled oars on a warm night (the 10th of July), and landed near the general's quarters without discovery. The colonel and a part of his men walked silently up to the house, seized the musket of a sentinel at the gate and threatened him with death if he should make any noise, and entered the dwelling. The owner sat reading. It was late, and all others of the household had retired. To Barton's inquiry for Prescott's room, the Friend pointed upward. Barton went up the stairs silently, followed by a powerful negro. The general's bedroom door was locked. The negro, making a battering-ram of his head, burst it open at the first effort. Prescott sprang from his bed to find himself a prisoner. Without allowing him to dress, his captors took him to a boat, his perfect silence being his guarantee of personal safety. At midnight they landed on the Warwick shore. The general was taken in a close carriage to Providence, and was sent to the headquarters of Washington, in New Jersey, where he was afterward exchanged for General Charles Lee. For this exploit, Congress voted an elegant sword for Barton, and commissioned him a colonel in the Continental Army.

During the winter and spring of 1777, Washington's mind was filled with anxiety concerning the future. The Congress was weak, for the jealousy of the States paralyzed their executive power. Faction was disturbing their councils. There was discontent in the army because inefficient foreign officers were, it was supposed, about to be put in high military positions; also because a few like Gates could not bear to serve in subordinate stations. That intriguing officer, like Lee, exerted a baneful influence continually. Aided by the New England delegation, with Samuel Adams at the head of the faction, he had supplanted General Schuyler, the most trusted and best beloved by Washington of all his generals. But his triumph was short. The baseness of his insinuations against the character of Schuyler were exposed by a committee of the Congress and, superseded in April, the latter was reinstated in May with larger discretionary powers. Gates, angry and insubordinate, refused to serve under Schuyler; and, without leave, he left the army and hastened to Philadelphia to demand redress. By falsehood he obtained admission to the floor of Congress, and the privilege of making a verbal communication. There he made an exhibition of impertinence, malice, folly and unmanliness, that disgusted all but his New England friends, who supported him in further intrigues, as we shall observe presently. Samuel Adams and some others had resolved to make Gates the commander-in-chief of the Northern Department, and worked assiduously for that purpose; and while they were swaying Congress in favor of this weak man, who was doing nothing but boasting, they were unjustly demand-

ing of Washington vigorous aggressive movements against the enemy, with so few troops that failure would have been a certain result. They reproached him with slowness; and intimations were thrown out that Gates was "the life and soul of the army." Washington bore this injustice with patience and obedience, for he was an unselfish patriot.

When the king heard of the disasters to the British arms in New Jersey, his wrath took the form of vindictiveness; and Germain, inspired by his majesty, wrote to General Howe that he must wage a more distressing warfare, so that "through a lively experience of losses and sufferings the rebels might be brought to a sense of their duty." It was intimated that Boston



CAPTURE OF GENERAL PRESCOTT.

and other sea-port towns in flames would be pleasing to the king; but the brothers Howe, more humane than their masters, would not engage in that kind of warfare. They sent word back that it was "not consistent with other operations." Meanwhile the sluggish British commander wasted the months of May and June in idleness at New York, when, with his large army, he might have marched to Philadelphia with very slight opposition; but he had resolved to go to that city by sea, and partly by sea he finally went.

In the meantime, Washington, with an army of about seven thousand five hundred men, composed of forty-three regiments in five divisions of two brigades each, moved from Morristown to the heights of Middlebrook on the borders of the Raritan, and nine miles from New Brunswick. At the latter place Howe assembled about seventeen thousand men, British and Germans, at near the middle of June, with boats and pontoons for crossing the Delaware. At the same time Washington's army had been rapidly increasing. Sullivan was at Princeton with fifteen hundred men. Arnold was posted on the Delaware with a division, and the troops on the Hudson were so concentrated that they might reinforce the main army quickly if required.

Howe's plan (if he had any) seemed to be to bring on a general engagement with the weaker American army. He dared not attack Washington in his stronghold, but tried to draw him out of it. He sent a detachment to attack Sullivan, but so tardy was their movement that the veteran was allowed to escape to the Delaware, pursued only three miles. This and other movements made Washington so vigilant that he was in the saddle almost continually, and his men lay upon their arms at night. On the 19th (June), Howe suddenly retreated to Amboy, and sent some of his troops over to Staten Island, so giving an impression that he was evacuating New Jersey. Washington was fairly deceived, and descending from the heights he gave chase with his whole army. Howe suddenly changed front and attempted to gain the rear of the Americans, but Washington was too quick for him. After a series of sharp skirmishes between New Brunswick and Amboy, without any serious effect on the fortunes of the campaign, the American army resumed their position at Middlebrook. On the 30th of June, the British had entirely evacuated New Jersey, and were encamped on Staten Island, where they afforded protection to a host of Tories, who fled with them from the main.

During these movements, the Congress at Philadelphia and the inhabitants there, were kept in anxious suspense by the expectation that Howe would attempt to capture that city. When they heard of the retreat of the enemy and the rapid increase of Washington's army to almost fourteen thousand men, their spirits revived, and the Congress celebrated the Fourth of July—the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence—much as we celebrate it now, after the lapse of a century. They had a banquet, made speeches, drank to patriotic toasts, rang the bells, fired cannon, had a military procession, a naval display on the Delaware; and in the evening, fireworks, bonfires, and illuminations were displayed. To the vigilance and caution, skill and bravery of Washington, the Congress and the citizens were

indebted for their safety; and yet they indulged in ungenerous reproaches of the commander-in-chief because he had not done more. Samuel Adams publicly complained of the "Fabian policy" of Washington; and Gates, who had charmed the New England delegation by his boasting and malicious criticisms, like Lee, scattered firebrands of distrust in the army. But Washington went steadily forward. Referring to these reproaches, he said he had one great object in view, which he should pursue according to the dictates of his own judgment; and that he was willing to be loaded with all the obloquy they could bestow if he committed a willful error.

Washington now watched the movements of the enemy with more anxiety than ever, for news had reached him of the invasion of Northern New York by Burgoyne. For several days these movements puzzled him. The British troops were embarked in the fleet of Lord Howe. At one time they seemed to be preparing to go up the Hudson River, and Washington made arrangements to oppose them. Finally, on the 24th of July, the fleet and troops left New York Bay and went to sea. Washington believed they were bound for Philadelphia by way of the Delaware, and moved a larger portion of his army toward that river; but he prudently kept back a reserve to act in case of Howe's return. Until he was assured that Howe had really abandoned Burgoyne, he could not, he wrote, help casting his eyes continually behind him. His suspense was soon ended. On the 31st of July, he received an express from Congress, telling him that two hundred and twenty-eight British vessels had appeared off the Capes of Delaware the day before. Howe had left New York with eighteen thousand troops for Philadelphia; but for the purpose of increasing his force by the addition of Tories in Maryland and Pennsylvania, where, General Lee had informed him, they abounded, he concluded to go up Chesapeake Bay, and march upon the Continental capital from the south. Washington instantly put a greater portion of his army in motion for that city, where they arrived early in August and encamped at Germantown.

At Philadelphia, Washington was joined by the Marquis de Lafayette, an enthusiastic Frenchman, then less than twenty years of age. He had married, three years before, the daughter of the Duke de Noailles, a beautiful, accomplished, and rich maiden. The story of the wrongs of America, and their struggle for their rights, inflamed his young heart with ardent sympathy and a passionate desire to help them. He openly espoused their cause, and resolved to hasten to their support. Offering his services to the American Commissioners in Paris, he said: "Hitherto I have only *cherished* your cause; now I am going to *support* it." The women of Paris applauded his noble zeal. The young queen, Marie Antoinette, cheered him with her

good wishes. The king expressed his disapprobation, for he hated republicans. Lafayette's young wife bade him go, for the sympathies of her heart were in unison with his. He went to England, stayed three weeks there, and was presented to the king. He danced at the house of Lord George Germain, and held pleasant social intercourse with civilians and soldiers who were serving against the Americans. On all occasions he frankly expressed his sentiments in favor of the latter, but did not avow his purpose to go to America. Returning to France, he sailed for this country in a ship fitted out at his own expense, accompanied by eleven French and Polish officers who sought employment in the American army. Among them was the Baron de Kalb. Count Pulaski, a gallant Pole, soon followed. The confrère of the latter in the struggle for liberty in Poland, Kosciuszko, had come over the year before, and was then a highly esteemed engineer in the Continental Army.

Lafayette and his friends arrived at Georgetown, in South Carolina, whence they journeyed overland to Philadelphia. He offered his services to the Congress as a volunteer in any capacity and without pay. These terms were so different from those of the other foreign officers that the Congress accepted them, and on the last day of July commissioned him a major-general in the Continental Army. As such he was introduced to Washington at a dinner-party in Philadelphia, when the latter invited the young general to become a member of his military family. The invitation was accepted.

A little before this, a rumor reached the American camp, that Du Coudray, a French officer sent over by the Commissioners, had been appointed by the Congress a major-general in the Continental Army, and was to be placed at the head of the artillery service. Generals Knox, Greene, and Sullivan wrote to the Congress, declaring that such an appointment would compel them to resign their commissions. That body resented this as "an attempt to influence their decisions, an invasion of the liberties of the people, and as indicating a want of confidence in the justice of Congress;" and Washington was instructed to tell the complaining generals that if they were "unwilling to serve their country under the authority of Congress, they were at liberty to resign their commissions, and retire." The rumor was not true; no such appointment had been made. The rebuff which these officers received, prevented a repetition of such an offence.

The Congress did employ some of the French officers as engineers. Du Portail was commissioned a colonel of engineers; Laumoy and Radière, lieutenant-colonels, and Gouvion a major. These proved to be valuable officers, and of essential importance during the war.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A BRITISH INVASION FROM CANADA WITH SAVAGE ALLIES—TICONDEROGA EVACUATED BY THE AMERICANS—BATTLE AT HUBBARDTON—SCHUYLER BLAMED—WEAKNESS OF HIS ARMY—HE IMPEDES BURGOYNE'S MARCH—THE STORY OF JANE M'CREA—DISASTROUS EXPEDITION TOWARD BENNINGTON—SIEGE OF FORT SCHUYLER—BATTLE AT ORISKANY—ST. LEGER'S FLIGHT FROM BEFORE FORT SCHUYLER—GATES SUPERSEDES SCHUYLER—THE AMERICAN ARMY—BURGOYNE PREPARES TO ADVANCE.

EARLY in May (1777), Burgoyne, who went to England the previous autumn, returned to Quebec, bearing the commission of lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the British forces in Canada. In June, he had gathered about seven thousand men at St. Johns, on the Sorel, for an invasion of the province of New York, with ample supplies, and boats for transportation. His force was composed of British and German regulars, Canadians and Indians. The Germans were commanded by Major-General Baron de Riedesel, and Burgoyne's chief lieutenants were Major-General Phillips and Brigadier-General Fraser.

At dawn, on the morning of the 20th of June, the drums in the camp at St. Johns beat the *generale* instead of the *reveille*, and very soon afterward the army were on the vessels, Burgoyne making an ostentatious display as he entered the schooner *Lady Mary*. The wives of many of the officers accompanied their husbands, for they expected a pleasant journey to New York, Burgoyne having sent word to Howe that he should speedily meet him on the navigable waters of the Hudson. The departure of the fleet was signalized by the Indians, who, having spilled the first blood in the campaign, brought in ten scalps as trophies of their savage warfare. So was begun the execution of the ministerial measure for spreading terror over the land by means of savage atrocities.

Before a fair wind the great armament moved up the lake, with music and banners. At near the mouth of the Raquet River, Burgoyne went on shore and there feasted about four hundred savages, to whom he made a speech, praising them for their fidelity to the king; exhorting them to "strike at the common enemy of their sovereign and America," whom he called "parricides of the State," and forbidding them to kill excepting in

battle, or to take scalps excepting from the dead. This speech he caused to be published. His own commentary on it may be found in a threatening proclamation issued at Crown Point a few days afterward, in which he said: "Let not people consider their distance from my camp. I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction—and they amount to thousands—to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain. If the frenzy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and man in executing the vengeance of the State against the willful outcasts."

The whole invading army (a part of it on land) reached Crown Point on the 26th of June, and menaced Ticonderoga, where General St. Clair was in command. The invading force then numbered something less than nine thousand men, with a powerful train of artillery manned by veterans. The garrisons at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence opposite, had an aggregate force of not more than thirty-five hundred men, only one in ten of them possessing a bayonet. Schuyler had too few troops (mostly militia) below to spare a reinforcement for St. Clair, without uncovering points which, left unprotected, might allow the invaders to gain the rear of the lake fortresses. Besides, he was compelled to make provision for meeting St. Leger's invasion of the Mohawk Valley. There were strong outposts around Ticonderoga, but there were not troops enough to man them; and there were eminences that commanded the fort that were left unguarded for the same reason. Between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence was a floating-bridge and boom which the Americans thought might effectually obstruct the passage of the British vessels, but these utterly failed in the hour of need. St. Clair perceived the web of peril that was weaving around him, but he kept up courage, declaring that he would totally defeat the enemy.

At Crown Point, Burgoyne issued a pompous proclamation to the inhabitants of the Upper Hudson Valley, which contained the threat above alluded to. He acted promptly as well as boasted. At the beginning of July he moved from Crown Point upon the upper lake fortresses with his whole army and navy. Riedesel led the Germans on the eastern side to attack the works on Mount Independence, while Phillips and Fraser pressed on to the outworks of Ticonderoga. They seized an eminence that commanded the road to Lake George; also mills in the rear of the fort. This was speedily followed by taking possession of and planting a battery of heavy cannon upon Mount Defiance, where plunging shot might be hurled into Fort Ticonderoga from a point several hundred feet above it. St. Clair, perceiving that the fort was no longer tenable, called a council of war, when

it was resolved to evacuate it. On the evening of the 5th of July, the invalids and convalescents under Colonel Long, with stores and baggage, were sent off in bateaux for Skenesborough (now Whitehall); and at two o'clock on the morning of the 6th, the garrison, having spiked the guns which they could not take with them, silently crossed the floating-bridge to Mount Independence under cover of a brisk cannonade from that eminence. With the garrison there, they began, just before the dawn, a flight through the forests southward to the rugged hills of Vermont. The light of the waning moon was too feeble to reveal their movements, and the Americans hoped to leave their enemies far in their rear before their flight should be discovered. Unfortunately a building on Mount Independence was set on fire, and the light thereof betrayed the flying troops. Pursuit was immediately ordered. Fraser pressed forward with grenadiers and took possession of Ticonderoga, while Riedesel seized and occupied Mount Independence. The former crossed the floating-bridge before sunrise, and with the Germans began a hot pursuit of the fugitive army.

Meanwhile Burgoyne, on board the schooner *Royal George*, ordered his gunboats to pursue the bateaux. The bridge barrier was soon removed, and the British vessels gave chase. They overtook the bateaux at near the landing-place at Skenesborough, and destroyed them and their contents. Colonel Long and his men escaped; and after setting on fire everything combustible at Skenesborough, they fled to Fort Ann, a few miles in the interior, pursued by a British regiment. Near Fort Ann, he turned upon and routed his pursuers, when the latter was reinforced and Long was driven back. He burned Fort Ann, and fled to Fort Edward on the Hudson.

When the army of St. Clair reached Hubbardton, in Vermont, the main body marched through the woods toward Castleton, leaving the rear-guard, under Colonel Seth Warner, one of the brave "Green Mountain Boys," to gather up the stragglers. While awaiting their arrival, Warner was overtaken by the van of the pursuers, on the morning of the 7th, when a sharp engagement took place. Colonel Francis of New Hampshire, who commanded the rear-guard in the flight, was killed. The Americans were dispersed and fled, but about two hundred of them were made prisoners. The pursuers lost almost as many killed and wounded, and gave up the chase. St. Clair, with about two thousand troops, made his way in safety to Fort Edward.

A very large amount of provisions and military stores, and almost two hundred pieces of artillery, were lost by the Americans when they evacuated Ticonderoga. The news of the disaster went over the country, with wildest exaggerations. Generals Schuyler and St. Clair were condemned without

stint and without reason. They had done all that it was possible for men to do under the circumstances. The States as individual communities and by their representatives in Congress had utterly failed to supply the Northern Department with sufficient men to defend it. The Congress had been practically deaf to the repeated calls of Schuyler for reinforcements. He had pointed out the dangers of an impending invasion while his force was too small to stay, or even impede it much. Washington, more wise than the Congress, saw the importance to his own army and the safety of the country in checking the progress of the invaders; and though he was sorely



OBSTRUCTING THE MARCH OF THE BRITISH.

in want of reinforcements coming from New England, he directed that a part of them, when they should reach the Hudson River, should be sent up that stream to assist Schuyler against a powerful foe. The enemies of the commander of the Northern Department, in and out of Congress, took an ungenerous advantage of the public ignorance of the truth, and condemned him as an incompetent. Some went so far as to call him a traitor. After tedious endeavors he procured a trial by a court-martial, who, by their verdict, heartily approved by the Congress, fully vindicated his character in every respect.

Schuyler was at Saratoga when he heard of the disaster. He hastened to Fort Edward to gather there the scattered troops and oppose the further advance of Burgoyne, who, victorious, was boastful and arrogant. In a

proclamation he péremptorily demanded the instant submission of the people. Schuyler immediately issued a counter-proclamation, with excellent effect; but with the remnant of St. Clair's army added to his own force at the middle of July, he had not more than four thousand effective men—a number totally inadequate to combat with the enemy. He employed it simply but effectually, in destroying bridges and felling trees in the pathway of the invader. So impeded, Burgoyne did not reach Fort Edward until the close of July. He was compelled to move cautiously, for Carleton had refused to garrison the lake-forts, and the lieutenant-general was compelled to “drain the life-blood” of his army to defend them. His Indians, too, were beginning to be restless, and some were leaving him.

At Fort Edward occurred the death of Jane McCrea, the story of which, as set afloat at the time, is familiar to all, and was exploded years ago. Truth tells the story as follows: Miss McCrea was a handsome young girl, visiting friends at Fort Edward at the time of Burgoyne's invasion. She was betrothed to a young man living near there, who was then in Burgoyne's army. When that army approached Fort Edward, some prowling Indians seized Miss McCrea, and attempted to carry her to the British camp at Sandy Hill, on horseback. A detachment of Americans were sent to rescue her. One of a volley of bullets fired at her captors, pierced the maiden and she fell dead from the horse, when the Indians scalped her and carried her glossy locks as a trophy into the camp. Her lover, shocked by the event, left the army, went to Canada at the close of the war, and there lived a moody bachelor until he was an old man. He had purchased the scalp of his beloved, of the Indians, and cherished it as a precious treasure, upon which, at times, he would gaze with tearful eyes as he held the ever-shining locks in his hand. The body of Miss McCrea was recovered by her friends, and was buried at Fort Edward. A tale of romance and horror, concerning the manner of her death, went abroad. In September, a letter from Gates to Burgoyne, holding him responsible for her death, gave great currency to the story; and hundreds, perhaps thousands of young men, burning with indignation and a spirit of vengeance because of the outrage, flocked to the American camp.

Schuyler, with his little army, continued to impede the progress of Burgoyne, at the same time falling back, until, in August, he resolved to make a stand at Stillwater, and establish there a fortified camp, for recruits for his force were then coming in freely. The panic caused by the evacuation of Ticonderoga and the invasion was beginning to subside, and a patriotic spirit took its place. Burgoyne was evidently growing weaker by his compulsory delay. His base of supplies was so distant, and precarious, that he

was soon placed in a half-starving condition, surrounded on three sides by foes who were preparing to make raids on the fourth. He was absolutely unable to retreat or move forward with vigor. In this dilemma, and feeling the necessity of making a bold stroke for relief, he sent a detachment of his army, composed of Germans, Canadians, Tories and Indians, toward Bennington, in the now State of Vermont, which had been organized and declared independent by a convention at Windsor in the previous January. The object was to strengthen and organize the Tories; procure horses to mount



DEATH OF JANE M'CREEA.

the German dragoons, and to seize cattle, wagons, and stores which it was said had been gathered in large numbers and quantities at Bennington. The detachment was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Baum of the German dragoons. They reached the neighborhood of Bennington on the evening of the 13th of August [1777]. Perceiving some reconnoitering Americans the next morning, Baum sent back for reinforcements, when Burgoyne dispatched two German battalions with two cannon under Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, who marched through steady rain almost continually for thirty hours. Baum, in the meantime, had taken position on a hill four or five miles westward of Bennington, that sloped down to the Walloomscoick Creek, and there cast up some intrenchments.

The New Hampshire militia had just been organized, and placed under the command of Colonel William Whipple (a signer of the Declaration of Independence) and John Stark, a veteran of the French and Indian War.

They were embodied to assist in defending the western frontiers of Vermont from the invading British army. When Baum arrived on the Walloomscoick, Stark was at Bennington with part of a brigade. He immediately sent for the shattered remains of Colonel Seth Warner's regiment at Manchester. They marched all night in rain, and joined Stark on the 14th at near dawn, thoroughly drenched. All that day and the next, the drenching rain continued. Parties of Americans continually annoyed the intruders by attacks here and there upon their flanks or rear, but no battle occurred. On the evening of the 15th, some reinforcements came from Berkshire, Massachusetts, bringing with them the Rev. Mr. Allen, a belligerent chaplain. He told Stark that the people of his district had been frequently called out to fight, without being allowed to, and if they were not gratified this time, they would not turn out again. "Do you wish to march now, in the darkness and rain?" inquired Stark. "No, not just this moment," answered the fighting parson. "Then," Stark said, "if the Lord shall once more give us sunshine, and I do not give you fighting enough, I'll never ask you to come out again." Sunshine came with the morrow, and the parson and his men had "fighting enough" before the evening twilight.

On the bright, hot morning of the 16th (August, 1777), Stark formed a plan of attack on the foe lying upon the Walloomscoick Heights. He divided his force, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, the detachments, led by Colonels Nicholls and Herrick, Hubbard and Stickney, and a considerable force by Stark in person, attacked the enemy on every side. The frightened Indians dashed through a gap in the encircling American lines and fled to the shelter of the woods, leaving their chief dead on the field. After a severe contest for two hours, the ammunition of the Germans failed, when they attempted to break through the line of besiegers with bayonets and sabres. In the attempt Baum was killed and his veterans were made prisoners. At that moment Breyman appeared with his wearied battalion, and Warner joined Stark with some fresh troops. The battle was instantly resumed. The cannon which had been taken from the Germans was turned upon their friends. A desperate fight ensued and continued until sunset, when Breyman retreated, leaving his artillery and nearly all of his wounded behind. The Germans had lost about one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, and seven hundred made prisoners. The loss of the Americans was less than a hundred.

The victory was complete and brilliant. It inspired the Americans, and carried dismay to the hearts of the Tories and the British commander. To the latter the expedition was very disastrous. It disheartened his Tory friends. Many of the Canadians and Indians deserted, and the spirits of his

whole army were depressed. It crippled his movements at a moment when it was all-important that he should go forward with celerity. St. Leger, whom he had sent by way of Oswego to invade the Mohawk Valley, was there, besieging Fort Schuyler on the site of Rome, and they were to meet as victors at Albany. His plans were frustrated; his hopes were destroyed. His troops had to be fed with provisions brought from England by way of Canada, over Lakes Champlain and George and a perilous land carriage, for gathering patriots were hovering about his rear. It was perilous for him to remain where he was, and more perilous for him to advance or retreat.

While these important events were occurring eastward of Schuyler's camp at Stillwater, equally important ones were happening westward of him. Brant had come from Canada in the spring of 1777, and in June was at the head of a band of Indian marauders on the head-waters of the Susquehanna. Brigadier-General Nicholas Herkimer was at the head of the Tryon county militia, and was instructed by Schuyler to watch and check any hostile movements of the Mohawk Chief, whose presence had put an end to the neutrality of his nation and of others of the Iroquois Confederacy. To assist the Whigs of Tryon county, a garrison commanded by Colonel Peter Gansevoort was placed in Fort Schuyler, which was reinforced by the regiment of Colonel Marinus Willett. Bateaux had just brought provisions up the Mohawk for the garrison, when, at the beginning of August, St. Leger, with a motley host of Tories and Canadians, under Colonels Johnson, Claus and Butler, and Indians led by Brant, arrived from Oswego and began a close siege of the fort. Hearing of this, Herkimer, with the Tryon county militia, proceeded to help the garrison. He sent them word that he was coming. On the receipt of the news a part of two regiments (Gansevoort's and Wesson's), led by Colonel Willett, made a sortie from the fort, and fell upon the camp of Johnson's "Royal Greens" (see page 852) so suddenly and effectively, that they were dispersed in great confusion, Sir John not having time to put on his coat before he was compelled to fly. His papers and baggage and those of other officers, and the clothing, blankets, stores and camp equipage, sufficient to fill twenty wagons, were the spoils of victory, with five British standards as trophies. A part of Sir John's "Greens," and some Indians, had gone to meet approaching Herkimer.

At Oriskany, a few miles west of Utica, Herkimer and his little army were marching in fancied security on the morning of the 6th of August, when Tories and Indians from St. Leger's army, suddenly rose from an ambush and fell upon the patriots at all points with pikes, hatchets, and rifle-balls. Herkimer's rear-guard broke and fled; the remainder sustained a fierce conflict for more than an hour with great bravery. General Herkimer

had a horse shot dead under him, and by the bullet that killed the animal, his own leg was shattered just below the knee. Sitting on his saddle and leaning against a beech tree, the brave old general (then sixty-five years of age) directed the battle with great coolness, while the bullets flew thickly around him. A heavy thunder-shower caused a lull in the fight. When it had passed, the battle was renewed with great violence, Major Watts, a brother-in-law of Sir John Johnson leading a portion of the "Greens." At length the Indians, hearing the firing in the direction of the fort, where Willett made his sortie, became panic-stricken and fled to the deep woods. They were soon followed by the equally alarmed Tories and Canadians. The Patriots were left masters of the field, but they did not relieve Fort Schuyler. Their commander was carried to his home, below the Little Falls, where he died from the effects of excessive bleeding from his wound.

St. Leger continued the siege. The garrison bravely held out; and Colonel Willett went from the fort stealthily down the Mohawk Valley with a message from Gansevoort to Schuyler, asking for relief. The sagacious general perceived the importance of beating back St. Leger, as a part of the means for securing the expected victory over Burgoyne. He called a council of officers, and proposed to send a detachment up the valley. They opposed the measure because the army was then too weak to check the march of Burgoyne. The general persisted in his opinion of the necessity and humanity of sending a force to the relief of Fort Schuyler. He was walking the floor with great anxiety of mind, when he heard one of the officers say in a low tone of voice, "He means to weaken the army." That was an epitome of all the slanders which had been uttered since the evacuation of Ticonderoga.



WOUNDED HERKIMER DIRECTING THE BATTLE.

He heard the charge of implied treason with the hottest indignation. Turning quickly toward the slanderer, and unconsciously biting into several pieces a clay pipe which he was smoking, he exclaimed in a voice that awed the whole company into silence: "Gentlemen, I' shall take the responsibility upon myself; where is the brigadier who will take command of the relief? I shall beat up for volunteers to-morrow." General Arnold, ever ready for deeds of daring, at once stepped forward and offered his services. Before noon the next day (August 13), eight hundred stalwart men were enrolled for the expedition. They were chiefly from the Massachusetts brigade of General Larned. They followed their brave leader with perfect confidence, and won success. By prowess, audacity and stratagem, Arnold compelled the invader to raise the siege of Fort Schuyler within ten days after he left the camp at Stillwater. At Fort Dayton (German Flats) he found a half-idiotic Tory, a prisoner, who had been tried for crimes and condemned to death. His mother begged for his pardon. It was promised by Arnold under the condition that he should go, with a friendly Oneida Indian, among the savages in St. Leger's camp, and by representing the Americans on the march against them as extremely numerous, frighten them away. The prisoner agreed. He had several shots fired through his coat, and with these evidences of "a terrible engagement with the enemy," he ran, almost out of breath, among the Indians, declaring that he had just escaped from the approaching Americans. Pointing toward the trees and the sky, he said, "They are as many as the leaves and the stars at night." Very soon his companion, the Oneida, came running from another direction, with the same story. The Indians, thoroughly alarmed, held a *pow-wow*—a consultation with the Great Spirit—and resolved to fly. No persuasion could hold them. Away they went as fast as their feet could carry them, toward Oswego and the more western wilds, followed by their pale-faced confrères, pell-mell, in a race for the safe bosom of Lake Ontario. So the siege of Fort Schuyler was raised; and so ended the formidable invasion from the west.

The expulsion of St. Leger and his followers was a severe blow to the hopes of Burgoyne. This disaster, following so closely upon that near Bennington, staggered him. His visions of conquest, and orders, and perhaps a peerage for himself, vanished. His doom was pronounced. His army was already conquered in fact—it needed very little to make it so, in form. The wise policy and untiring exertions of General Schuyler had accomplished the ruin of the invading army.

The harvests were now nearly over; the spirits of the patriots were greatly revived by recent events; public confidence in General Schuyler, so

rudely shaken by misfortune and slander, was rapidly returning, and as a consequence recruits for the Northern Army were flocking into camp, with daily-increasing volume. Schuyler was preparing to march to an easy victory over his hopelessly crippled foe, and so win the laurels which he fairly deserved, when, on the 19th of August, General Gates arrived in camp, and took command of the army, in accordance with the following resolution passed by Congress:

"Resolved, That Major-General Schuyler be directed to repair to headquarters.

"That General Washington be directed to order such general officer as he shall think proper to repair immediately to the Northern Department, to relieve Major-General Schuyler in his command there."

This was evidently the work of intrigue, faction, and conspiracy. Washington, who was then in his camp at Germantown, near Philadelphia, was fully aware of the schemes of Gates and his friends, and would not consent to be a scapegoat for them; so he declined to nominate a successor to Schuyler, and the Congress proceeded to appoint Gates to that office. They clothed him with powers which they had never conferred on his predecessor, and voted him all the aid Schuyler had ever asked, and which had been withheld. The patriotic general felt the indignity keenly, yet he did not allow his personal grievances to interfere with his duty to his country. He received Gates cordially, furnished him with every kind of useful information respecting the army, and offered him all the aid in his power to give. This generosity was requited by jealousy and coldness. Yet this despicable treatment did not abate Schuyler's efforts to secure the defeat of Burgoyne, although he knew the laurels that would thereby be won would be placed on the brow of his undeserving successor.

Had Gates acted promptly, he might have ended the campaign in the Northern Department, within a fortnight after his arrival. But he lingered twenty days in needless inactivity near the mouth of the Mohawk River, nine miles above Albany, to which place Schuyler, pursuant to a decision of a council of officers, had removed the army from Stillwater. At the end of the twenty days, Gates moved up the valley of the Hudson with an effective force of nine thousand men; and upon Bemis's Heights, an elevated rolling plain a short distance above Stillwater, he established a fortified camp, having Kosciuszko, the brave Polish patriot, as chief engineer. In the meantime, one hundred and eighty boats had been brought over the country by teams and soldiers, from Lakes Champlain and George, with a month's provisions for the use of Burgoyne's army, then reduced to less than six thousand men.

Seeing the advance of Gates, Burgoyne called in his outposts, and with

his shattered forces and his splendid train of artillery, he crossed the Hudson River over a bridge of boats on the 13th of September, and encamped on the heights at Saratoga, where Schuylerville now stands. There he made immediate preparations to attempt to force his way to Albany. He then knew that Howe had sailed southward and would not co-operate with him; and he perceived the necessity of acting promptly, for General Lincoln was gathering a force of New Englanders on his flank, and detachments of Republican troops were menacing his communications with his base of supplies. The American army, every day increasing in strength, were well posted on Bemis's Heights. Their right rested upon the Hudson River below the Heights; their left was upon gentle hills that could not be commanded by hostile cannon from any point; and a well-constructed line of intrenchment stretched along their front. Here an army more numerous than that of Burgoyne lay directly across his path to Albany, and must be dislodged before he could go forward.



CHAPTER XXVII.

COLONEL BROWN'S RAID IN THE REAR OF BURGOYNE'S ARMY—FORWARD MOVEMENT OF BURGOYNE—BATTLE ON BEMIS'S HEIGHTS—BAD CONDUCT OF GATES, AND BRAVERY OF ARNOLD AND MORGAN—GATES'S JEALOUSY—DESPERATE CONDITION OF BURGOYNE'S ARMY—HIS FOOLISH BOAST—DECISION OF A COUNCIL—SECOND BATTLE ON BEMIS'S HEIGHTS—GATES AND ARNOLD AGAIN—BRAVERY OF THE LATTER—VICTORY—SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE AND HIS ARMY.

BURGOYNE felt compelled, by imperious circumstances, to move forward. Orders had been sent to General Lincoln, stationed at Manchester, to make a movement in the rear of the invaders, and he sent Colonel John Brown (the officer who failed to co-operate with Ethan Allen at Montreal), with five hundred light troops and some artillery, to cut off Burgoyne's sources of supplies. At dawn on the 18th of September (1777), Brown surprised an outpost at the foot of Lake George; captured a British provision vessel; seized the post at the falls of the outlet of the lake; took possession of Mount Hope and Mount Defiance, with the French lines, and demanded the surrender of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. He destroyed two hundred vessels in that outlet, including seventeen gun-boats and an armed-sloop; released a hundred American prisoners, and captured about three hundred of the enemy. He also assailed a British post on Diamond Island, in Lake George; but this, and the two forts, were too strong for his little force to capture, and he returned to Manchester with his trophies; among them were five field-pieces.

In the meantime Burgoyne had advanced to a point very near the American lines; and on the morning of the 19th, he moved his army in three columns to offer battle. The left wing, with the immense train of artillery, under the command of Generals Phillips and Riedesel, kept upon the plain near the river. The centre, composed largely of Germans, extended to a range of hills that were touched by the American left, and was led by Burgoyne in person. Upon these hills Fraser and Breyman, with grenadiers and infantry, were posted, with the intention of outflanking the republicans. The front and flank of the invading army were covered by the Canadians, Indians, and Tories who remained in camp. Burgoyne's men

had slept on their arms for several nights, expecting an attack in force from the Americans, for the active Arnold, with about fifteen hundred men, had annoyed the British continually, by sudden assaults at night.

Gates, who lacked personal courage and the skill of a good commander, had resolved to act on the defensive within his lines. Arnold and others had been observing, through vistas in the woods, evident preparations for battle all the morning, and had urged Gates to send out a detachment to smite the enemy. But he would give no order and evinced no disposition



MORGAN'S RIFLEMEN ON THE FIELD.

to fight. Even when, at eleven o'clock, the boom of a cannon awoke the echoes of the hills, and which was Burgoyne's signal for a general advance of his army, Gates seemed almost indifferent. His officers became very impatient as the peril to the camp drew nearer. Arnold was as restive as a hound in a leash; he was finally permitted to order out Morgan with his riflemen and Dearborn with infantry, to attack the Canadians and Indians who were swarming upon the hills in advance of Burgoyne's right.

This detachment fell vigorously upon the foe and drove them back. Morgan's men pursued them so eagerly, that his riflemen became scattered and weakened, and a reinforcement of Tories drove them back. For a moment Morgan thought his corps was ruined. He sounded his shrill whistle, when they rallied around him, and with Massachusetts and New Hampshire troops, the former under Dearborn and the latter under Scammell and Cilley, they repeated the charge. After a short, sharp fight, the parties withdrew to their respective lines, with the loss of twenty men made prisoners, on the part of the Americans. Morgan had his horse shot under him.

Burgoyne, in the meantime, had made a rapid movement for the purpose of falling heavily upon the American left and centre. At the same time, Fraser, on the extreme right, made a quick movement to turn the American left. The vigilant Arnold, with equal celerity of movement, attempted to turn the British right at the same time. He might have succeeded had not Gates denied him reinforcements and done everything in his power to restrain him. Masked by the thick woods, neither party could know much about the doings of the other, and they suddenly and unexpectedly met in a ravine, west of Freeman's Farm at which Burgoyne had halted. There they fought desperately for awhile. Arnold was forced back, when Fraser, by a quick movement, called up some German troops from Burgoyne's centre, to his aid. Arnold rallied his men, and with the assistance of New England troops under Brooks, Dearborn, Scammell, Cilley, and Hull, he smote the enemy so lustily that their line began to waver and fall into confusion. General Phillips, from his position below the Heights, heard the din of battle resounding through the woods, and hurried over the hills with fresh troops and some artillery, followed by a portion of the Germans under Riedesel, and appeared upon the ground when the victory seemed about to rest with the Americans. Still the battle raged. The ranks of the British were fearfully thinning, when Riedesel made a furious attack on the flank of the Americans with cannon and musketry, which compelled them to give way. So the Germans saved the British army from ruin.

There was now a lull in the tempest of battle. It was at the middle of the afternoon of a bright September day. That lull was succeeded by a more violent outburst of fury. Burgoyne opened a heavy cannonade upon the Americans, who made no response. Then he ordered a bayonet charge. Column after column of British troops were soon moving over the gently rolling ground, toward the American lines. As they rushed forward to charge upon the republicans, their silent enemy sprang forward like tigers from a covert, and assailed the British so furiously, with ball and bayonet, that they recoiled, and were pushed far back. At that time Arnold was at

headquarters, seated upon his large, black charger, and begging in vain of Gates for reinforcements. When he heard that the battle was raging, but with no decisive results, he could no longer brook delay. Turning his horse's head toward the storm, and exclaiming, "I'll soon put an end to it," he went off at full gallop, followed by an officer whom Gates sent after him to order him back. The subaltern could not overtake the gallant general, who, by his words and example, animated the republican troops. For three hours



ARNOLD GOING INTO BATTLE.

the battle raged, the combatants surging backward and forward across the fields like the ebb and flow of a tide, each winning and losing victory alternately. All too late, Gates sent out the New York regiments of Van Cortlandt and Livingston, and the whole brigade of Learned. The Americans had lately almost turned the British flank, when Colonel Breyman, with his Germans fighting bravely, prevented the blow that might have been fatal to the British army.

But for Arnold, no doubt Burgoyne would have reached Albany within a day, a victor. Had Gates complied with Arnold's wishes for reinforcements early, the surrender of Burgoyne's army might not have been deferred a month. To Arnold and his division was chiefly due the credit of success-

fully resisting the invaders at Bemis's Heights. The jealous Gates, angry because the army praised Arnold, did not mention his name, nor that of the gallant Morgan, in his official report of the battle, in which the Americans lost less than three hundred men.

On the morning of the 20th (September, 1777), Burgoyne perceived the desperate condition of his army, encamped so near the American lines that they could not make a movement unperceived by their foe. He had lost about six hundred men. His broken army were utterly dispirited. Arnold wished to attack him at dawn, but Gates would not consent. Burgoyne withdrew to a point two miles from the American lines, where he cast up intrenchments, hoping hourly for good news from Sir Henry Clinton at New York. He harangued his troops to revive their courage, and declared his determination to force his way to Albany or to leave his body on the field. His own spirits were revived the next morning by a message from Sir Henry, who promised to make a diversion in his favor by an expedition up the Hudson River. The same messenger brought a despatch from Howe announcing his victory over Washington on the Brandywine. These glad tidings were communicated to his army, and Burgoyne wrote to Clinton that he could maintain his position until the 12th of October. But his condition rapidly grew worse. The American army on his front increased, while his own decreased. The American militia were swarming on his flanks and rear, and his foraging parties were so harassed by them, that they could gather very little food for the starving horses. In his hospitals were at least eight hundred sick and wounded men, and his effective troops had to be fed with diminished rations. The Indians deserted him, while through the exertions of Schuyler, Oneida warriors joined the army of Gates. General Lincoln arrived with two thousand militia on the 22d, and took command of the right wing of the army.

With all his advantages over the enemy, Gates remained inactive. His officers were chagrined. Arnold, chafed by Gates's apathy, could not restrain his impatience, and he wrote a note to his commander, saying: "I think it my duty (which nothing shall deter me from doing) to acquaint you the army is becoming clamorous for action. The militia (who compose a quarter part of the army) are already threatening to go home. One fortnight's inaction will, I make no doubt, lessen your army, by sickness and desertion, at least four thousand men, in which time the enemy may be reinforced, and make good their retreat. I have reason to think that had we improved the 20th of September, it might have ruined the enemy. That is past; let me entreat you to improve the present time." This proper impertinence on the part of a subordinate, Gates treated with silent contempt.

Burgoyne waited many days for tidings from Clinton, but none came; and on the evening of the 4th of October he called Phillips, Riedesel, and Fraser to a council. Burgoyne proposed to attempt to turn the American left by a swift circuitous march. Riedesel favored a rapid retreat to Fort Edward; but Fraser was willing to fight. The latter course was agreed upon; and on the morning of the 7th of October, after liquors and rations for four days had been given to the whole army, Burgoyne moved toward the left of the American lines with fifteen hundred picked men, eight brass cannon, and two howitzers. When within three-fourths of a mile of their works, he formed a battle-line behind a forest screen. He had left the main army on the Heights in command of Brigadiers Hamilton and Specht, and the redoubts near the river with Brigadier-General Gall. Phillips, Riedesel, and Fraser were with the commanding-general. There were never better troops or better commanders on a field of battle. Burgoyne sent out a party, composed of Canadian rangers, loyalists and Indians, to make a circuit through the woods and hang on the American rear, and so keep them in check, while he should attack their front.

Burgoyne's movement was discovered before he was ready for battle, and the drums of the advanced-guard of the Americans beat to arms. The alarm rang along the lines. Gates had then over ten thousand troops in his camp—enough, if properly managed, to have crushed the weakened invaders at a single blow. He ordered his officers to their alarm-posts, and sent his favorite aide (Wilkinson) to inquire the cause of the disturbance. When informed that the enemy were about to attack his left, he listened to the advice of Colonel Morgan, and ordered that officer to go out with his riflemen and "begin the game." Morgan was soon moving with celerity with his corps and some infantry, to secure a position on the Heights on the flank and rear of the British right. At the same time General Poor, with his own New Hampshire brigade and followed by New York militia under Ten Broeck, advanced against the British left. Meanwhile the rangers and their companions had successfully turned the flank of the Americans, and partly gaining their rear, had attacked their pickets. These were soon joined by British grenadiers, who drove the Americans back to their lines, where a hot engagement for half an hour ensued. In that fight Morgan was engaged, and his brave riflemen charged the assailants so vigorously, that they retreated in confusion to the British line which now appeared in battle order on an open field. The grenadiers, under Major Ackland, with the artillery under Major Williams, formed the left upon rising ground; the centre was composed of Brunswickers under Riedesel and British under Phillips; and the extreme left was composed of light infantry under Earl Balcarras. General

Fraser was at the head of five hundred picked men a short distance in advance of the British right, ready to fall upon the left flank of the Americans when the action in front should begin.

It was now half-past three o'clock. Just as Burgoyne was about to advance, he was astounded by the thunder of cannon on his left, and the crack and rattle of rifle and muskets on his right. Poor had advanced stealthily up the slope on which the troops of Ackland and Williams were posted, and in perfect silence had pressed on through the thick wood toward the batteries of the latter. When they were discovered, the enemy opened a heavy storm of musket-balls and grape-shot upon the republicans. These made terrible havoc among the leaves and branches over their heads, but scarcely a shot struck one of the Americans. This was the signal for the latter to break silence. They sprang forward with a shout, delivered fire in rapid volleys, and then opened right and left, to seek the shelter of the trees on the margin of the ridge on which the British artillery was planted. A fierce conflict now ensued. The Americans rushed up to the very mouths of the cannon, and struggled hand-to-hand with the enemy for victory, among the carriages of the field-pieces. Five times one of the cannon was taken and retaken. When, at last, the British fell back, and the cannon remained with the Americans, Colonel Cilley, who had fought gallantly at the head of his regiment, leaped upon the captured gun, waved his sword high in air, and dedicated the weapon "to the American cause." Then he wheeled its muzzle toward the enemy, and with their own ammunition opened its destructive energies upon them. This act gave fresh courage to the republicans, who yet had much to do. The contest was long and obstinate, until Major Ackland was severely wounded and Major Williams was made a prisoner. Then the grenadiers and artillerymen, panic-struck, fled in confusion. Sir Francis Clarke, Burgoyne's chief aide, who was sent to secure the cannon, was mortally wounded, made a prisoner, and was carried to Gates's tent. The whole eight pieces of artillery and the possession of the field remained with the Americans.

Meanwhile Morgan had assailed Fraser's flanking corps in advance of the British right with such a tempest of rifle-balls, that they were driven hastily back to their lines. Then, with the speed of a gale, Morgan wheeled, and fell upon the British right with such appalling force and impetuosity that their ranks were quickly thrown into confusion. This attack was so unexpected by the enemy, that a panic immediately pervaded their columns. It was instantly followed by an onslaught in front by Major Dearborn, with fresh troops, when the British broke and fled in terror. They were soon rallied by Earl Balcarras, who placed them in battle attitude again. This shock on

the right convulsed the British centre, composed chiefly of Germans, but it maintained its position.

Soon after the battle of the 19th, Gates, jealous of Arnold and offended by his impertinence, had deprived that officer of all command. He was stripped of authority to give an order or even to fight. The impetuous, quarrelsome, insubordinate brigadier, thirsting for the glory which he might win on that field, and inspired by patriotism, stood chafing with impatience



THE ARTILLERY OF THE BRITISH TURNED UPON THEMSELVES.

and irritation, a chained spectator of the battle. At length, when he could no longer restrain himself, he sprang upon the back of his big black charger, as before, and started on a full gallop for the field of action. Gates sent Major Armstrong to order him back. Arnold saw the subaltern in chase and divined his errand. He put spurs to his horse, and left Armstrong far behind; and placing himself at the head of three regiments of Learned's brigade, who received their old commander with three hearty cheers, he led them against the British centre. With the desperation of a madman he rushed into the thickest of the fight, or rode along the lines with rapid and erratic movements, brandishing his sword over his head, and delivering his orders everywhere, in person. Armstrong followed him half an hour, but Arnold's course was so varied and perilous that he gave up the chase.

The Germans received the assault of the troops led by Arnold with brave resistance; but when he dashed in among them at the head of his men, they broke and fled in dismay. At this time, the battle became

general all along the lines. Burgoyne, perceiving that the fate of his army hung upon the result of the conflict that day, exposed himself fearlessly at the head of his troops, and bade them defend their positions while a man was left alive. Arnold and Morgan were the ruling spirits among the Americans. The gallant Fraser was the soul that directed the most potent energies of the British. Like Arnold, his voice and example were electric in their power, when directing attacks and in bringing order out of confusion. He was dressed in full uniform and rode a splendid gray gelding, both making conspicuous objects on the field. Morgan perceived that the fate of the battle depended upon that officer. Suppressing his better feelings, he called a file of his most expert sharp-shooters, and pointing toward the scarlet-clad leader, said: "That gallant officer is General Fraser. I admire and honor him, but it is necessary he should die; victory for the enemy depends upon him. Take your stations in that clump of bushes, and do your duty." Within five minutes after this order was given, General Fraser fell, mortally wounded, and was carried sorrowfully to the British camp, for he was truly loved by all. A bullet from the rifle of Timothy Murphy, mounted in a sapling, had passed through his body.

When the gallant Fraser fell, a panic ran along the British line. It might have been temporary, had not General Ten Broeck appeared at that critical moment with three thousand fresh New York militia. At sight of them, the wavering line gave way, and the troops retreated to their intrenchments covered by Phillips and Riedesel. They left their artillery behind, for all the horses, and nearly all the men who had defended the pieces were slain or wounded. Up to these intrenchments, in the face of a terrible storm of grape-shot and bullets, the Americans, with Arnold at their head, eagerly pressed, and assailed the works with small arms. Balcarras bravely defended them, until he could resist no longer. Above the din of battle the voice of Arnold was heard, and his form was seen in the midst of the sulphurous smoke, dashing from point to point and encouraging his men. With a part of the brigades of Paterson and Glover, he drove the troops of the Earl from an *abatis*—an obstruction of fallen trees—at the point of the bayonet, and attempted to force his way into the British camp. Failing in this, he placed himself at the head of Learned's brigade, and made a vigorous assault upon the enemy's right, which was defended by Canadians and Loyalists, who were flanked by a stockade redoubt on each side. For awhile the result appeared doubtful. At length the English gave way, leaving the Germans under General Specht entirely exposed.

Arnold now ordered up from the left the New York regiments of Wesson and Livingston, and Morgan's riflemen, to make a general assault, while

Colonel Brooks, with his Massachusetts regiment, accompanied by Arnold, attacked the German troops commanded by Breyman. Arnold rushed into the sally-port on his powerful horse, and spread terror among the Hessians there. They had seen him in the thickest of the fight, for two hours, unhurt, and regarding him with superstitious awe, as one possessed of a charmed life, they fled. They gave a parting volley in their retreat, which killed Arnold's horse and severely wounded the same leg that was badly hurt at Quebec. Then, at the moment of victory, and at the head of his troops, wounded and disabled, he was overtaken by Major Armstrong, who had resumed the chase, and received from him the order from Gates to return to camp, for the commander-in-chief feared Arnold might "do some rash thing." He had done a "rash thing" in achieving a decisive victory—a triumph which proved to be a turning-point in the war in favor of the Americans—without the orders or even the permission of his commander.

The glamour of false light which often surrounds the commander of a victorious army frequently conceals the truth, and deprives the most meritorious of the actors of their just reward. The dazzled public lauded Gates as a great general, because he was the commander of the victorious army on this occasion, when the truth assures us that he was a hindrance instead of an aid, in the achievement of the triumph. While Arnold was reaping golden sheaves of glory for Gates's garner, by wielding the fierce sickle of war, the latter and General Lincoln, his second in command, did not appear upon the field of battle. Gates, it is said, did not leave his tent at all that day, for he had not recovered from a debauch in which he had indulged the night before. His favorite aide (Wilkinson) said afterward, that when he went to headquarters for orders in the afternoon, he found Gates more intent upon discussing the merits of the Revolution with Burgoyne's dying aide than upon winning the battle then raging. He followed Wilkinson as he went out, and asked him—"Did you ever hear so impudent a son of a —," referring to the wounded officer, who had ventured to differ with him. Poor Sir Francis Clarke died that night upon the bed of his coarse and vulgar antagonist.

It was twilight when the wounded Arnold was carried from the field. The rout of the Germans was complete. They threw down their arms and ran, and could not be rallied. Colonel Breyman was mortally wounded. The conflict ceased when the curtain of night fell upon the scene. At about midnight, the division of Lincoln marched out to the relief of those upon the field; and before the dawn, Burgoyne, who had resolved to retreat, removed his whole force a mile or two north of his intrenchments, which the Americans immediately took possession of.

General Fraser died on the morning after the battle, and his body was buried, at the evening twilight of the same day, within a redoubt upon a gentle eminence, which the hero had chosen for his place of sepulture. A very touching account of his death and his funeral is given in the published letters and memoirs of the Baroness de Riedesel, wife of the Brunswick general, who, with her children, accompanied her husband while he was in America. The body of Fraser was followed to the grave by Burgoyne and a large number of officers led by Mr. Brudenell, the faithful chaplain of the artillerists. As the funeral procession moved up the slope in the dim light, it appeared to Americans like a hostile movement, and they opened a cannonade upon it from the eastern side of the Hudson; but as soon as its solemn character was made known, the cannonade for destruction was changed to the firing of minute-guns in honor of the memory of the brave soldier.

The wife of Major Ackland (a daughter of the Earl of Ilchester), who accompanied her husband, and was with Madame Riedesel during the battle of the 7th of October, when she heard that her husband was wounded and a prisoner, resolved to go to the American camp in search of him. On a dark and stormy night she descended the Hudson in an open boat, accompanied by Chaplain Brudenell, and bearing a letter of introduction from Burgoyne to Gates. She found her husband at the headquarters of Arnold, now (1876) the residence of Mr. Neilson, on Bemis's Heights, where she was permitted to nurse him until he was able to travel to New York and sail for England.

On the night of the 8th, Burgoyne, with his shattered and dispirited army, retreated to the Heights of Saratoga, reaching there, after a wretched march in a heavy rainstorm, on the morning of the 10th. At the passage of the Fish Creek at Saratoga, they destroyed the mansion, mills, outbuildings, and other property belonging to General Schuyler, and valued at fifty thousand dollars. The main army of the Americans also moved northward. The brigade of General Fellows were posted on the hills eastward of the Hudson, within cannon-range of the British camp, which their batteries commanded. Burgoyne now despaired; and at a council of general officers, it was determined to open negotiations with Gates for a surrender on honorable terms. These were finally agreed upon, and at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 17th of October, 1777, the vanquished troops laid down their arms upon the plain near the Hudson River, in front of the present village of Schuylerville. Then Burgoyne rode toward the headquarters of Gates, with his staff. They met that officer on the road not far from the ruined mansion of General Schuyler, when Burgoyne, in the presence of that patriot

and many other American officers, and his own, surrendered his sword to the commander of the victorious republican army. Then they all returned to Gates's headquarters, and dined together.

The whole number of troops surrendered was five thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, of whom two thousand four hundred and twelve were



GENERAL RIEDESEL.

GENERAL BURGoyNE.

GENERAL GATES.

Brunswickers and Hessians. Besides these, there were eighteen hundred prisoners of war, including the sick and wounded abandoned to the Americans. The entire loss of the British army after they entered the province of New York, including those under St. Leger disabled or captured at Fort Schuyler and Oriskany, was almost ten thousand men. On Burgoyne's staff were six members of Parliament. Among the spoils of war that fell to the Americans were forty-two pieces of the best brass cannon then known; four thousand six hundred muskets, and a large quantity of munitions of war.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE TERMS OF BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER—THE DISPOSITION OF HIS TROOPS—SIR HENRY CLINTON'S STRATAGEM—CAPTURE OF FORTS IN THE HUDSON HIGHLANDS—MARAUDING EXPEDITION UP THE HUDSON—WASHINGTON CONFRONTING HOWE IN DELAWARE AND PENNSYLVANIA—BATTLE ON THE BRANDYWINE—MOVEMENTS OF THE BELLIGERENTS AFTERWARDS—WAYNE ATTACKED NEAR THE PAOLI—THE BRITISH IN POSSESSION OF PHILADELPHIA—OPERATIONS ON THE DELAWARE—BATTLE AT GERMANTOWN.

GENERAL GATES granted very generous terms to Burgoyne and his army. His troops were not held as prisoners of war, but allowed a free passage to Europe for those who wished to go there, and free permission for the Canadians to return to their homes, on the condition that none of the troops surrendered should serve against the Americans during the war. Arrangements were made for the march of the European captives, by the nearest route to the vicinity of Boston, there to be embarked as speedily as possible.

The vanquished army began their march for the seaboard on the day after their surrender. "It was solemn, sullen and silent," wrote a contemporary, but they were treated with such humanity and delicate respect for their feelings, that they were overwhelmed with astonishment and gratitude. The appearance of the German prisoners was extremely pitiful and ludicrous, according to eye-witnesses. Mrs. Dr. Winthrop of Cambridge, writing about the advent of these hirelings into Cambridge, remarked: "I never had the least idea that the creation produced such a sordid set of creatures in human figure—poor, dirty, emaciated men; great numbers of women, who seemed to be the beasts of burden, having bushel baskets on their heads, by which they were bent double. The contents seemed to be pots and kettles, various sorts of furniture, children peeping through gridirons and other utensils; some very young infants who were born on the road; the women, barefooted, clothed in rags. Such effluvia filled the air while they were passing that, had they not been smoking all the time, I should have been apprehensive of being contaminated."

The Congress ratified the generous terms made by Gates; but circumstances soon convinced them and Washington, that Burgoyne and his troops

intended to violate the agreement at the first opportunity. It was therefore resolved not to allow the "convention troops," as they were called, to leave the country until the British government should ratify the terms of the capitulation. Here was a dilemma. That government would not recognize the authority of Congress: so the troops remained idle in America four or five years.



HESSLANS ON THE MARCH.

The surrender of Burgoyne was, as we have observed, a turning-point in the war in favor of the Americans. Its salutary effects were immediately apparent. The credit of Congress was revived, and the work of the Commissioners abroad was made easier. New life was infused into every part of the public service, for the hopes of the people were buoyant. The militia of the country obeyed the summons to camp with alacrity, after the first check of Burgoyne on Bemis's Heights; and when the surrender took place,

Gates had under his immediate command more than thirteen thousand troops, with almost twelve thousand more subject to his call. The tide of public opinion in Europe set strongly in favor of the Americans; and less than four months after Burgoyne gave up his sword to Gates, France had formed a treaty of alliance with the United States and acknowledged their independence, while other European powers were thinking kindly of the Americans.

The joy of the moment invested Gates with the character of a saviour of the republican cause. In the pride of his heart, that officer disdained to make a report of the affair in writing to anybody, but sent Wilkinson, his favorite aide-de-camp, with a verbal message directly to Congress, instead of to Washington, his superior officer. The Congress were so unmindful of their own dignity, that they admitted Wilkinson to their hall and upon its floor to announce in studied phrases the news tardily sent, of the great victory, with his own lips. They voted the thanks of the nation to Gates and his army, and gave a gold medal to the general. In a written report afterward made, that leader barely mentioned the names of Arnold and Morgan, with others. He seemed to fear that giving just praise to others, might diminish his own renown. In this he anticipated the correct verdict of posterity.

While Burgoyne was struggling with his foes on the Upper Hudson, Sir Henry Clinton, whom Howe had left in command at New York, was trying to make a diversion in his favor on the lower and middle waters of that stream. Among the Hudson Highlands were three forts with feeble garrisons. Fort Constitution was upon a rocky island opposite West Point. Forts Clinton and Montgomery were upon the west bank of the river, one on each side of a small stream with high rocky shores. From the latter the Americans had stretched a chain and boom across the Hudson to Anthony's Nose, to prevent the passage of vessels up the stream. These forts were under the supervision of General Israel Putnam, whose headquarters were at Peekskill, a little below the Highlands; and Forts Clinton and Montgomery were under the immediate command of Governor George Clinton and his brother General James Clinton. Putnam had injudiciously granted so many furloughs or permits to be absent, that his whole force at Peekskill and the Highland forts, did not exceed two thousand men, at the time we are considering. Tories had informed Sir Henry of the weakness of the Highland forts, and as soon as reinforcements from Europe, which had been floating on the bosom of the Atlantic Ocean for almost three months, arrived, he prepared vessels suitable for transporting troops and munitions of war up the river. Vigilant Whigs below had informed Putnam of these

preparations before the close of September, and the general had sent the news to George Clinton, governor of the lately organized State of New York, who was attending a session of the legislature at Kingston. With what forces of militia he could gather, the governor hurried to Fort Clinton, his brother being in command of Fort Montgomery.

On the 4th of October, Sir Henry Clinton went up the Hudson with between three and four thousand troops, in many armed and unarmed vessels commanded by Commodore Hotham, and the next morning landed them



GENERAL PUTNAM.

on Verplanck's Point, a few miles below Peekskill, feigning an attack upon the latter post. This feint deceived Putnam, and he sent to Forts Clinton and Montgomery for reinforcements. This was precisely what Sir Henry wished. But the more sagacious Governor Clinton was not deceived, and held all the forces within his reach, at the Highland forts, which he rightly believed to be the baronet's objectives.

Under cover of a dense fog, Sir Henry embarked a little more than two thousand troops, and at dawn on the morning of the 6th, landed them on Stony Point, opposite Verplanck's, to make a circuitous march around the

lofty Donderberg and fall upon the Highland forts. At the same time orders were given for the war-vessels to anchor within point-blank cannon-shot distance of the forts, to beat off any American vessels that might appear above the chain and boom. Sir Henry divided his forces. One party led by General Vaughan, and accompanied by the baronet, about twelve hundred in number, went through a defile west of the Donderberg, to fall upon Fort Clinton, while another party, nine hundred strong, made a longer march around Bear Mountain, to assail Fort Montgomery. On the borders of Lake Sinnipink, at a narrow pass near Fort Clinton, Vaughan had a severe engagement with some troops sent out by the governor; at the same time, the latter sent to Putnam for aid. The messenger turned traitor and deserted to the British.

Campbell and his men arrived near Fort Montgomery in the afternoon, and at five o'clock a peremptory demand was made for the surrender of both forts. It was treated with scorn, when a simultaneous attack upon the forts by both divisions of the British, and the vessels in the river, began. The garrisons were mostly militia, and behaved well, making a vigorous defence until dark, when they were overpowered and sought safety in a scattered retreat to the adjacent mountains. Many got away, but a considerable number were slain or made prisoners. The governor fled across the river, and at midnight he was in the camp of Putnam planning future operations. His brother, badly wounded, made his way over the mountains to his home at New Windsor, where he was joined by the governor the next day. American vessels lying above the chain and boom slipped their cables and attempted to escape, but there was not wind enough to fill their sails; so their crews set them on fire to prevent their falling into the hands of the British. By the light of their burning vessels, the fugitive garrisons were enabled to make their way over the mountains to settlements beyond. Among the vessels burned was the frigate Montgomery, a sloop of ten guns, and a row-galley. The conflagration was a magnificent spectacle. A British officer wrote: "The flames suddenly broke forth, and, as every sail was set, the vessels soon became magnificent pyramids of fire. The reflection on the steep face of the opposite mountain and the long train of ruddy light which shone upon the waters for a prodigious distance, had a wonderful effect; while the ear was awfully filled with the continued echoes from the rocky shores, as the flames gradually reached the loaded cannon. The whole was sublimely terminated by the explosions, which left all again in darkness."

Early the next morning, the chain and boom were broken by the British, and a flying squadron of light vessels under Sir James Wallace, bearing the whole of Sir Henry's land force, went up the Hudson to devastate its shores,

and draw from Gates some of the troops that stood in the pathway of Burgoyne, for the protection of the country below. Sir Henry wrote a despatch to Burgoyne, on a piece of tissue paper, saying: "Here we are, and nothing between us and Gates." He inclosed it in a hollow silver bullet, gave it to a careful messenger, and returned to New York. That messenger was arrested in the American camp, in Orange county, as a spy. He swallowed the bullet. It was brought from his stomach by an emetic, and its contents being discovered, the bearer was hanged.



THE FRIGHTENED DUTCHMAN.

The marauders spread terror over the middle region of the Hudson, by their doings. They landed near Kingston, where the New York legislature were in session, and burned the village. Their advent was very sudden, for they moved with great celerity. Near their landing-place, some Dutchmen were at work. They fled in terror (not stopping to look back) across a meadow, in which the hay-makers had left a rake lying the previous summer. On this one of the flying Dutchmen trod, when the handle flew up and struck him on the back of the head. Not doubting it was a blow from a pursuing Briton, the fugitive threw up his arms and exclaimed, "Mein Got! I gives up! Hurrah for King Shorge!"

Leaving Kingston in ashes, the marauders went over to Rhinebeck, and destroyed much property there, and then went up to Livingston's Manor and applied the torch. There they were arrested by the alarming news of Burgoyne's defeat, and made a hasty retreat to New York. So ended the efforts to carry out the plan of the British ministry for taking possession of the valleys of the Hudson and Lake Champlain.

While the stirring events just delineated were occurring in the north, the republican army under Washington were struggling with royal troops and German hirelings under Sir William Howe in the vicinity of the Delaware River. We have observed that Washington, when he was certain that Howe would not ascend the Hudson, moved with his army to Philadelphia, expecting to meet his antagonist south of that city. His expectations were justified by events. Late in August he learned that Lord Howe's fleet, with his brother's army, was ascending Chesapeake Bay; and on the 24th of the month, Washington marched his army from Philadelphia, and arrived at Wilmington, in Delaware, the next day, at about the time when the British troops landed at near the head of the Elk River, fifty-four miles from the American capital. Howe immediately prepared to march across the gently rolling country inhabited chiefly by Tories, with the expectation of making an easy conquest of Philadelphia. His army numbered more than eighteen thousand men well supplied with munitions of war; Washington's effective force did not number over eleven thousand, including eighteen hundred Pennsylvania militia. The Congress had lavished all their favors upon Gates, the favorite of the New England delegation, who had just been sent to supersede Schuyler; and they treated Washington with positive neglect. "They did not scruple to slight his advice and to neglect his wants." With unbecoming and unpatriotic querulousness, some of the friends of Gates in Congress wrote and spoke disparagingly of Washington as a commander. Some of them were encouraging in the mind of Gates a hope that he would be the Virginian's successor in chief command. John Adams, with judgment warped by his partiality for Gates, wrote at this time: "We shall rake and scrape enough to do Howe's business; the Continental Army under Washington is more numerous by several thousands than Howe's whole force; the enemy give out that they are eighteen thousand strong, but we know better, and that they have not ten thousand. Washington is very prudent; I should put more to risk, were I in his shoes; but perhaps he is right. Gansevoort has proved that it is possible to hold a post, and Stark that it is practicable even to attack lines and posts with militia. I wish the Continental Army would prove that anything can be done. I am weary with so much insipidity. I am sick of Fabian systems. My toast is, a short and violent war." Adams was soon afterward satisfied that he was blinded by a sad delusion.

Washington advanced his forces beyond Wilmington, and early in September took post behind Red Clay Creek. He sent General Maxwell, with light troops, to form an ambuscade in the direction of the enemy, while with the main army he waited the approach of the foe, who moved in two columns

on the 3d of September, one division commanded by Cornwallis, and the other by Knyphausen. The advanced guard soon encountered Maxwell, when a sharp skirmish ensued and a temporary check was given to the march of the foe. On the 8th they again moved forward by way of Newark, and feigned an attack on Washington's right, while the main army halted with the expectation of turning that flank of the republican army the next morning with ease. But Washington outgeneraled Howe as he did Cornwallis at Trenton. By a swift and secret movement that night, he fell back to the Brandywine Creek, which he crossed at Chad's Ford, and took post in a strong position on the hills that skirt the eastern borders of that stream. The British were astonished at dawn on the morning of the 9th by the absence of Washington, and gave chase the same evening. The Americans stood directly in the path of the British in the proposed march upon Philadelphia.

On the 10th, the two divisions of Howe's army met at Kennet Square, and at five o'clock on the morning of the 11th a large portion of them, led by Cornwallis, marched up the Lancaster road toward the forks of the Brandywine. They left all their baggage, even to their knapsacks, with the other division, which, led by Knyphausen, marched a few hours later in a dense fog for Chad's Ford. Washington's left wing, composed of the brigades of Muhlenberg and Weedon of Greene's division, and Wayne's division with Proctor's artillery, were on the hills east of Chad's Ford. The brigades of Sullivan, Stirling and Stephen, composing the right wing, extended along the Brandywine to a point above the forks; and a thousand Pennsylvania militia, under General Armstrong, were at Pyle's Ford, two miles below Chad's Ford. General Maxwell, with a thousand light troops, was posted on the west side of the stream, to dispute the passage of Knyphausen. The latter pushed forward, and sent a strong party to dislodge Maxwell, who, after a severe fight, was driven to the edge of the Brandywine, where he was reinforced, and turning upon his pursuers, smote their ranks into confusion and pressed them back to their main line. Seeing a movement in force to gain his rear, Maxwell fled across the stream, leaving the western side in full possession of the enemy.

Knyphausen now brought his great guns to the high bank west of Chad's Ford, and opened them upon the Americans. He did not attempt to cross, for he was instructed to amuse the patriots with a feigned attempt to pass over, while Cornwallis should cross at the forks and gain the flank and rear of Washington's army. This accomplished, Knyphausen was to push over the stream, and both parties make a simultaneous attack.

Washington resolved to strike a blow at once. He sent word to Sullivan

to cross at a ford above, and attack Cornwallis, while he should pass over and assail Knyphausen. Through misinformation, Sullivan did not perform his part of the work. He sent a message to Washington, which kept him in suspense a long time. Greene, who had crossed at Chad's Ford with his advance-guard, was recalled, and Cornwallis, in the meantime, had made a



TROOPS RALLIED AT THE BRANDYWINE.

wide circuit, crossed the Brandywine far up that stream, and was upon a hill near the Birmingham meeting-house, not far from Sullivan's right, before that officer was aware of his approach. The surprised general sent word to Washington of his perils, and immediately moved against the enemy. Before he could form his troops in battle order, the rested Britons attacked him. A severe battle ensued. For awhile the result was doubtful. Finally the right wing of the republicans under General De Borre gave way; then

the left under Sullivan. The centre, commanded by Stirling, remained firm for awhile, when it, too, gave way, and fled in confusion. Lafayette, who was with this corps, fighting on foot as a volunteer, was badly wounded in his leg. All efforts to rally the troops were vain, excepting a few who made a momentary stand near Dilworth, when they, too, fled, and with the other regiments ran over the hills in fragments toward the main army at Chad's Ford, closely pursued by the victors. Cornwallis's cannon had made dreadful havoc in the American ranks.

When the cannonade at the Birmingham meeting-house was heard by Washington, he went with Greene and two brigades which lay nearest the scene of action, to the support of the right wing. They made a swift march, met the fugitives, and by a skillful movement opened their ranks and received them and checked the pursuers by a constant fire of artillery. At a narrow defile the regiments of Stephen and Stewart held the British back until dark, when the latter encamped for the night. Meanwhile Knyphausen had crossed the Brandywine at Chad's Ford, where Wayne, in command of the left wing, defended the works gallantly for awhile; but when he saw the more numerous enemy getting in his rear, he abandoned his cannon and munitions of war and made a disorderly retreat behind the division of General Greene. At twilight there was a skirmish near Dilworth, between Maxwell and his light troops lying in ambush to cover the retreat of the American army, and some British grenadiers. The conflict was short, for darkness soon put an end to it.

The battle was now over. The Americans, defeated, marched leisurely to Chester. The British held the field, but did not pursue. On the following morning (September 12th, 1777), Washington gathered his army, marched toward Philadelphia, and encamped near Germantown. He had lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, almost a thousand men; the British loss was a little more than half that number. Brave men from abroad had fought and bled, on that day, some for the King and some for Liberty. In that battle, young Lafayette, the noblest and best friend of the Americans (not of their blood), in their struggle for independence, struck his first blow for the oppressed and for freedom. There, too, Pulaski, the generous Polander, first drew his sword in defence of the rights of man, in the western hemisphere, as commander of a troop of horse, and won from the Congress the commission of brigadier of cavalry. There, too, De Borre, Duplessis, De Fleury, and other Frenchmen showed the true metal of brave men.

The Congress was not dispirited by the defeat. Expecting to be again compelled to fly from Philadelphia, they reinvested Washington with a portion of the power with which they had clothed him nine months before.

They authorized him to direct General Putnam to send him fifteen hundred troops from the Hudson Highlands, and to summon continentals and militia from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Nor was Washington dispirited. Allowing his troops to rest ~~only~~ one day, he recrossed the Schuylkill and sought Howe to offer him battle. They met on the Lancaster road, about twenty miles from Philadelphia, and were about to engage in battle, when a storm of lightning, wind, and rain fell suddenly upon them, spoiled their ammunition, and prevented a severe fight. The rain continued all night, and before the dawn Howe withdrew and pushed on toward Philadelphia. Perceiving this, Washington crossed the Schuylkill at Parker's Ford, hoping to confront Howe at the crossing of the river below. The British eluded the Americans by a deceptive movement, and crossing the Schuylkill between Norristown and Valley Forge pushed on to Philadelphia and took possession of the city. Howe stationed the main division of his army at Germantown, and Washington encamped near Skippack Creek, about twenty miles from Philadelphia.

During the march of the Americans after the dispersion of the belligerents by the storm, General Wayne, at the head of a large body of republicans with two pieces of cannon, was engaged in striking British detachments and in endeavors to destroy Howe's baggage and supplies. While encamped on the night of the 20th, near the Paoli Tavern, he was attacked by General Grey with a strong British detachment, and in the desperate fight in the darkness that ensued, he lost nearly three hundred men, his cannon, and many small arms. As usual, the friends of Gates in the Congress blamed Washington for these losses, and for his later movements. Again John Adams, whose fault-finding pen was seldom idle, wrote concerning his crossing to the eastern side of the Schuylkill: "It is a very injudicious manœuvre. If he had sent one brigade of his regular troops to have headed the militia, he might have cut to pieces Howe's army in attempting to cross any of the fords. Howe will not attempt it. He will wait for his fleet in the Delaware River. O Heaven, grant us one great soul! One leading mind would extricate the best cause from that ruin which seems to await it." While Adams was writing, Howe did "attempt it," and crossing the Schuylkill, took possession of Philadelphia. The frightened Congress had again fled from that city. After being seated at Lancaster a few hours, they crossed the Susquehanna River to York, putting that stream between themselves and the enemy. There they remained until the British evacuated Philadelphia the following summer.

After the battle on the Brandywine, Lord Howe took his ships around to the mouth of the Delaware, to co-operate with his brother in the attempt

to capture Philadelphia. He sent some light-armed vessels up the river, which found obstructions in the channel at Byllinge's Point, several miles below Philadelphia, and a strong redoubt there to cover them. Other obstructions in the form of a strong *chevaux-de-frise* (sunken crates of stone with heavy spears of timber pointed with iron to receive vessels) were observed in the channel above, with forts near to protect them—Fort Mercer on the New Jersey shore, and Fort Mifflin on Mud Island near the mouth of the Schuylkill. General Howe had taken Philadelphia without the aid of the ships; but an open water communication, by which he might receive supplies, was of vital importance to him. His brother informed him that if the general would assist, with land troops, in the reduction of the post at Byllinge's Point (now Billingsport), he could clear the channel of obstructions. Sir William accordingly sent a strong detachment from his army for the purpose. The garrison at Byllinge's Point spiked their guns on the 2d of October, and the militia on the Jersey shore dispersed in alarm. Even from armed vessels above the *chevaux-de-frise* there were many desertions. Perceiving this weakening of the main British army at Germantown, and the importance of prompt action to prevent public despondency, Washington resolved to attack that army at once.

Howe's force stretched across the country at right angles with the main street at Germantown. On the front of the right were a battalion of light infantry and Simcoe's Queen's Rangers, a corps of American Loyalists. In advance of the left were other light infantry to support pickets on Mount Airy, and the extreme left was guarded by Hessian Yagers (riflemen). Near the large stone mansion of Chief Justice Chew (yet standing) at the head of the village, was a strong British regiment under Colonel Musgrave.

Washington, as we have observed, was then on Skippack Creek, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. It was arranged for the divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, to advance by way of Chestnut Hill, while Armstrong, with Pennsylvania militia, should make a circuit and gain the left and rear of the enemy. The divisions of Greene and Stephen, flanked by Macdougall's brigade (two-thirds of the whole army), were to make a circuitous march and attack the front of the British right wing, while the Maryland and New Jersey militia, under Smallwood and Forman, should fall upon the rear of that wing. Lord Stirling, with the brigades of Nash and Maxwell, were to form a reserve.

During the night of the 3d of October [1777], the American army made their march of fourteen miles, for Germantown, very stealthily. They tried to reach Chestnut Hill before daylight, but the roughness of the road prevented, and it was near sunrise when they emerged from the woods on

that eminence. The whole country was then enveloped in thick fog. Unperceived, until the critical moment, Washington's advance surprised the British pickets, and the troops of Sullivan and Wayne fell, with heavy force, upon the British infantry battalion in front. Before a storm of grape-shot, they were pushed back to their main line in much confusion. The cannonade startled Cornwallis, who was soundly sleeping in Philadelphia unsuspecting of an enemy being so near. Howe, too (near the army), was



LAFAYETTE.

awakened by the great guns, and arrived near the scene of conflict in time to meet his flying battalions. He turned from the front of the tempest, and hastened to his camp to prepare his troops for action. Musgrave sent a part of his regiment to support the retreating battalions, and with six companies he took refuge in Chew's strong house, barricaded the doors and lower windows, and made it a castle. From upper windows he delivered such fearful volleys of musketry upon Weedon's brigade, who were in pursuit of

the fugitives, that the march of the pursuers was checked. The fire of the American small arms upon the building was ineffectual.

A young officer bearing a flag with a message demanding a surrender of the "castle" was shot, when Maxwell's artillerists brought cannon to bear upon the building, but its strong walls resisted the heavy round shot. Then an attempt was made to burn the house, but failed. The check in the pursuit brought back Wayne's division which had advanced far beyond the house, and so left Sullivan's flank uncovered. This event, and the failure of Greene to attack at the time he was ordered to, disconcerted all the plans of the commander-in-chief. Very soon, however, Greene's troops, which had fallen into great confusion in the fog, in their march over the broken country which they passed, fell upon the British right, but their hopes of success were weakened by the failure of other troops to co-operate with them, by turning the British left; so the golden opportunity was lost.

The fog still continued. Parties of Americans frequently attacked each other as foes in the confusing mist. Each army was ignorant of the strength and real position of the other on the field; and it was afterward ascertained that while the attack on Chew's house was going on, the whole British army were on the point of giving up the fight, and crossing the Schuylkill to rendezvous at Chester. At that moment, General Grey discovered that his flanks were secure, and Knyphausen with his whole force marched to the assistance of the beleaguered garrison, under Musgrave, and the contending regiments in the village. For a short time a severe battle was maintained in the heart of Germantown. The patriots were unable to discern the number of their assailants. The cry of a trooper that they were surrounded produced a panic, and the Americans retreated in great confusion. This occurred after a very severe struggle for the mastery for almost three hours, and at a moment when the British general was contemplating a similar movement. The republicans lost in the battle over six hundred men killed, wounded and missing, and the British about eight hundred. The Americans returned to their camp on Skippack Creek, which they had left the evening before, and the British resumed their former position. Washington resolved to drive the British from Philadelphia before the winter should set in, but he was prevented, and his plans were frustrated, by the interference of Gates's friends in Congress.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN WASHINGTON AND THE ARMY—THE HESSIANS REPULSED AT RED BANK AND MUD ISLAND—DISOBEDIENCE OF GATES AND ITS EFFECTS—DOINGS OF A FACTION IN CONGRESS IN FAVOR OF GATES—THE DELAWARE CLEARED OF OBSTRUCTIONS—THE AMERICAN ARMY AT WHITEMARSH AND VALLEY FORGE—THE BRITISH IN PHILADELPHIA—"BATTLE OF THE KEGS"—"CONWAY'S CABAL" OR GATES'S CONSPIRACY—PLAN FOR A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT ADOPTED—ITS CHARACTER.

THE retreat of the Americans from the battle-field at Germantown at the moment when victory seemed about to be secured to them, did not cause the Congress nor the people to blame Washington and his general officers. The fog that produced so much uncertainty in movements was the chief cause of the panic and flight; and the Congress, justly considering all things, passed a vote of thanks to the commander-in-chief for his "wise and well-considered attack," and to the "officers and soldiers of the army for their brave exertions on that occasion."

A few days after the battle, Lord Howe's fleet was anchored at the mouth of the Delaware River, and he and the general prepared to sweep that stream of all its obstructions—the *chevaux-de-frise*, the commanding forts at Red Bank and on Mud Island, the floating batteries, and the armed galleys. They were elated by their recent accidental victory, and did not entertain a doubt of success. The British army were at once concentrated at Philadelphia; but it was the middle of October before even a narrow channel was opened through the lower obstructions of the river. A difficult task lay before the enemy. Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, had a spirited little garrison under Colonel Christopher Greene of Rhode Island; and Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island, was in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Smith, of Maryland, with an equally spirited body of men.

To strengthen his own army, Howe ordered General Clinton to abandon the forts in the Hudson Highlands and send six thousand troops to Philadelphia. He had scarcely issued this order when the news of the surrender of Burgoyne reached the British commander-in-chief. That event filled the American camp with joy, and that of the enemy with amazement. Howe perceived that what he had to do must be done quickly; so he ordered

Count Donop to take Fort Mercer by storm. The Hessian colonel, eager for renown, marched against it on the 22d of October (1777), with about twelve hundred men—German grenadiers, infantry, riflemen, and artillery. At the edge of a wood within cannon-shot of the fort, they planted a battery of ten heavy guns; and at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, Donop sent a summons for the instant surrender of the garrison, accompanied by a threat that, in case of resistance, no quarter would be given. Colonel Greene, the commander, with only four hundred men back of him,



THE ATTACK ON FORT MERCER.

made an instant and defiant refusal, saying: "We ask no quarter nor will we give any." Then the besiegers opened their heavy guns; and under their fire they carried the *abatis* or the land side of the fort. There they encountered many pitfalls, and a heavy storm of bullets and grape-shot from a concealed battery. Equally severe was an enfilading fire from two other galleys hidden by the bushes. These fearfully slaughtered the assailants. Donop and many of his officers were killed or mortally wounded; and at twilight the invaders withdrew, after a loss of two hundred men, and were not pursued. The Congress ordered the Board of War to present an elegant sword to Colonel Greene, for his gallant defence of Fort Mercer; and some New Jersey and Pennsylvania volunteers erected a monument of blue-veined marble on the site of the fort, in 1829, to commemorate the deed. Colonel Greene was soon afterward murdered at his quarters in Westchester county, N. Y., by a band of Tories, and the sword was presented to his family.

Some British ships-of-war that came to assist in the reduction of Fort Mercer, attacked Fort Mifflin the next morning. After being severely cannonaded from the fort and the American vessels, they attempted to retreat down the river, when the *Augusta*, a 64-gun ship, and the frigate *Merlin*, grounded. The former was set on fire by red-hot shot from the American batteries, and was blown up with a part of her crew. The *Merlin* was set on fire and abandoned. These events inspirited the Americans; and John Adams took the occasion to help Gates in his ambitious intrigues against Washington, by saying: "Thank God the glory is not immediately due to the commander-in-chief, or idolatry and adulation would have been so excessive as to endanger our liberties."

When full knowledge of the events of Burgoyne's surrender became known, it was perceived that Gates had no use for a large army in the north. The public interest impatiently demanded that he should send a greater part of his Continental troops to assist Washington in reducing Howe to the condition of Burgoyne. But this patriotic course might thwart the ambitious schemes of the commander in the north and his friends, who seemed willing to have the sun of Washington's renown eclipsed by disaster, that Gates's more feeble orb might appear to be the brighter luminary. Washington directed Gates to forward heavy reinforcements as speedily as possible. The latter, with false pretences, held them back. Amazed at this positive disobedience, so nearly resembling the treason of Lee, the commander-in-chief sent his ever trusty aid, Colonel Alexander Hamilton, to acquaint Gates, in person, with the urgent necessity of sending forward troops immediately. Gates still hesitated. The acute Hamilton plainly saw the reason, and he used such plain language toward the conspirator, that Gates, startled, sent large reinforcements down the Hudson immediately. Hamilton followed soon afterward, and was amazed to find these troops detained by General Putnam below the Highlands. At Gates's instigation, the veteran, believing he might win personal glory by the expulsion of the British from New York city, had actually advanced with his army as far down as White Plains, on the foolish errand. Acting under the advice of Governor Clinton, Hamilton spoke authoritatively in the name of Washington, and arrested the wild expedition. But these delays had frustrated the well-laid plans of Washington for capturing or expelling the whole British army. At the same time the powerful Gates faction in the Congress had caused legislation in that body which was calculated to dishonor the commander-in-chief and restrain his military operations. They forbade him to detach more than twenty-five hundred men from the Northern Army without first consulting General Gates and Governor Clinton, and so making him subservient to his inferiors

in rank. The Adamses and Gerry of Massachusetts, and Marchant of Rhode Island, actually voted for a resolution forbidding Washington to detach *any* troops from that Department, excepting by consent of Gates and Clinton. The Congress also ordered Gates to "regain the forts and passes on the Hudson," which Washington had already deprived the British of, by pressing Howe so closely that he ordered Sir Henry Clinton, as we have observed, to abandon them and send reinforcements to the Delaware. This afforded Gates an excuse for keeping back the troops which he had sent down the Hudson. So the war was prolonged by a faction.

Howe soon made another effort to gain possession of the Delaware River. He planted five batteries, with an aggregate of thirty pieces of cannon, within five hundred yards of Fort Mifflin. A large floating battery was brought up the river; and on the 10th of November the British opened heavy guns from these, upon the fort. The siege was a fearful one, and continued six days. On the second day, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, the commander of the fort, was wounded and taken over to Fort Mercer, when the leadership devolved first upon Colonel Russell, of Connecticut, and then upon Major Thayer of Rhode Island, who was well supported by Major Fleury, the French engineer. The garrison held out bravely under an incessant cannonade and bombardment. On the 15th, some British vessels with heavy guns, approached near enough for hand-grenades to be thrown from them into the fort. Five ships-of-war took positions to keep off the American flotilla, and to fire a broadside occasionally upon Fort Mifflin. During that day, more than a thousand shot and shell were hurled upon the works on Mud Island, from 12 to 32-pounders; and a storming party were made ready to attack the fort on the morning of the 16th. In the darkness of the preceding evening, Major Thayer sent all of the garrison, excepting forty men, to Fort Mercer, and he, with these, followed at midnight. The fort had become untenable, and was abandoned in time to save the remnant of the garrison, which had lost about two hundred and fifty men, killed or wounded. Washington's army was then encamped at Whitemarsh, in a beautiful valley, about fourteen miles from Philadelphia, where he waited, in much anxiety, for the result of the attack on Fort Mifflin.

Fort Mercer was yet in possession of the Americans. Cornwallis was sent with two thousand men, by way of Byllinge Point, to attack the post. The vigilant Washington immediately sent General Greene, with his division, by way of Burlington, to join some American troops in New Jersey and give battle to the enemy. Greene was accompanied by Lafayette, and expected to be reinforced by troops from the Hudson River. He was disappointed, while Cornwallis was joined by five British battalions from New



THE MARCH TO VALLEY FORGE.

York. General Greene was compelled to abandon the plan of fighting the invaders, and the commander of Fort Mercer (Colonel Greene), seeing no hope of help, evacuated the works, leaving his artillery as trophies for the enemy. Cornwallis levelled the ramparts of Fort Mercer and returned to Philadelphia, and the American troops in New Jersey crossed the Delaware and joined Washington at Whitemarsh.

A few of the American vessels escaped up the river, in the night, but seventeen of them were abandoned and burned by their crews. The river obstructions and the shore defences were scattered to the waves and winds; and on the 11th of December, Washington broke up his encampment at Whitemarsh, and proceeded with his whole force to Valley Forge, about twenty miles northward of Philadelphia. He had been joined by troops from the north; and only a few days before, he had repulsed a British force, fourteen thousand strong, who came out on an intensely cold night (December 4, 1777) to surprise him. There was a sharp fight at Edge Hill; and after threatening the American camp at various points, the British withdrew and returned to Philadelphia. Washington's whole army did not number more than eleven thousand men, of whom only about seven thousand were fit for field duty. He chose Valley Forge as a place for a winter encampment, because it was further from the danger of sudden attacks from the enemy, and where he might more easily protect the Congress at York and his stores at Reading.

Members of Congress and the Pennsylvania Legislature, moved by impulse more than by judgment, had been clamorous for an immediate attack upon the British in Philadelphia, who had strongly fortified every important way of approach to that city. But Washington, sustained by a large majority of his general officers, disregarded all querulous fault-finding. His troops were in great distress, because of a lack of shoes and clothing, when they evacuated Whitemarsh. Many of them made the fatiguing journey to Valley Forge over hard frozen ground and through snow, barefooted, leaving blood spots on the white carpet trodden by their lacerated feet. Upon the slopes of a narrow valley on the borders of the winding Susquehanna, they were encamped with no shelter but rude log-huts, during a very severe winter. There the little army shivered with cold and almost starved with hunger, while the British army were indulging in comforts and luxuries in a large city. Yet the patriotism of that republican army was not cooled, nor their aspirations for liberty starved; nor did the commander-in-chief suffer a doubt of success to cloud his spirits, for he knew the cause to be a righteous one, and believed that God would give final victory to the oppressed. In all the world's history, we have no record of purer devotion, holier sincerity

or more pious self-sacrifice, than was exhibited in the camp of Washington during the winter of 1777 and 1778. At the same time the British army were as much weakened by indulgence as were the republican troops by privations. Profligacy begat disease, crime, and insubordination. The evil effects of these led Dr. Franklin to say: "Howe did not take Philadelphia—Philadelphia took Howe."



MARCH TO VALLEY FORGE.

It was during that winter that the amusing circumstance occurred which drew from the pen of Francis Hopkinson his famous satirical poem entitled "The Battle of the Kegs." In January (1778), while the channel of the Delaware was yet free of ice, some Whigs at Bordentown sent floating down the river a few kegs filled with gunpowder, and so arranged with machinery, that on rubbing against an object, they would explode. It was hoped that some of these torpedoes, touching a British vessel, might explode and sink it. One of them, touching some floating ice in front of the city, blew up, and produced intense alarm. Hopkinson, in his satire, says:

"Now up and down, throughout the town,
Most frantic scenes were acted:

And some ran here, and others there,
Like men almost distracted.
Some *Fire* / cried, which some denied,
But said the earth had quakéd ;
And girls and boys, with hideous noise,
Ran through the streets half-naked."

For twenty-four hours afterward, not a chip or stick could float down the stream without being fired at by musket or cannon by the British:

" The cannons roar from shore to shore,
The small-arms loud did rattle ;
Since wars began, I'm sure no man
E'er saw so strange a battle."

At that time occurred that episode in our history known as "Conway's Cabal"—a conspiracy to ruin the reputation of Washington, and to make Gates the commander-in-chief of the armies, of which intimations have been given in this work from time to time. The conspirators labored in secret, by means of forged and anonymous letters, and slanderous reports, to weaken the public confidence in Washington as a leader. Failing to effect their object by these means (for he was every day rising higher and higher in public esteem), it was determined to abridge his influence and extend that of Gates, by creating a new Board of War, with the latter officer as president. This was effected late in November, 1777. The Board was invested with large powers, and by delegated authority, assumed the control of military affairs, which properly belonged to the province of the commander-in-chief. It was evident that the Congress intended to make Gates the master-spirit of the war, for, by a resolution, that body instructed their president to inform the general of his appointment to an office "upon the right execution of which the success of the American cause does eminently depend," and that it was the "intention of Congress to continue his rank as major-general in the army, and that he officiate at the Board, or in the field, as occasion may require." His partisans in the Congress hastened to assure him that he would soon be the virtual commander-in-chief.

The conspiracy to this end was made more active when, at the middle of October, Washington wrote a letter to Richard Henry Lee, in which he spoke plainly concerning Brigadier-General Conway, a French officer of Irish lineage, who, it was rumored, was about to be appointed by the Congress a major-general in the Continental Army. "It will be as unfortunate a measure as ever was adopted," Washington wrote. "I may add, and I think with truth, that it will give a fatal blow to the existence of the army. Upon

so interesting a subject, I must speak plainly. The duty I owe my country, the ardent desire I have to promote its true interests, and justice to individuals, require this of me. General Conway's merit, then, as an officer, and his importance in the army, exists more in his own imagination than in reality; for it is a maxim with him to leave no service of his own untold, nor to want anything which is to be obtained by importunity." Washington's chief reasons for apprehending disaster from the promotion of Conway, was the fact that he was the youngest brigadier in the army, and his exaltation over all the eldest would create dangerous dissatisfaction. "In a word," he wrote, "the service is so difficult, and every necessary so expensive, that almost all of our officers are tired out. Do not, therefore, afford them good pretexts for retiring. No day passes over my head without applications for leave to resign. Within the last six days, I am certain twenty commissions at least have been tendered to me." He added: "I have undergone more than most men are aware of, to harmonize so many discordant parts; but it will be impossible for me to be of any further service, if such insuperable difficulties are thrown in my way."

Conway was informed of Washington's opposition to his promotion. His malice was aroused, and he became such a conspicuous instrument in promoting the conspiracy of Gates, that the affair became known as "Conway's Cabal." His pen and tongue were exceedingly active. He wrote anonymous letters to members of Congress, to Patrick Henry (then governor of Virginia), and, it is believed, to the presidents of several State legislatures, filled with complaints, insinuations and false statements, in which the recent disasters to Washington's army were attributed to the incapacity and ill-timed policy of the commander-in-chief. He did his best to sow the seeds of discontent among the officers of the army, and succeeded in a degree. He caused several officers to write letters to Gates that fed the conspirator's vanity and confirmed his hopes of success in his undertaking. Conway himself wrote to Gates, saying in substance: "Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it." Colonel Joseph Reed wrote to him: "This army, notwithstanding the efforts of our amiable chief, has, as yet, gathered no laurels. I perfectly agree with that sentiment which leads to request your assistance." General Sullivan, Washington's second in command, who well knew the opinion of his chief and other officers concerning Conway—of Greene and others who had pronounced him "worthless"—was induced to write to a member of Congress in favor of the French officer being appointed inspector-general of the army, with the rank of major-general; and the impetuous Wayne expressed his intention to "follow the line pointed out by the conduct of Lee, Gates,

and Mifflin." Mr. Lovell, a delegate in Congress from Massachusetts, wrote a letter to Gates, in which, after threatening Washington with "the mighty torrent of public clamor and vengeance," said: "How different your conduct and your fortune! this army will be totally lost unless you come down and collect the virtuous band who wish to fight under your banner." Again Lovell wrote: "We want you in different places; we want you most near Germantown [in Washington's place]. Good God, what a situation we are in! how different from what might have been justly expected!" Dr. Benjamin Rush, in a letter to Patrick Henry, a little later (to which he did not sign his name), after declaring that the army at Valley Forge had no general at its head, said: "A Gates, a Lee, or a Conway, would in a few weeks render them an irresistible body of men. Some of the contents of this letter ought to be made public, in order to awaken, enlighten, and alarm our country." Henry showed his contempt for the anonymous writer, by his silence, and by sending the letter to Washington. Rush's hand-writing betrayed him.

Through the loose tongue of Wilkinson, Gates's favorite aide, Washington heard of the disparaging words in Conway's letter, and he immediately let that officer know the fact. A personal interview ensued between them, when Conway justified his words and made no apology. He afterward boasted to Mifflin of his defiance of the commander-in-chief. Mifflin was then a member of the new Board of War, of which Gates was president. Piqued because of the just complaints of his neglect of duty as quartermaster-general, by the commander-in-chief, he entered heartily into the conspiracy. When telling Gates of Conway's defiance of Washington, Mifflin said the letter of the French general was "a collection of just sentiments;" and Gates wrote to Conway: "You acted with all the dignity of a virtuous soldier;" at the same time he expressed a wish that "so valuable and polite an officer might remain in the service." Conway had offered his resignation; the Gates faction in Congress soon procured his appointment, by that body, to the office of inspector-general with the rank of major-general, and made him independent of the commander-in-chief. The conspirators hoped, by these indignities, to cause Washington to resign. But the beloved Patriot bore all with patience. He wrote to Henry Laurens from the snows of Valley Forge: "My enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy deprive me of the defence I might otherwise make against their insidious attacks. They know I cannot combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing secrets which it is of the utmost moment to conceal."

After Conway's interview with Washington, the conspiracy took a more

vigorous form. In consultation with that officer, and without the knowledge of the chief, the Board of War arranged a plan for a winter campaign against Canada. Hoping to detach Lafayette from Washington, they appointed him commander-in-chief of the expedition. The marquis, who was aware of the intrigues, asked Washington's advice in the matter. The chief said it was an honorable position, and advised him to accept the commission. Lafayette went to the Congress, sitting at York, to obtain it, and there he met Gates, Mifflin, and other members of the Board of War, at table. Wine circulated freely, and toasts were offered. At length the marquis, thinking it time to show his colors, arose and said: "Gentlemen, one toast, I perceive, has been omitted, which I will now propose." They filled their glasses, when he gave: "The commander-in-chief of the American armies." The coldness with which that toast was received, confirmed Lafayette's worst opinions of the men around him. These were heightened when he found that Conway was appointed his second in command. He procured the appointment of De Kalb to that position, making Conway the third, which dissatisfied that officer.

The whole expedition was manifestly a trick of Gates to get Lafayette away from Washington, and to promote Conway. He had assured the marquis that three thousand troops would await his coming, at Albany, with ample munitions, and that Stark by that time would have destroyed the British vessels at St. Johns. Not more than a thousand soldiers, including a regiment which Gates ordered from Washington's weak army, were at Albany when the marquis arrived, and Stark was waiting for orders. Clothing and transportation were wanting. Lafayette was disgusted. "I fancy," he wrote, "the actual scheme is to get me out of this part of the country, and General Conway as chief, under the immediate command of Gates." The conspirators found they could not use Lafayette, and the expedition was abandoned. Conway's resignation was unexpectedly, by him, accepted by the Congress. The leaders in the conspiracy, disconcerted by events, hastened to disclaim all intention to elevate Gates to the place of Washington in official station. But the circumstantial proofs of their intentions to do so are too abundant to admit of a doubt. Mercy Warren, a warm personal friend of Samuel Adams, apologized, in her history of the war, for his being found in the company of the conspirators, saying: "Zealous and ardent in his defence of his injured country, he was startled at everything that seemed to retard the operations of the war, or impede the success of the Revolution." Alexander Hamilton, in a letter to Governor Clinton in February, 1778, deplored the weakness of the Congress at the beginning of that year. "America," he wrote, "once had a representation that would do

honor to any age or nation. The present falling off is very alarming and dangerous. What is the cause? and how is it to be remedied? are questions that the welfare of these States requires should be well attended to."

At this time, when the Congress was sitting at York, that body resumed the consideration of a plan for establishing a national government, on the basis of a Federal union of the several States. We have observed that Franklin presented a plan in the summer of 1775, upon which no action was taken. On the 11th of June, 1776, a committee, with John Dickenson at their head, were appointed to devise a plan. They reported a draft a month later, when the subject was laid aside, and was not taken up again until April, 1777. From that time until late in the ensuing fall, the subject was debated in Congress two or three times a week. In these debates the conflicting interests of the several States were made conspicuous. Finally, after making several amendments, the Congress adopted *Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union*, on the 15th of November, 1777, giving to the Confederacy the title of *The United States of America*. The following is the substance of the provisions of the league:

That all should engage in a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendship, for mutual advantage, each to assist the other, when help should be needed; that each State should have the right to regulate its own internal affairs; that no State should separately send or receive embassies, begin any negotiations, contract engagements or alliances, or conclude treaties with any foreign power, without the consent of the General Congress; that no public officer should be allowed to accept any presents, emoluments, office or title from any foreign power, and that neither Congress nor State governments should possess the power to confer any title of nobility; that none of the States should have the right to form alliances among themselves, without the consent of Congress; that they should not have the power to levy duties contrary to the enactments of Congress; that no State should keep up a standing army or ships-of-war, in time of peace, beyond the armament stipulated by Congress; that when any of the States should raise troops for the common defence, all the officers of the rank of colonel and under should be appointed by the legislature of the State, and the superior officers by Congress; that all the expenses of the war should be paid out of the public Treasury; that Congress alone, should have the power to coin money; and that Canada might, at any time, be admitted into the confederacy, when the people there felt disposed to do so. There were some other clauses that were explanatory of the power of certain governmental operations, and contained details of the same.

This plan of a national government was submitted to the legislatures of

the several States for their ratification. They were slow to act. Notwithstanding there was a general feeling that *something* should be done for the maintenance of union after the cohesion created by the common danger of a state of war should be relaxed, there was a jealousy on the part of the States, of a central power that might claim supremacy. The people had become accustomed to the ideas of *right*, simply, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence, and hesitated to accept declared *power*, as promulgated by the *Articles of Confederation*. The former was based upon the dogmas of a "superintending Providence and the inalienable rights of man; the latter relied upon the sovereignty of declared power, ascending from the foundation of human government to the laws of nature and of nature's God, written upon the heart of man; the other resting upon the basis of human institutions and prescriptive law, and colonial charters."

An objectionable system of representation was proposed, by which each State was entitled to the same voice in the Congress, whatever might be the difference in population. Most objectionable of all were a provision for the limits of the several States, and the taking no notice of the important question, In whom is invested the control and possession of the public lands? These, and other grave defects in the plan, caused most of the States to hesitate, at first, to adopt the *Articles*, and for a long time several of them refused to do so.

Late in June, 1778, the Congress proceeded to consider the objections offered, and on the 27th of that month, a form of ratification was adopted and ordered to be engrossed upon parchment to be signed by such delegates as might be instructed to do so by their respective legislatures. These were signed on the 9th of July by the delegates of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina. The delegates from other States afterwards signed at various times; but the legislature of Maryland refused to ratify, until the question of the conflicting claims of the Union and of the separate States to the public lands should be fully adjusted. This was finally accomplished, by the cession of claiming States, to the United States, of all unsettled and unappropriated public lands for the benefit of the whole Union. In this act originated our Territorial system.

The government thus formed was radically defective, and soon failed to accomplish the objects for which it was created, as we shall observe hereafter, because the *people* were not recognized as sovereign; only the several *States*. It was an attempt to reconcile partial supremacy in the Union with the absolute supremacy of each State. It was a crude embryo act of which a more perfect national government was evolved.



THE AMERICAN TROOPS AT VALLEY FORGE.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ARMY AT VALLEY FORGE—PROCEEDINGS IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT—BEAUMARCHAIS AND THE AMERICANS—A SERIOUS MISUNDERSTANDING—EFFECTS OF BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER IN FRANCE—TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES—FRANKLIN'S RECEPTION AT COURT, AND HIS POPULARITY—VOLTAIRE—ACTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT—CONCILIATORY BILLS—RUPTURE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND—AMERICAN DETACHMENTS ATTACKED—COMMITTEE AT VALLEY FORGE—CONGRESS AND THE SOLDIERS—STEBEN—THE TREATY RECEIVED AT VALLEY FORGE—CONCILIATORY BILLS AND THE AMERICANS—THE PEACE COMMISSIONERS.

THE joy that thrilled the bosoms of the American patriots when the news of Burgoyne's surrender went over the land, was succeeded by doubts and gloomy forebodings at the opening of the fourth year of the war, 1778. The effects of that surrender upon the public mind in Europe were not then known in America; and the military events which had succeeded it here were calculated to produce a great depression of spirits. The little army of Washington, then building log-huts at Valley Forge, had just passed through a season of great trial, and their own patriotism and that of their leader had been proven by severest tests. Their ranks were shattered and weak; a condition largely due to the neglect of the Congress, remissness in duty of the late quartermaster-general, faction in high places, and the intrigues of ambitious men. Almost three thousand soldiers of that little, suffering army were unfit for duty, because they were barefooted and half-naked. Multitudes were compelled to doze around fires all night, because they did not possess a bed or a blanket to lie upon; and many who were favored with these were made sick by exposure to dampness, because they had no means of raising their beds from the ground. Not more than six thousand men were prepared to take the field; yet there were clamors in the Congress and the Pennsylvania legislature for a winter campaign against the British in Philadelphia. The commander-in-chief was followed to Valley Forge by a remonstrance from the Council and Assembly of Pennsylvania against his going into winter-quarters at all. To this unreasonable reproof Washington made a firm but modest reply, stating the condition of his troops and the causes, and saying: "Gentlemen reprobate the going into winter-quarters as if they thought the soldiers were stocks and stones. I can assure those gentlemen that it is a much easier and less

distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, *I* feel superabundantly for them; and from my soul I pity their miseries, which it is neither in my power to relieve or prevent."

Let us here pause in our narrative of military and civil movements in America, and briefly consider events bearing upon the great struggle then occurring in Europe.

The British Parliament assembled on the 18th of November. They had not heard of Howe's success on the borders of the Brandywine, nor of Bur-



THE ARMY AT VALLEY FORGE.

goyne's disasters at Saratoga. They knew that Howe had been compelled to retire from New Jersey, and gloomy forebodings occupied their minds. They knew that American commissioners were kindly received at the French court, and they dreaded a possible alliance of that nation with the insurgent subjects of Great Britain in America. The stubborn king, in his opening speech from the throne, declared his intention to prosecute the war against the "rebels," without regard to the waste of blood and treasure. He alluded to the increased armaments of France and Spain, and, urging his people to make provision of larger means for carrying on the war in America, he expressed a hope that the "deluded and unhappy multitude in the colonies" might speedily cease their resistance and return to their allegiance.

A corresponding address to the king was proposed in Parliament, when the heaviest batteries of the Opposition in both houses were brought to bear upon the ministry. In the House of Lords, the Earl of Chatham (William Pitt), who strongly desired reconciliation with the Americans and was as strongly opposed to their independence, leaning upon a crutch, poured forth a flood of oratory such as distinguished him in the prime of his vigorous manhood. He opposed the further prosecution of the "inhuman war," and pleaded earnestly for conciliatory measures. He charged the ministry with lack of courage to sustain the honor of the nation, because they had allowed to pass unnoticed, what he called an insult to his government by the French court, in receiving, on friendly terms, the ambassadors of the insurgent Americans. "Can our ministers," he asked, "sustain a more humiliating disgrace? Do they dare to resent it? Do they presume even to hint at a vindication of their honor, and the dignity of the State, by requiring the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of America?" Alluding to the ill-success of the British arms in this country, he said: "You cannot—I venture to say it—you cannot conquer America. What is your present condition there? We do not know the worst, but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing and suffered much. . . . You may swell every expense and every effort, still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince; your efforts are forever vain and impotent—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies—to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never!" With equal vehemence Chatham condemned the employment of the American savages "to wage the horrors of this barbarous war." A member justified the employment of Indians, by saying that the British had the right to use the means "which God and nature had given them." Chatham scornfully repeated the passage, and said: "These abominable principles, and this most abominable avowal of them, demands most decisive indignation. I call upon that reverend bench (pointing to the Bishops), these holy ministers of the Gospel and pious pastors of the Church—I conjure them to join in the holy work, and to vindicate the religion of their God."

In the House of Commons, Burke, Fox, and Barré were equally severe in their denunciations; and when, on the 3d of December, news reached London of the defeat of the British in northern New York, the latter rose

in his place, and with a serene and solemn countenance, asked Germain, the Colonial Secretary, what news he had received by his last express from Quebec, and to say, upon his word of honor, what had become of Burgoyne and his brave army. The haughty Secretary was irritated by the cool irony of the question, but he was compelled to admit that information of Burgoyne's surrender had reached him. He added—"It lacks confirmation." That confirmation speedily came, and Lord North was overwhelmed with grief. He could neither eat nor sleep. He saw in the event the result of the unwise measures of his sovereign, which he had sanctioned in opposition to the dictates of his own conscience and judgment; and he proposed to



LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

EDMUND BURKE.

COLONEL BARRE.

end the quarrel by conceding all that the Americans asked, or retire from the cabinet. It was perceived by all but the stupid and obstinate king and a few shallow courtiers that something must be done immediately toward reconciliation, or France would interfere. Leaders in both houses agreed with North. Fox said: "If no better terms can be had, I would treat with them as allies, nor do I fear the consequences of their independence." The king would not yield an iota of his pretensions to absolute sovereignty over the Americans. In turn he chided and coaxed the pliant North, when, finding his minister less yielding than usual, he conceded so much to his feelings as to suggest that in the event of a war with France and Spain (which then seemed probable) the royal troops might be withdrawn from the American provinces and employed in making war upon the French and Spanish islands. North yielded, and preparations for the campaign of 1778, against the Americans, went on vigorously.

Meanwhile events of great importance to the struggling patriots had taken place in France. We have already noticed (page 888) the efforts of Beaumarchais in behalf of the Americans, and the joint mission of Franklin, Deane and Lee, to the French court. We have observed that early in 1777, the commissioners proposed a treaty with France for mutual benefit in peace and war, and so took the initial step in the foreign diplomacy of the United States. Already the French government, in response to the efforts of Beaumarchais and Deane, had furnished essential material aid for the Americans, from the public treasury and arsenals. It was done secretly through Beaumarchais, who, as the agent of the government, opened a large commercial house in Paris, under the firm name of Rodriguez, Hortales & Co.; and by the use of money received from both France and Spain for the purpose, he sent three ship-loads of supplies to the Americans, in time to be used for the summer campaign of 1777. This mercantile disguise enabled Vergennes, the French minister, to say, with truth, at the end of the fourth year of the war: "The king has furnished nothing; he simply permitted M. Beaumarchais to be provided with articles from the arsenals upon condition of replacing them."

Out of these transactions grew much embarrassment. At an early stage of Mr. Deane's negotiations with the French, Arthur Lee of Virginia, an ambitious young man then in London, and who fell in with Beaumarchais there, informed the Congress through his brother, Richard Henry Lee, that Vergennes had sent an agent to him with the assurance that, while the French government would not then think of going to war with Great Britain, they were ready to furnish the Americans with arms and ammunition to the value of almost a million dollars. This statement was untrue, and was very mischievous, leading the Congress to believe that the supplies afterward sent by Beaumarchais were gratuities of the French monarch. This belief prevailed until the close of 1778, when, on inquiry being made of Vergennes, by Franklin, the above answer was given by that minister. Thomas Paine, minister for foreign affairs, at Philadelphia, believed it, and said so in a newspaper quarrel with Silas Deane, when the startled Congress, unwilling to compromise the French court, said by resolution, in January, 1779, that they "had never received any species of military stores as a present from the court of France or from any other court or person in Europe," and dismissed Paine from his office. Beaumarchais afterward claimed payment from the Congress for every article he had forwarded. This claim caused a lawsuit which lasted about fifty years. It was settled in 1835 by the payment to the heirs of Beaumarchais by our government, the sum of over two hundred thousand dollars.

When the news of the surrender of Burgoyne reached France, Beaumarchais, who had then sent supplies for the Americans to the amount of almost a million dollars, found himself in financial embarrassment by lack of remittances of funds from the Congress, which he had expected. That body had been deceived by the falsehoods and slanders of Lee, and had not only withheld remittances, but had not acknowledged the receipt of supplies. Beaumarchais sent an agent to America, that autumn, to seek justice, who wrote back that Lee's untruthfulness was the cause of all the trouble. Just then tidings reached Paris that the Americans had captured Burgoyne's whole army. The news filled the French capital with great joy. It was perceived that the Americans could help themselves. France saw this, and also perceived that they might be her very useful allies in the evidently impending war with Great Britain. So the French government resolved to give the patriots more substantial, material, and moral aid than ever before, by acknowledging the independence of the United States and forming a treaty of alliance with them. Beaumarchais's mission was ended. On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance was concluded with the French government, by the American commissioners. This treaty was effected secretly; and before the fact was known at the British court, Dr. Franklin, then seventy-two years of age, was greeted as the American ambassador at the French court, and M. Gerard was appointed to represent France at the seat of government of the United States. So was begun that alliance which speedily led to a war on sea and land between the French and English.

Franklin and his colleagues were presented to the king and queen at Versailles, on the 20th of March. Willing to comply with the court etiquette on such occasions, the republican ambassador sent for a wig, and contemplated ordering a suit of blue velvet and lace. No wig in Paris would fit his capacious head; so he resolved to appear in his baldness, with his thin gray hair hanging down upon his shoulders. So he did appear in defiance of the chamberlain and fashion. Clad in an elegant suit of black velvet made as plain as one he would have worn at an evening party in Philadelphia, with white cambric ruffles in his bosom and at his wrists, white silk stockings and silver shoe-buckles, he won the admiration of all beholders in that brilliant assembly. The beautiful young queen bestowed her sweetest smiles upon him, and kept him near her person as much as possible during the audience. In one of the saloons of Paris a few evenings afterward, he was the centre of attraction. His defiance of etiquette charmed the Parisians. The ladies pressed around the Philosopher, and more enthusiastic ones saluted him with kisses on his forehead. The king was irritated by

these attentions, for he despised republicans, and only consented to be their ally in war for the benefit of France. Voltaire, who, at the age of eighty-four, had just arrived in Paris after a long exile, was not more popular than Franklin. They soon became personal friends, for Voltaire espoused the cause of the Americans. Franklin venerated him for his wisdom, and bade his grandson, a tall youth, ask the philosopher's blessing. The venerable man placed his hand on the lad's head and gave it in these words: *God and Liberty*.

The position now assumed by France toward the Americans greatly embarrassed the British ministry, and even the king was disposed to yield a little. Eleven days after the treaty was concluded at Paris, Lord North presented two conciliatory bills to Parliament. One declared the government did not intend to exercise the right of imposing taxes in America, and proposed to make almost every concession which the Americans had demanded two years before—even not to insist upon the renunciation of their independence; the other authorized the king to send commissioners to America to treat for reconciliation and peace. Mr. Hartley, a confidant of Lord North, sent copies of these bills to Dr. Franklin. The ambassador, with the knowledge of Vergennes, sent word back that if the king wished to treat with the Americans on terms of perfect equality, the desired result might be obtained by sending commissioners to the representatives of the United States in Paris. The French king fearing a reconciliation might take place, and so thwart his plans for using the Americans for the glory of France, hastened to officially inform the British government, through the French minister in London, of the treaty between that country and the United States. That minister, acting under instructions, in his note to the British government, spoke of the United States as being in "full possession of independence," and declared that his king was determined "to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag," and had, "in consequence, taken effectual measures in concert with the Thirteen United and Independent States of America."

These offensive words—offensive as they were intended to be—were construed by the British government as a virtual declaration of war on the part of France; and the British minister at the French court was immediately recalled. Meanwhile the Conciliatory Bills had become laws, after much opposition in Parliament, chiefly because they allowed the Americans to assume the position of an independent nation. It would virtually be a dismemberment of the British empire, and this Chatham and his friends vehemently opposed. Afterward, when leaders of the opposition proposed, as a means for detaching the Americans from the French, to declare their independence,

a most violent debate arose. That was early in April. Chatham had not appeared in the House of Lords for some time. Now his political friends urged him to be there. He appeared on the 7th of April, smothered in flannel and leaning upon two friends. He was pale and emaciated, and appeared like a dying man. Under his great wig, little more might be seen than his aquiline nose and peering eyes. He arose to speak. Leaning upon crutches, and supported by two friends, he raised one hand, and casting his eyes toward heaven, said: "I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day—to perform my duty, and to speak upon a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm. I have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave; I am risen from my bed to stand up in the cause of my country—perhaps never again to speak in this House. . . . My Lords, I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy." His voice, at first feeble, rose in vehemence as he proceeded, and he made a most effective speech. The Duke of Richmond spoke in opposition to Chatham's arguments, and when he sat down, the great orator, much agitated, attempted to rise to reply, when he swooned and fell in the arms of his friends near by. Every one pressed around him with solicitude, and the debate closed without another word. He was conveyed to his country-seat at Hayes, where he expired on the 11th of May. The scene of his fall in the House of Lords was admirably painted by Copley, the American artist, who was then a resident of London.

The little army at Valley Forge had not only suffered great privations in camp, but were subjected to attacks upon their feeble outposts, and detachments sent out for food and forage, by parties sent from Philadelphia. Among the most active of these was a corps of American Loyalists, called the "Queen's Rangers," led by Major Simcoe, and numbering about five hundred men. In February, these went into New Jersey to capture Wayne, who was there gathering up horses and provisions, but failed. Another party, more than a thousand strong, led by Colonel Mawhood, went to Salem in March, and on the 18th, had a severe skirmish at Quintin's bridge, near that town, with a small force of Americans under Colonel Holmes. The latter were dispersed, but were saved from capture or destruction, by Colonel Hand, who arrived with some troops and two pieces of cannon, and checked the pursuers. Mawhood then sent Simcoe to attack another detachment at Hancock's bridge, not far from Quintin's, on the night of the 20th. But few Americans were there, and most of them were non-combatants, who made no resistance. They were all murdered while begging for quarter. This cruel act was done by unprincipled Tories, who, in arms, were called "The blood-hounds of the Revolution."

At that time a committee of the Congress were at Valley Forge, where they had been for several weeks, conferring with the commander-in-chief on the subject of future military operations, and especially upon reforms of present abuses in the army, the increase in its efficiency, and the revival of the hopes of the country. Washington presented to the committee a very long memorial, in which he had embodied the views of himself and his officers. He specially urged as a necessity, as well as equity, of insuring to the officers of the army, half-pay for life. This memorial formed the basis of the report of the committee to the Congress. Washington also wrote many letters to members of that body, urging the measure of half-pay with great earnestness and good arguments, pleading for this act of justice toward his companions in arms, and disclaiming all selfish motives, for he had often declared that he would not receive pay for his own services. The Congress finally agreed to secure to each officer half-pay for the term of seven years next ensuing after the close of the contest, and a gratuity of eighty dollars to every non-commissioned officer and private who should continue in the service until the close of the war. These equitable provisions doubtless saved the Continental Army from dissolution in the spring of 1778.

Meanwhile the service had been strengthened by the appointment of General Greene quartermaster-general, in place of General Mifflin, and the Baron de Steuben as inspector-general of the Continental Army, in place of General Conway. Steuben was a skillful Prussian officer, who had served on the staff of Frederick the Great. He arrived in America at the beginning of December, 1777, and presenting himself to the Congress at York, offered his services. His certificates of character were so ample, that they were accepted; and at the urgent solicitation of Washington he was appointed inspector-general of the armies, with the rank and pay of major-general. Joining the army at Valley Forge, he so thoroughly disciplined the crude soldiery there, in military manœuvres, that before the opening of the campaign in June, they had acquired much of the skill of European veterans. Our regular soldiers were never beaten in a fair fight, after their drilling at Valley Forge.

As the spring advanced and warm weather prevailed, the comforts of the soldiers were increased and their daily wants were more bountifully supplied. Their shattered regiments were filled, and a more hopeful feeling prevailed throughout the country, when, on the night of the 3d of May, a despatch reached Washington, from the President of Congress, announcing the alliance between France and the United States. Washington communicated the important news in general orders on the 6th, and great joy was thereby produced. He set apart the following day to be devoted to a grateful acknowl-

edgement of the Divine goodness in raising up a powerful friend in "one of the princes of the earth, to establish liberty and independence upon a solid foundation," and to celebrate the great event by tokens of delight. He directed the several brigades of the army to be assembled at nine o'clock in the morning to hear prayers and appropriate discourses from their respective chaplains. At a given signal the men were to be under arms for inspection and parade, when they were to be led to a specified position to fire a *feu de joie* with cannon and small guns. At a given signal, there was



BARON STEUBEN DRILLING THE TROOPS.

to be a discharge of thirteen cannon and a running fire of small-arms, when the whole army were to huzza—" *Long live the king of France!*" Then another discharge of thirteen cannon and all the muskets was to be given, followed by a shout of the army—" *Long live the friendly European powers!*" Then a third discharge of cannon and musketry in like manner, and a shout—" *The American States.*"

These orders were faithfully obeyed. Washington, with his wife and suite and other general officers with their wives, attended the religious services of the New Jersey brigade. The army made a brilliant appearance in their new suits of clothing and polished arms. After the soldiers had

retired, the commander-in-chief dined in public with all his officers, attended by a band of music; and the entertainment ended with a number of patriotic toasts, and loud huzzas for Washington, when he left the table.

The "Conciliatory Bills" had arrived in America a fortnight before the news of the treaty was received by the Congress, and attracted much attention in and out of that body. Governor Tryon, at New York, caused them to be printed and widely circulated, to produce disaffection among the Americans. As they did not propose independence as a basis for negotiations, they were regarded by the patriots with suspicion, and were denominated "deceptionary bills." Washington and the Congress rejected them as inadequate, in scope, to form a foundation for discussion. "Nothing short of independence, it appears to me, will do," Washington wrote. "A peace on other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be a peace of war." The Congress resolved that the terms were totally inadequate, and that no advances on the part of the British government would be met, unless, as a preliminary step, they should either withdraw their fleets and armies, or acknowledge, unequivocally, the independence of the United States.

Such was the temper of the Americans, when, on the 4th of June, three commissioners—the Earl of Carlisle, George Johnstone, and William Eden—sent to negotiate for peace, arrived at Philadelphia. They were accompanied by Adam Ferguson, the eminent professor in the University of Edinburgh. Directions were sent for General Howe to join them, but as he had left the country, and the army was commanded by Sir Henry Clinton, the latter took his place. The commissioners sent their credentials to the Congress by a flag. For reasons above given, the Congress refused to treat with them, and the papers were returned to them, with a letter from the President giving reasons for the act. The commissioners tried by various arts to accomplish their purposes, but were foiled; and in October they returned to England, after issuing an angry manifesto and proclamation to the Congress, the State legislatures, and the whole inhabitants, in which they denounced the "rebels" and warned the people to beware of the righteous wrath of Great Britain.

Johnstone early lost all claims to respectful consideration, by attempting to gain by intrigue, what he could not obtain by fair means. He became acquainted with the accomplished Mrs. Ferguson, wife of a relative of the secretary of the commissioners, and daughter of Dr. Thomas Graeme of Pennsylvania. Her husband was in the British service, and she was much with the loyalists, but her conduct was so discreet, and her attachment to her country was so undoubtedly sincere, that she maintained the confidence and respect of leading patriots. Johnstone made her believe he was a warm

friend of the Americans, and was exceedingly anxious to stop the effusion of blood. He expressed his belief that if a proper representation could be made to the members of Congress and other leading Whigs, peace might speedily be secured. Mrs. Ferguson sympathized with him. As he could not pass the lines himself, he entreated her to go to General Joseph Reed, and say to him that if he could, conscientiously, exert his influence to bring about a reconciliation, he might command ten thousand guineas and the highest post in the government. "That," said Mrs. Ferguson, "General Reed would consider the offer of a bribe." Johnstone disclaimed any such intention. Believing him sincere, Mrs. Ferguson sought and obtained an interview with Reed, as soon as the British left Philadelphia. When she had repeated the conversation with Johnstone, Reed indignantly replied—"I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it!" This attempt at bribery was soon made known, and drew upon the commissioners the scorn of all honest men. Mrs. Ferguson, whose motives seem to have been pure, was violently assailed. Trumbull, in his satire entitled "McFingal," thus alludes to the transaction:

"Behold, at Britain's utmost shifts,
Comes Johnstone, loaded with like gifts,
To venture through the Whiggish tribe,
To cuddle, wheedle, coax and bribe;
And call, to aid his desp'rate mission,
His petticoated politician;
While Venus, joined to act the farce,
Strolls forth, embassadress of Mars.
In vain he strives; for, while he lingers,
Their mastiffs bite his off'ring fingers
Nor buys for George and realms infernal,
One spaniel but the mongrel, Arnold."



CHAPTER XXXI.

THE MISCHIANZA—THE BRITISH EVACUATE PHILADELPHIA—DISTRESS OF THE TORIES—THE AMERICAN ARMY—OATH OF ALLEGIANCE—LAFAYETTE OUTGENERALS THE BRITISH COMMANDERS—THE BRITISH EVACUATE PENNSYLVANIA—THE AMERICANS PURSUE—DISOBEDIENCE OF LEE—BATTLE AT MONMOUTH—THE BRITISH ARMY ESCAPES TO NEW YORK—WASHINGTON CROSSES THE HUDSON—GOES INTO WINTER-QUARTERS IN NEW JERSEY—WASHINGTON AND LEE—TREASON OF GENERAL LEE—HIS WILL—ARRIVAL OF A FRENCH FLEET AND MINISTER—D'ESTAING SAILS FOR RHODE ISLAND—SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION—FRENCH AND BRITISH FLEETS OFF NEWPORT—BATTLE ON RHODE ISLAND—BRITISH MARAUDERS.

WE have observed that Sir Henry Clinton succeeded Sir William Howe as commander-in-chief of the British army in America. He entered upon his duties, as such, on the 24th of May, 1778. A week before, Philadelphia was agreeably excited by a grand complimentary entertainment given to the brothers Howe, and called by the Italian name for a medley, *Mischianza*. It was an appropriate closing of a round of dissipation in which the British army had indulged during their six months residence in Philadelphia. Many of the officers had lived in open defiance of the demands of morality. Their profligacy was so conspicuous, that many of the Tory families who had welcomed the invaders, had prayed for the departure of such undesirable guests.

"The Mischianza," wrote Captain André, Clinton's accomplished and afterward unfortunate young adjutant-general, "was the most splendid entertainment ever given by an army to their commander." André was the chief inventor and manager of the pageant; and he and Captain Oliver De Lancey, a Tory leader of New York, painted all the scenery and other decorations. The entertainment began with a grand regatta in the presence of thousands of spectators, who thronged the wharves and swarmed upon the river in small boats. Banners waved, cannon thundered, and martial music filled the air. This over, the scene changed to a tilt and a tournament on shore, followed by a grand ball and supper, for which purposes spacious temporary buildings were erected in connection with the fine Wharton mansion in Fifth street.

The company, as they disembarked from the boats, marched between rows of grenadiers, preceded by the music, which consisted of all the bands

of the army. After passing two triumphal arches, the procession, with the general and admiral, came to two pavilions with rows of benches rising one above the other, where the ladies were received and the gentlemen arranged on each side of them. On the front seat of each pavilion were seven young women, chosen from families of highest social position in Philadelphia. These were dressed in Turkish costume, and wore in their turbans the "favors" with which they intended to reward the several knights who were to contend in their honor. Suddenly the braying of trumpets was heard in the distance, and soon two bands of knights appeared, with their squires—Knights of *The Blended Rose*, and Knights of *The Burning Mountain*. They were dressed in ancient costume of white and red silk, and mounted on gray horses richly caparisoned in trappings of the same colors. They entered the list with their squires dressed in black. Captain Lord Cathcart, superbly mounted, appeared as chief of the Knights of *The Blended Rose*, his stirrups held by two black slaves in brilliant dresses, their arms and breasts bare. The chief of the Knights of *The Burning Mountain* was Captain Watson of the Guards, dressed in a magnificent suit of black and orange silk. These leaders and their followers each appeared in honor of one of the fourteen maidens in Turkish costume, and were announced with the name of the young lady in whose honor they were to contend. For example:

"Third knight, Captain André, in honor of Miss Chew; Squire, Lieutenant André: device, two game-cocks fighting; motto, "No rival."

The two bands of knights fought each other, and each one was rewarded with a favor from his "lady love." When the tournament was over, the knights rode between two rows of troops through the first triumphal arch, where all the flags of the army were displayed. Then the knights, with their squires, took their stations, the bands filling the air with martial music. The company then moved toward the knights, the maidens in oriental costume in front. As these passed, they were saluted by the knights, who then dismounted and joined them, and in this order all were conducted into a garden that fronted a large building; and passing through the second triumphal arch, the company ascended a flight of carpeted steps that led to a magnificent hall, the panels of which were painted to imitate Sienite marble, and decorated with festoons of flowers. From this hall the company were conducted to an elegantly decorated ball-room garnished with eighty-five mirrors decked with ribbons, and thirty-four candelabra with wax-candles, also decorated with ribbons. The ball was opened by the knights and their ladies, and the dancing continued until ten o'clock, when the windows were thrown open to allow the assemblage within to see a magnificent display of fireworks. At midnight a sumptuous banquet was partaken of in a grand

saloon more than two hundred feet in length, and beautifully adorned. At the close of the supper a herald entered with a flourish of trumpets, and proclaimed the health of the king, queen, and royal family; the army and navy, and their commanders; the knights and their ladies, and the ladies in general. After supper they all returned to the ball-room, and danced until four o'clock in the morning.

This foolish pageant had just ended, when orders reached Philadelphia for the troops to evacuate that city and the fleet to leave the Delaware River. The rescript of the French monarch, as we have observed, was regarded in England as tantamount to a declaration of war, and the British government saw the danger that threatened their land and naval forces should a French fleet blockade the Delaware, a circumstance which speedily occurred. At the middle of April, Admiral the Count D'Estaing, a major-general in the French service, sailed from Toulon with twelve ships-of-the-line and three frigates, and after a rough voyage of ninety days, anchored in the Delaware. Fortunately for Lord Howe's fleet, it had left those waters a few days before, and was safely anchored in the broad bay off the mouth of the Raritan River. The British army had also escaped to New York, after great perils by the way.

The order for the evacuation of Philadelphia, and its execution, produced wide-spread consternation and distress in that city, lately so gay with scarlet uniforms, martial music and banners, dashing young officers and a brilliant display of the pastimes of half-barbarous nations five hundred years before. The change from bright promises of protection to the despair caused by cruel desertion was awful. It was like the sudden gathering of a fierce tempest in a serene sky. About three thousand of the most tenderly-bred of the inhabitants left their homes, their property and their cherished associations, and fled for refuge from the indignation of their Whig neighbors, whom they had outraged in many ways, to be borne away, they knew not whither, to a fate which they could not foresee.

Meanwhile the condition of Washington's army at Valley Forge, which the British despised, and ridiculed in plays by amateur performances in a theatre in Philadelphia, was greatly improved in every respect. At the middle of May the troops fit for duty numbered about fifteen thousand men. The Congress had just ratified the treaty with France, and so gave great encouragement to the American people. The warmth of approaching summer diffused physical comfort, life, and vigor through the camp; and the fact, when known, that the British had been ordered to leave Philadelphia and the adjacent waters, inspired the soldiers with joy and hope.

The Congress ordered an oath of allegiance to be administered to all the

officers of the army at Valley Forge, before the opening of the campaign. This ceremony took place on the 12th of May. The commander-in-chief administered it to the general officers. In so doing, several of them placed their hands on the Bible at the same time, and so took the oath together,



TAKING THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE AT VALLEY FORGE.

When Washington began to read the form, General Charles Lee, who had been exchanged for General Prescott, captured on Rhode Island, withdrew his hand. This movement he repeated, when Washington demanded a reason for the strange conduct. Lee replied: "As to King George, I am ready enough to absolve myself from all allegiance to him; but I have some scruples about the Prince of Wales." This odd reply, which covered a deeper motive, excited much laughter. In the light of to-day, we may clearly see the real reason. Lee was then playing a desperate game of

treason, and probably had some conscientious scruples about taking such an oath which he would probably violate. He did, however, subscribe to it.

We have already mentioned some movements of American detachments during the winter and spring of 1778. At the middle of May news reached Washington that the British were probably preparing to evacuate Philadelphia. It was premature, for the order for that movement had not then arrived. However, the vigilant commander-in-chief acted promptly. He detached Lafayette, with about twenty-one hundred men and five pieces of cannon, to restrain British foragers and marauders who were plundering the country, and had burned several American vessels in the Delaware River. He was instructed to cut off all communications between Philadelphia and the country; to obtain correct information concerning the enemy, and to be ready to follow the fugitives with a considerable force when they should leave the city. Lafayette crossed the Schuylkill and took post on Barren Hill, about half-way between Valley Forge and Philadelphia. The marquis made his quarters at the house of a Tory Quaker, who informed Howe of the fact. The latter immediately ordered General Grant to make a secret night march, with over five thousand men, to gain the rear of Lafayette, and prevent his recrossing the Schuylkill. This was done on the night of the 20th of May. Early the next morning Howe marched with almost six thousand men, commanded by Clinton and Knyphausen, to capture the young Frenchman and send him to England. Grant actually surprised the marquis, and held the ford over which he and his little army had crossed the Schuylkill; but by a deceptive, quick, and skillful movement Lafayette outgeneraled his antagonist, and escaped across Matson's Ford—General Poor leading the advance, while Grant was making preparations for battle. Howe was sadly disappointed. He felt sure of closing his military career in America with a brilliant achievement, but was foiled; and he marched back to Philadelphia, where, on the 24th, he embarked for England.

The British army lingered in Philadelphia until the morning of the 18th of June, when, just before the dawn, they began the passage of the Delaware at Gloucester Point, and at the close of the day were encamped around Haddonfield, a few miles southeast from Camden. So secretly and adroitly had this movement been made, that Washington was not certified of the destination of the British army until they had passed the river. Suspecting, however, that Clinton would take a land-route to New York, the commander-in-chief had dispatched General Maxwell, with his brigade, to co-operate with the New Jersey militia, under General Dickenson, in retarding the march of the enemy. Clinton had crossed the Delaware with about seventeen thousand effective men.

General Arnold, whose wound kept him from duty in the field, was left with a detachment to occupy Philadelphia. The remainder of the army crossed the Delaware above Trenton, and pursued. Lee had been restored to his command as the oldest major-general, and exercised a baleful influence as far as he was able. He was plotting for the ruin of that army, and



FLIGHT OF THE BRITISH ACROSS NEW JERSEY.

endeavored to thwart every measure that promised success. He persistently opposed all interference with Clinton in his march across New Jersey, finding fault with everything, and creating much mischief. When, at length, he was requested to lead the advance in a meditated attack upon the enemy, he at first declined the honor and duty, saying the plan was defective and would surely fail.

Clinton had intended to march to New Brunswick, and there embark his army on the Raritan; but finding Washington in his path, he turned, at Allentown, toward Monmouth Court-House, with a determination to make his way to Sandy Hook, and thence by water to New York. Washington

followed him on a parallel line, prepared to strike him whenever a good opportunity should offer; while Clinton wished to avoid a battle, if possible, for he was heavily encumbered with baggage-wagons and a host of camp-followers, making a line twelve miles in length. He encamped near Monmouth Court-House on the 27th of June, where Washington resolved to strike him when he should move, the next morning, for it was important to prevent his gaining the advantageous position of Middletown Heights.

Lee was now in command of the advanced corps. Washington ordered him to consult his general officers, and form a plan of attack. When Lee met them—Lafayette, Wayne, and Maxwell—he refused to arrange a plan or give any orders; and when at dawn on the 28th—a hot and serene Sabbath morning—Washington was informed that Clinton was about to move, and ordered Lee to fall upon the enemy's rear unless there should be good reasons for his not doing so, that officer was so tardy in his obedience that he allowed the foe ample time to prepare for battle. When Lee did move, he seemed to have no plan. He gave orders and counter-orders, and so perplexed and alarmed his generals that they sent a request to Washington to appear on the field immediately. While Wayne was attacking with vigor with a prospect of victory, Lee ordered him to make only a feint. The irritated commander, like a true soldier, instantly obeyed, and lost a chance for victory and honor.

Clinton now suddenly changed front, and sent a large force, horse and foot, to attack Wayne. They approached cautiously toward Lee's right, when Lafayette, believing a good opportunity was offered to gain the rear of this division of the enemy, rode quickly up to Lee and asked permission to attempt it. "Sir," said Lee, sternly, "you do not know British soldiers; we cannot stand against them; we shall certainly be driven back at first, and we must be cautious." The marquis replied: "It may be so, general; but British soldiers have been beaten, and they may be again; at any rate, I am disposed to make the trial." Lee, yielding a little, ordered the marquis to wheel his column by the right, and gain and attack the enemy's left; at the same time he weakened Wayne's detachment, by taking from it three regiments to support the right. At that moment, discovering a movement of the British that apparently disconcerted him, he ordered his right to fall back. Generals Scott and Maxwell were then about to attack, when they, too, were ordered to fall back. Lafayette received a similar order, when a general retreat began. The British pursued, and Lee showed no disposition to check either his own troops or those of the enemy. A panic seized the former, and the orderly retreat became a disorderly flight.

Washington was pressing forward to the support of Lee, when he was

met by the astounding intelligence that the advance divisions were in full retreat. Of this disastrous movement Lee had not sent him word, and the fugitives were falling back in haste upon the main army. This was an alarming state of things. The indignation of the commander-in-chief was fearfully aroused; and when he met Lee at the head of the second retreating column, he rode up to the culprit, and in a tone of withering reproof, exclaimed: "Sir, I desire to know what is the reason, and whence comes this disorder and confusion?" Lee retorted sharply, and said: "You know the attack was contrary to my advice and opinion." Washington replied, with a voice that told of the depth of his indignation: "You should not have undertaken the command unless you intended to carry it through." It was no time for verbal contention. Wheeling his horse, Washington hastened to Ramsay and Stewart, in the rear, rallied a large portion of their regiments, and ordered Oswald, with his two cannon, to take post on an eminence. These field-pieces, skillfully handled, soon checked the pursuing enemy. The presence of Washington inspired the troops with confidence and courage; and ten minutes after he appeared, the retreat was suspended. The chief rode fearlessly in the face of the storm of conflict, and the whole patriot army, which, half an hour before, seemed on the point of being a fugitive mob, were now in orderly battle array, upon an eminence on which General Lord Stirling placed some batteries of cannon. The line there formed was commanded on the right by General Greene, and on the left by Lord Stirling.

The patriot army were now confronted by the flower of the British troops in America, commanded by Generals Clinton and Cornwallis, about seven thousand strong. They were upon a narrow road bounded by morasses; and when they found themselves strongly opposed on their front, they attempted to turn the American left flank. The British cavalry, in the van, were repulsed, and disappeared. The regiments of foot then came up, when a severe battle ensued with musketry and cannon. The American batteries were skillfully worked under the direction of General Knox. For awhile the result of the contest was doubtful, when General Wayne came up with a body of troops and gave victory to the republicans. His well-directed fire was so effectual, that Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, in command of the British grenadiers, seeing that the fate of the conflict depended upon driving Wayne away, led his troops to a bayonet charge. Wayne gave them such a hot reception with bullets that almost every British officer was slain. Among them was Monckton, who fell as he was waving his sword and pressing forward with a shout. Then the British retreated through the narrow pass along which they had pursued the Americans, and fell back to the heights occupied by Lee in the morning. It was a strong position, flanked by



WASHINGTON AT MONMOUTH.

morasses, and accessible in front only by a narrow road. The conflict ended at dusk, when the wearied American troops lay down upon their arms on the battle-field, with the intention of renewing the struggle in the morning. It had been a day of fearful heat—ninety-six degrees in the shade. More than fifty American soldiers died that day from “sun-stroke;” and hundreds, suffering from thirst, drank from pools of muddy water, whenever an opportunity offered.



ON THE BATTLE-FIELD AT MONMOUTH.

At near midnight, Clinton, with his army, stealthily withdrew, and before the dawn they were far on their way toward Sandy Hook. There they embarked for New York, arriving there on the 30th. Washington did not pursue, but marched for the Hudson River by way of New Brunswick. Crossing that stream, he encamped near White Plains, in Westchester county, until late in the autumn. Clinton, in his official despatch to his government, said: “Having reposed the troops until ten at night to avoid the excessive heat of the day, *I took advantage of the moonlight* to rejoin General Knyphausen, who had advanced to Nut Swamp, near Middletown.” The waning moon set at a little past ten that night. Alluding to the circumstance, Trumbull, in his satire of “McFingal,” wrote:

“He forms his camp with great parade,
While evening spreads the world in shade,

Then still, like some endangered spark,
Steals off on tip-toe in the dark ;
Yet writes his king in boasting tone
How grand he march'd by light of moon !”

Notwithstanding Washington had reason to suspect Lee of treachery on the battle-field (for he had been warned the night before that he was a secret traitor, and his conduct had justified the suspicion), he was disposed to treat him leniently. But Lee, smarting under the just reproof of the commander-in-chief, wrote a note to him the next day, demanding an apology for the words spoken to him on the field. Washington made a temperate reply, expressing his conviction that the reproof he had uttered was justified by the circumstances, whereupon Lee wrote an insulting letter to the chief. The offender was arrested and tried by a court-martial on charges of disobedience of orders, misbehaviour before the enemy, and disrespect to the commander-in-chief. He was found guilty, and sentenced to suspension from military command for a year. Late in the year the Congress approved the sentence. A little more than twelve months afterward, they dismissed him from the service on account of an impertinent letter which he wrote to them.

That General Lee was treacherous to the cause which he pretended to espouse, there is ample proof. A few years ago a manuscript in the handwriting of Lee, prepared while that officer was a prisoner in New York and addressed to General Howe, containing a plan for the speedy subjugation of the colonies, came into the possession of George H. Moore, LL.D., who published it, with many facts, which clearly show that the writer had been a traitor, undoubtedly, from the fight in Charleston Harbor in June, 1776, until the battle at Monmouth, in June, 1778. All the while that he was in command during that time, he was acting in bad faith toward the Americans. His influence in the army was, at all times, mischievous. Exceedingly selfish and thoroughly unprincipled, bad in morals and courage, he loved neither God nor man. He died in poverty and obscurity in Philadelphia, in October, 1782. By his will written a few days before his death, he bequeathed his soul to the Almighty, and his body to the earth, saying: “I desire, most earnestly, that I may not be buried in any church or churchyard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist meeting-house, for, since I have resided in this country, I have kept so much bad company when living, that I do not choose to continue it when dead.” He was buried in the churchyard of Christ Church, Philadelphia, with military honors.

D'Estaing, with a French fleet, arrived in the Delaware on the 8th of July, 1778, accompanied by M. Gerard, the first minister of France accredited

to the United States government, and Commissioner Deane. Howe's fleet was anchored off Sandy Hook, to co-operate with the army in New York. D'Estaing proceeded to attack it, but when he arrived there, the British vessels were all in Raritan Bay, safe from the guns of the heavy French ships that drew too much water to allow them to cross the bar above Sandy Hook. General Sullivan, commanding in the east, was preparing to attempt the expulsion of the six thousand British troops then holding Rhode Island; and, at the special request of Washington, D'Estaing sailed for Narragansett Bay, with thirty-five hundred land troops, to assist in the enterprise. He arrived off Newport at the close of July, accompanied by young John Laurens as aide and interpreter, and the admiral and general arranged a plan of operations.

Washington had instructed Sullivan to arrange his troops in two divisions, and sent Greene to command one of them, and Lafayette to command the other. A requisition had been made upon New England for troops, and in twenty days Sullivan's army was swelled to ten thousand effective men. On the appearance of the French fleet off Newport, the British caused several ships-of-war and galleys, carrying more than two hundred guns, to be burned.

On the 8th of August, the French vessels ran past the batteries near the entrance to Narragansett Bay. Arrangements had been made for the landing of the French troops, and the invasion of Sullivan's army on the 10th; but the latter, discovering on the 9th that the British outposts at the northern end of the island had been abandoned, crossed over from Tiverton on that day. At the same time the fleet of Lord Howe, which had been reinforced from England, appeared off Newport; and on the morning of the 10th, D'Estaing sailed out past the English batteries, to fight him. A stiff wind was then rising from the northeast. Both commanders long contended for the weather-gauge (to keep to the windward)—so long that before they were ready to begin, the wind had increased to a hurricane and scattered both fleets. It blew so furiously that spray from the ocean was carried over Newport and incrusting the windows with salt. The French fleet was much shattered, and went to Boston for repairs, and Howe sailed back to Sandy Hook. The storm, which ended on the 14th, had burst with terrible fury on the American camp, spoiling much of their ammunition, overturning tents, and damaging provisions.

D'Estaing had promised to land his troops after the fight with Howe. He reappeared off Newport, when Greene and Lafayette visited him on board his flag-ship, to urge him to fulfill that promise. He declined to do so. Expecting these reinforcements, Sullivan had pushed his army several

miles toward Newport. When they found themselves deserted by the French, the New England volunteers, believing the expedition was a failure, returned home, and so reduced Sullivan's army to six thousand men. He saw the necessity for retreating and began that movement on the night of the 28th, when the British pursued. The Americans made a stand on Butt's Hill, twelve miles from Newport, which they had fortified. The British tried to turn their right wing on the morning of the 29th, when General Greene, commanding it, changed front, assailed the pursuers vigorously, and drove them to their strong defence on Quaker Hill. A general engagement ensued, when the British line was broken and driven back in confusion to Turkey Hill. The day was very sultry, and many perished by the heat. The action ended at near three o'clock in the afternoon, but a sluggish cannonade was kept up until sunset. In this engagement the Americans lost about two hundred men, and the British two hundred and sixty. On the night of the 30th, Sullivan's army withdrew to the main. General Clinton arrived the next day with a reinforcement of four thousand men. He soon returned to New York, after sending General Grey to destroy a large number of ships, with magazines, stores, wharves, warehouses, and other buildings at New Bedford, and mills and houses at Fair Haven. Property to the amount of over three hundred thousand dollars was destroyed. Then the marauders proceeded to Martha's Vineyard, where they demanded of and received from the defenceless inhabitants militia arms, public money, three hundred oxen, and ten thousand sheep.



CHAPTER XXXII.

DESOLATION OF THE WYOMING VALLEY—INDIAN AND TORY RAIDS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK—MASSACRE AT CHERRY VALLEY—EVENTS IN THE WESTERN WILDERNESS—EXPLOITS OF MAJOR CLARKE—BRITISH FORAYS—THE BRITISH INVADE GEORGIA—RELATIVE POSITION OF THE BELLIGERENTS—ATTITUDE OF EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS—AMERICAN FINANCES—LOAN OFFICES AND A LOTTERY SCHEME—EFFORTS TO REDEEM THE BILLS OF CREDIT—PROTECTION AND AID SOLICITED BY CONGRESS—BRITISH HOPES AND DANGERS—A DEFENSIVE POLICY ADOPTED—PLAN OF THE CAMPAIGN IN THE SOUTH—MILITARY OPERATIONS IN GEORGIA.

THE first severely bitter fruit of the alliance of Great Britain with the American savages was tasted in the Wyoming Valley in the summer of 1778. That valley is a beautiful region of Pennsylvania, lying between mountain ranges and watered by the Susquehanna River that flows through it. The first European known to have trodden the soil of the valley was Count Zinzendorf the Moravian, seeking the good of souls. The region was claimed as a part of the domain of Connecticut granted by the charter of that province given by Charles the Second, and was called the county of Westmoreland. The first settlers there, forty in number, went from Connecticut about the middle of the last century. When the old war for independence broke out, the valley was a paradise of beauty and fertility. As that war went on, and an alliance between the British and Indians became manifest, the people of the valley felt insecure. They built small forts for their protection, and called the attention of the Continental Congress, from time to time, to their exposed situation. When St. Leger was besieging Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk River, in 1777, parties of Indian warriors threatened the valley, but the inhabitants there were spared from much harm until the summer of 1778.

Among the Tory leaders in northern and western New York were John Butler and his son Walter N. They were less merciful toward the Whigs than their savage associates in deeds of violence. John Butler was a colonel in the British service; and in the spring of 1778, he induced the Seneca warriors in western New York to consent to follow him into Pennsylvania. He had been joined by some Tories from the Wyoming Valley, who gave him a correct account of that region; and on the last day of June he appeared at

the head of the beautiful plains with more than a thousand men, Tories and Indians. They captured the uppermost fort, and Butler made the fortified house of Wintermoot, a Tory of the valley, his headquarters. The whole military force to oppose the invasion was composed of a small company of regulars and a few militia. When the alarm was given, the whole population flew to arms. Grandfathers and their aged sons, boys, and even women, seized such weapons as were at hand, and joined the soldiery. Colonel



DEFENDERS OF THE WYOMING VALLEY.

Zebulon Butler, an officer of the Continental Army, happened to be at home, and by common consent he was made commander-in-chief. Forty Fort, a short distance above Wilkes-Barré, was the place of general rendezvous, and in it were gathered the women and children of the valley.

On the 3d of July, Colonel Zebulon Butler led the little band of patriot-soldiers and citizens to surprise the invaders, at Wintermoot's. The vigilant leader of the motley host, informed of the movement, was ready to receive the assailants. The Tories formed the left wing of Colonel Butler's force resting on the river, and the Indians, led by Gi-en-gwa-tah, a Seneca chief, composed the right that extended to a swamp at the foot of the mountain. These were first struck by the patriots, and a general battle ensued. It raged vehemently for half an hour, when, just as the left of the invaders was about to give way, a mistaken order caused the republicans to retreat in disorder. The infuriated Indians sprang forward like wounded tigers, and gave no quarter. The patriots were slaughtered by scores. Only a few



PRISONERS FROM THE WYOMING VALLEY.

escaped to the mountains, and were saved. In less than an hour after the battle began, two hundred and twenty-five scalps were in the hands of the savages as tokens of their prowess.

The yells of the Indians had been heard by the feeble ones at Forty Fort, and terror reigned there. Colonel Dennison, who had reached the valley that morning, had escaped to the stronghold, and prepared to defend the women and children to the last extremity. Colonel Butler had reached Wilkes-Barré fort in safety. Darkness put an end to the conflict, but increased the horrors. Prisoners were tortured and murdered. At midnight sixteen of them were arranged around a rock, and strongly held by the savages, when a half-breed woman, called Queen Esther, using a tomahawk and club alternately, murdered the whole band one after the other excepting two, who threw off the men who held them and escaped to the woods. A great fire lighted up the scene and revealed its horrors to the eyes of friends of the victims, who were concealed among the rocks not far away. Early the next morning, Forty Fort was surrendered, on a promise of safety for the persons and property of the people. The terms were respected a few hours by the Indians while John Butler remained in the valley. As soon as he was gone, they broke loose, spread over the plains, and with torch, tomahawk, and scalping-knife made it an absolute desolation. Scarcely a dwelling or an outbuilding was left unconsumed; not a field of corn was left standing; not a life was spared that the weapons of the savages could reach. The inhabitants who had not fled during the previous night were slaughtered or narrowly escaped. Those who departed made their way toward the eastern settlements. Many of them perished in the great swamp on the Pocono Mountains, ever since known as "The Shades of Death." The details of that day of destruction in the beautiful Wyoming Valley, and the horrors of the flight of survivors, formed one of the darkest chapters in human history. Yet Lord George Germain, the British Secretary for the colonies, praised the savages for their prowess and humanity, and resolved to direct a succession of similar raids upon the frontiers, and to devastate the older settlements. A member of the bench of Bishops in the House of Lords revealed the fact, in a speech, that there was "an article in the extraordinaries of the army for scalping-knives."

The settlements in the valleys of the Mohawk and Schoharie were great sufferers from Indian and Tory raids, during 1778. The Johnsons were anxious to recover their property and influence in the Mohawk country, and Brant, their natural ally by blood relationship and interest, joined them. Their spies and scouts were out in every direction. At a point on the upper waters of the Susquehanna, Brant organized scalping-parties and sent them

out to attack the border settlements. These fell like thunderbolts upon isolated families or little hamlets in the Schoharie country, and the blaze of burning dwellings lighted the firmament almost every night in those regions, and beyond. Springfield, at the head of Otsego Lake, was laid in ashes in May. In June, Cobleskill, in Schoharie county, was attacked by Brant and his warriors, who killed a portion of a garrison of republican troops stationed there, and plundered and burned the houses. In July a severe skirmish



CHERRY VALLEY CAPTIVES.

occurred on the upper waters of the Cobleskill, between five hundred Indians and some republican regulars and militia. These marauders kept the dwellers in that region in continual alarm all the summer and autumn of 1778, and, finally, at near the middle of November, during a heavy storm of sleet, a band of Indians and Tories, the former led by Brant and the latter by Walter N. Butler, fell upon Cherry Valley and murdered, plundered, and destroyed without stint. Butler was the arch-fiend on the occasion, and would listen to no appeals from Brant for mercy to their victims. Thirty-two of the inhabitants, mostly women and children, were murdered, with sixteen soldiers of the garrison. Nearly forty men, women, and children were led away captives, marching down the valley that night in the cold

storm, huddled together half-naked, with no shelter but the leafless trees and no resting-place but the wet ground. Tryon county, which then included all of the State of New York west of Albany county, was a "dark and bloody ground" for full four years.

Meanwhile there had been stirring events in the western wilderness, where the Indians had been stirred up to hostilities against the frontier settlements, by emissaries sent out among them by Colonel Henry Hamilton, the British commandant at Detroit. Major George Rogers Clarke, an active young Virginian, was commissioned to defend the settlements and attack Kaskaskia, one of several British posts in that region. In July, 1778, he seized Kaskaskia and Cahokia, near the Mississippi River, and in August took possession of Vincennes, on the Wabash River, a hundred miles from its mouth. The latter was a most important post, for it was in the heart of the Indian country, whose tribes bore allegiance to the British. The capture of Vincennes inspired the savages with great respect for American skill and courage, and Clarke found it a comparatively easy matter to pacify them and cause them to agree to assume a neutral position. Hearing of this and fearing the consequences, Colonel Hamilton sent an armed force from Detroit to retake Vincennes. This was done in January, 1779.

Clarke was in Kentucky when he heard of the recapture of Vincennes. He immediately started with one hundred and seventy-five men for its recovery. They penetrated the dreadful wilderness in February, 1779. For a whole week they traversed the "drowned lands" of Illinois, suffering very great hardships from cold, wet, and hunger. When they arrived at the Little Wabash, where the forks are three miles apart, they found the intervening space covered with water to the average depth of three feet. The points of dry land were five miles apart; and all that distance, these hardy soldiers waded through the cold snow-water sometimes armpit deep. On the evening of the 18th of February, they arrived before Vincennes; and at dawn the next morning, making themselves hideous by blackening their faces with gunpowder, they crossed the river in boats and pushed toward the town. Had they dropped from the clouds the inhabitants would not have been more astonished, for it seemed impossible for them to have traversed the deluged country. It was like a sudden apparition of fiends in human shape. Clarke demanded the surrender of the town, fort, and garrison. Colonel Hamilton was in command in person, and refused; but after a sharp siege of fourteen hours, the garrison became prisoners of war. Hamilton was sent to Virginia, where, because he had incited the savages to make war on the settlements, he was confined for awhile in irons in the common jail at Williamsburg.

From the close of the campaign in Rhode Island to the end of the year, there were no active military operations of importance in the north. The British made some forays from New York, in the vicinity of that city. Cornwallis penetrated New Jersey with a considerable force, late in September, but without much effect; and General Grey surprised Colonel Baylor's cavalry corps at Old Tappan, back of the Hudson River Palisades, and murdered them with the bayonet while they were begging for quarter. In October, a British party under Captain Patrick Ferguson, desolated the country around Little Egg Harbor in New Jersey, and burned several vessels there. The Count Pulaski was then on his way from Trenton to Little Egg Harbor.



CROSSING THE DROWNED LANDS.

with a small force of horse and foot. His picket-guard of infantry, thirty in number, were surprised by the British, and all were butchered, for the assailants did not wish to be encumbered with prisoners.

Toward the close of 1778, the theatre of active military operations was changed. Early in November D'Estaing sailed for the West Indies to attack the British possessions there. To defend these, it was necessary for the British fleet in our waters to hasten to that region. Accordingly, Admiral Hotham sailed from New York for the West Indies, with a squadron, on the 3d of November; and when Admiral Byron succeeded Lord Howe early in December, he, too, departed for those waters with some vessels-of-war. This movement would prevent any co-operation between the British fleet and army, in aggressive movements against the populous and now well-defended North, and it was determined to strike a withering blow at the more sparsely-settled South. Late in November Sir Henry Clinton dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell with about two thousand troops to invade Georgia, then the weakest member of the Union. These

troops were sent by way of the sea, and were landed at Savannah, the capital of Georgia, on the morning of the 29th of December. They were confronted by General Robert Howe, of North Carolina, who had hastened up from Sunbury, at the call of the garrison, with less than a thousand dispirited men. At a place known as Brewton's Hill, three miles below Savannah, a sharp fight ensued; but the Americans were compelled, by overwhelming numbers, to retreat. That retreat became a confused flight, partly across submerged rice-fields and a creek. About one hundred Americans were killed or drowned, and more than four hundred were made prisoners. The remainder went up the right side of the Savannah, crossed it at Zubley's Ferry, and took shelter in the bosom of South Carolina.

Now, at the end of the fourth year of the war, the relative position of the belligerents was almost the same as at the close of 1776. The headquarters of Washington were again in New Jersey, and those of the British were in New York city. The British army had accomplished very little more, in the way of conquest, than it had at the end of the second year, while the Americans had gained strength by experience, and had learned much of the arts of war and of civil government. They had also secured the alliance of a powerful European nation, and the sympathies of other European governments. The British forces really occupied the position of prisoners, for, with the exception of those in Georgia, they were closely hemmed in upon two islands (Manhattan and Rhode Island) almost two hundred miles apart. The Americans were strong, too, in the justice of their cause, while the British were weak, because they were warring against the rights of man.

Although the motives of France in forming an alliance were purely selfish (for the king hated republicans, and Vergennes was a thorough monarchist), and no real support had been given to the Americans by the French down to the close of the fourth year of the war, the fact served to give the patriots the moral strength of expectation, which, happily, was not powerful enough to make them neglect the use of their own resources in a reliance upon others, or to lose sight of real and constant danger. The Netherlands felt an earnest sympathy with the struggling republicans, and, as we have seen, refused to loan troops to Great Britain to fight her resisting subjects in America. Frederick the Great of Prussia had learned to distrust the friendship of England, and was coquetting with France; and early in 1778, he authorized his minister to write to the American commissioners at Paris: "The king desires that your generous efforts may be crowned with complete success. He will not hesitate to recognize your independence, when France, which is more directly interested in the event of the contest, shall have given the example."

Spain was hostile to the republican movement, for her monarch saw in the dissolution of the ties which bound the American colonies to Great Britain, a sure prophecy of the destruction of her own colonial system in America. He was willing to weaken Great Britain; and therefore Spain, for a time, secretly feigned a friendship for the Americans, for she desired to exhaust the resources of the British government. At the same time she strongly opposed the French alliance. When it was accomplished, the Spanish monarch was undecided what to do. He deceived the British minister at his court by the false pretence that he was ignorant of what France had been doing in the matter, and so he postponed a final determination. Franklin, whose sagacity had penetrated the depths of Spanish diplomacy, had, from the beginning, advised his countrymen not to woo Spain, and now he urged that advice more vehemently. He saw that all the friendship she might profess would be false, and lead to embarrassment. At this time, the Congress, wearied by the dissensions of rival commissioners, and perceiving that Vergennes preferred to treat with Franklin alone, determined to abolish the joint commission. They did so in September, 1778, and appointed Franklin sole envoy at the French court.

The Americans entered upon the fifth year of the struggle for independence with clouded prospects. They had no national government. Their representatives had adopted a pattern for one, but, as we have observed, the several States were tardy in confirming their action. The finances of the country were in a wretched condition. Bills of credit or "Continental Money" representing one hundred million dollars were then in circulation, without adequate security, for the Congress, having no power to levy taxes, had very little credit. The coin value of the paper money was then rapidly depreciating. In January, 1779, one hundred dollars in gold or silver would purchase seven hundred and forty-two dollars in bills; and from that time the depreciation was so rapid that, at the close of the year, one hundred dollars in specie would purchase twenty-six hundred in bills. While the amount of the issues was small the credit of the bills was good, and they were taken freely by the people for the space of eighteen months after the first issue in the summer of 1775; but when new and larger emissions took place, without adequate provisions for their redemption, suspicion supplanted confidence in the public mind. It was perceived that depreciation was inevitable. To prevent this disastrous tendency, the Congress, in January, 1777, when the bills had shrunk one-half in value, asked the several States to declare them a lawful tender, and denounced every person who refused to take them at par as enemies, liable to forfeit whatever he or she might offer for sale. The States complied; and they were invited to cancel their respective quotas of

Continental bills, and to become creditors of the common treasury for such sums as they might thereafter advance. They were requested to call in their own bills of credit which they had put in circulation, and to issue no more; but they would not consent to these proposed financial arrangements.

In the autumn of 1776, the Congress opened loan-offices in the several States, and authorized a lottery to raise money "for defraying the expenses of the next campaign." The prizes of the lottery were made payable in loan-office certificates. But loans came in slowly, and so few lottery tickets were purchased that the scheme was finally abandoned. The treasury became almost exhausted; and by drafts from the commissioners in Europe, the loan-offices were over-drawn upon. Attempts to borrow adequate sums abroad, utterly failed. The financial embarrassments had been increased by the circulation of an immense amount of counterfeits of the Continental bills, by the British and Tories, after the spring of 1777. They were sent out of the city of New York literally by cart-loads. The business was no secret. An advertisement in a New York paper ran thus: "Persons going into other colonies may be supplied with any number of counterfeited Congress notes for the price of the paper per ream;" and they were assured that the counterfeit was so "neatly and exactly executed" that there was "no risk in getting them off."

For the want of money and credit, the campaign of 1778 was closed at the beginning of autumn, and the Congress felt the necessity of adopting some extraordinary efforts for redeeming the bills of credit. They taxed the several States; and in January, 1779, they called upon them, by a resolution, to "pay in their respective quotas of fifteen millions of dollars," for the current year, and "six millions of dollars annually, for eighteen years, from and after the year 1779, as a fund for sinking the emissions." All efforts were vain. Prices rose as the bills sunk in value, and every kind of trade was embarrassed. The Congress were sorely perplexed. Only about four million dollars had been obtained by loan from Europe, and present negotiations appeared futile. No French army was yet upon our soil; no French coin gladdened the eyes and hearts of the American soldiers, whose pay was much in arrears. A French fleet had, indeed, been upon our coast; but after mocking our hopes with broken promises of support in Rhode Island, had gone to the West Indies to fight battles for France. The Continental bills rapidly depreciated, and early in 1781, became worthless. I have before me an account rendered to Captain Allan McLane, in January, 1781, for merchandise purchased, in which appear the following items, among others: "1 pair of boots, \$600; 6 yds. chintz, \$150 a yard, \$900; 1 skein of thread, \$10."

The Congress resumed their sessions in Philadelphia, at the beginning of July, 1778, and in August they began to devote two days each week to a consideration of financial matters. In September they issued fifteen million dollars in bills of credit. Their depreciation became more rapid as the year drew to a close, and the Congress saw no other resource than in loans or subsidies from Europe. They instructed Dr. Franklin to assure the French monarch that they "hoped protection from his power and magnanimity." This humiliating step was not approved by some of the members of Congress, because they were unwilling to have their country placed under the protection of any foreign power which was likely to be the protection of the lamb by the wolf. Eight States voted for the measure. Aid was hoped for from the Netherlands, and Henry Laurens was sent to the Hague to negotiate a loan.

The estimated expenses of the government of the United States for the year 1779 was over sixty million dollars in paper money, for which no adequate provision was made. A knowledge of these financial embarrassments gave the British ministry hopes of a speedy wreck of the cause of the republicans, and Germain prepared to carry on the war with relentless rigor. The Congress abandoned the wild scheme for the conquest of Canada; and they called Washington from his headquarters at Middlebrook to confer with them about the campaign for 1779. His troops were cantoned in a line of posts of observation, extending from the Delaware, by way of the Hudson Highlands, to the Connecticut line. It was resolved by the Congress and the commander-in-chief to act on the defensive only, except in retaliatory expeditions against the Indians and Tories. This policy was pursued in the north, and the chief efforts of the Americans were directed to the confinement of the British army to the seaboard, and chastising the Indian tribes.

The winter campaign opened at Savannah by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell at the close of December, continued until late in the spring, and resulted in the complete subjugation of Georgia to British rule. The British authorities had planned this campaign with great care. Troops were to take possession of Savannah and subdue Georgia. Five thousand additional troops were to be landed at Charleston. The Indians in Florida and Alabama were to be brought upon the frontier settlements, and these were to be joined by warriors to be sent down from the northwest by the commandant at Detroit. A force sufficient to protect the Loyalists and restore government in North Carolina were to be landed on the banks of the Cape Fear River. Then by judicious operations in Virginia and Maryland, Germain confidently expected to bring all Americans below the Susquehanna River to allegiance to the British crown.

In the autumn of 1778, General Prevost, who was in command of some British regulars, Tories and Indians, in East Florida, sent from St. Augustine two expeditions into Georgia. One of these made an extensive raid, carrying off negro slaves, grain, horses, and horned cattle; destroying crops and burning the village of Midway; the other appeared before the fort at Sunbury, and demanded its surrender. Colonel Mackintosh, the commander of



A RAID.

the garrison, said, "Come and take it," when the invaders retreated. These incursions caused General Robert Howe to lead an expedition against St. Augustine. On the banks of the St. Mary's River, a malarious disease swept away a quarter of his men. After a little skirmishing, he led the survivors back to Savannah, and these composed the handful of dispirited men who confronted Campbell at Brewton's Hill. The expulsion of Howe from Savannah was soon followed by the arrival of Prevost, who came up from Florida, captured the fort at Sunbury on the way (January 9, 1779), and assumed the chief command of the British troops in the South. The combined forces of Prevost and Campbell numbered about three thousand men.

In the meantime General Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts, appointed in September to the chief command of the patriot troops in the Southern States, had arrived in South Carolina, and on the 6th of January (1779), made

his headquarters at Purysburg, twenty-five miles above Savannah. There he began the formation of an army to oppose the British invasion. It was composed of the remnants of Howe's troops, some Continental regiments, and some raw recruits.

Campbell, elated by his easy victory, began the work of subjugation with a strong hand. He promised protection to the inhabitants provided all their able-bodied men would "support the royal government with their arms." They had the alternative to fight their own countrymen or fly to the interior uplands or into South Carolina. Howe's captive troops, who refused to take up arms for the king, were thrust into loathsome prison-ships, where many perished with disease. It was evident that the war was to be waged without mercy, and this conviction gave strength to the determined patriots in the field, for they were fighting for their lives and the welfare of those whom they loved most dearly.

Prevost sent Campbell up the Georgia side of the Savannah, to Augusta, with about two thousand men, for the purpose of encouraging the Tories, opening communication with the Creek Indians in the west, and subduing the Whigs into passiveness. At about the same time a band of Tory marauders, led by Colonel Boyd, desolated a portion of the South Carolina border while on their way to join the royal troops. They were pursued across the Savannah River by Colonel Andrew Pickens, with some militia of the District of Ninety-Six, so named from a fort there ninety-six miles from Charleston. In a sharp skirmish with a part of Pickens' men, Boyd lost a hundred of his followers; and on the 14th of February (1779) he was defeated by that officer in a skirmish on Kettle Creek, within two days march of Augusta. Boyd and seventy of his men were killed, and seventy-five were made prisoners. The latter were convicted of high treason, but only five of them were executed by order of the civil authorities of South Carolina.

Campbell was alarmed and Lincoln was encouraged by the defeat of Boyd. The latter then had three thousand men in camp. He sent General Ashe, of North Carolina, with almost two thousand men, consisting of a few Continentals and the remainder of militia, with some pieces of cannon, to drive Campbell from Augusta, and confine the invaders to the low and unhealthy regions near the sea, where, it was hoped, the deadly malaria from the swamps during the heats of summer, would decimate the regiments of the enemy. Ashe crossed the Savannah near Augusta, when Campbell fled seaward. Ashe pursued him forty miles to Brier Creek, near its confluence with the Savannah, in Severn county, Georgia, and there encamped in a strong position, his flanks thoroughly covered by swamps. Prevost, marching up with a considerable force to assist Campbell, discovered Ashe. Making a

wide circuit, he gained the North Carolinian's rear, surprised him, and after a brief and sharp resistance (March 3, 1779), defeated and dispersed his troops. They fled in every direction, wading the swamp and swimming the river. Many perished, others returned to their homes, and only about four hundred and fifty rejoined Lincoln. By this disaster that general lost one-fourth of his army. It led to the temporary re-establishment of royal government in Georgia, which Prevost proclaimed. Meanwhile the British had suffered a reverse on the coast of South Carolina. Major Gardiner (one of the managers of the *Mischianza*), who had been sent from Savannah with some troops to take possession of Port Royal Island, about sixty miles south of Charleston, preparatory to a march upon that city, had been defeated by the Charleston militia under General Moultrie, in a skirmish there on the 3d of February. Almost every British officer, excepting the commander, and many private soldiers, were killed or made prisoners. Gardiner and a few men escaped in boats; and Moultrie, crossing to the main, joined Lincoln at Purysburg.



CHAPTER XXXIII.

INVASION OF SOUTH CAROLINA—THE BRITISH BEFORE CHARLESTON—THEIR RETREAT TO SAVANNAH—BATTLE AT STONO FERRY—CHARACTER OF THE INVASION—BRITISH MARAUDING EXPEDITIONS IN THE NORTH—EXPLOIT OF PUTNAM—RAID INTO VIRGINIA—CAPTURE OF STONY POINT—DESOLATION OF COAST TOWNS IN CONNECTICUT—RECAPTURE OF STONY POINT—LEE'S EXPLOIT AT PAULUS'S HOOK—INDIAN RAIDS—SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE INDIANS, AND THE RESULT—THE OUTLOOK—THE AMERICAN ARMY—D'ESTAING AGAIN ON OUR COAST—SIEGE OF SAVANNAH, AND THE RESULT.

HAVING military possession of Georgia, General Prevost prepared to attempt the subjugation of South Carolina. Informed that Lincoln was far up the Savannah River, and assured by timid men who professed loyalty and took protection from Prevost, to save their property, that Charleston might be easily captured, the British leader, with about two thousand regulars and a body of Tories and Indians, crossed the river at Purysburg, and took the nearest road leading to that city. When Lincoln heard of this movement, he resolved to attempt to regain possession of Georgia. He was then at the head of five thousand men. Sending a detachment, under Colonel Harris, to reinforce Moultrie, who was flying before Prevost, he crossed the river near Augusta, and marched down its Georgia side for Savannah, hoping to recapture that place, or to recall Prevost. When he discovered that the latter continued to press on toward Charleston, Lincoln recrossed the Savannah, and gave chase. At the same time Governor Rutledge, who had been gathering recruits near Orangeburg, was hastening toward Charleston with six hundred men; and at the beginning of May was seen the interesting spectacle of four armies marching upon the South Carolina capital.

Prevost had marked his pathway with plundering and fire; and Lincoln was hailed as a deliverer by the people who swelled his ranks. Stopping to exercise cruelty, Prevost was so tardy, that Rutledge, Harris, and Moultrie were allowed to reach Charleston before his arrival, and the inhabitants were given an opportunity to cast up strong intrenchments across the Neck. It was the morning of the 11th of May before he appeared in front of these works and made a demand of the instant surrender of the town, which was met by a prompt refusal. The works on the Neck were well manned. Fort Moultrie,

in the harbor, was well garrisoned; and the leaders of the troops felt confident that they could protect the city. The day was spent by both parties in preparations for a serious conflict; and the succeeding night was a fearful one for the citizens of Charleston, for they expected to be greeted at dawn with bomb-shells and red-hot shot. During that day of preparation, Count Pulaski, who was at Maddrell's Point, with his legion, was ferried over the Cooper River, and at noon he led his infantry to attack the British advanced-guard, when he was repulsed with heavy loss.

That evening there was an important executive council held by Governor Rutledge, in Charleston. The Continental Congress had been advised of the exposed condition of both Georgia and South Carolina, and the difficulty of raising recruits there, because the planters, fearing a servile insurrection, would not leave their homes. Washington's army was too weak to allow any reinforcements to be sent to Lincoln. When young John Laurens heard in the camp of the peril of his State, he was anxious to fly to its protection, proposing to place himself at the head of a regiment of faithful slaves. His friend, Colonel Alexander Hamilton, in a letter to the President of Congress, recommended the arming of the negroes; and Laurens said to Washington, that with three thousand of such black men as he could raise, he could drive the British out of Georgia. But Washington shook his head in doubt. The Congress, however, having nothing better to offer, recommended the extreme Southern States to select three thousand of their most trusted slaves, and arm them for battle under white officers.

While the British were marching on Charleston, Laurens arrived from Philadelphia, with the recommendation of the Congress. The South Carolinians were greatly irritated by what seemed the indifference of the Congress to their imminent danger. Many of them regretted having entered upon the struggle for independence, and were favorable to secession from the Union and assuming a neutral position. Governor Rutledge, dreading the taking of Charleston by storm, sent a flag to Prevost to ask his terms for a capitulation, and was answered: "Peace and protection for the loyal; the condition of prisoners of war for the remainder." Some of the military officers who were invited to the council, declared the ability of the troops to successfully defend the city, and leading patriots decided in favor of resistance; but a majority of the council declared in favor of neutrality, and leaving the question as to whether South Carolina should finally belong to Great Britain or the United States, to be decided by a treaty between those powers. Young Laurens was requested to carry a message to that effect to Prevost, but he scornfully refused the duty. A civilian was sent, but Prevost refused to treat with the civil power, and demanded the sur-

render of the troops as prisoners of war. Moultrie, who was present, said to the governor and his council: "Then we will fight it out," and left their presence. Gadsden, the stern patriot, and another, followed Moultrie out, and said to him: "Act according to your own judgment, and we will support you."

Ignorant of these deliberations, the citizens of Charleston momentarily expected an attack from the invaders. Every able-bodied man was at his post. The night wore away, and at the early dawn—the opening of a beautiful and serene day—not a scarlet coat was to be seen in front of the lines. Had the city awakened from a terrible dream? Beyond the Ashley, a long line of soldiers of flame-color uniform, with glittering fire-arms, were seen crossing the ferry to James' Island. During the night Prevost had been informed that Lincoln was near with four thousand men, and he and his army had withdrawn in haste and abandoned the siege. They retreated leisurely toward Savannah, by way of the sea-islands along the coast. For more than a month a British detachment lingered on John's Island. On the 20th of June they had a fight with some of Lincoln's men at Stono Ferry, where the British had some works garrisoned by eight hundred men under Colonel Maitland. The contest was severe, each party losing almost three hundred men. The Americans, who had attempted to dislodge their enemy, were repulsed. But the British retreated a few days afterward to Port Royal, established a military post at Beaufort and on Lady's Island near, and finally made their way to Savannah. The hot season put an end to military operations in the South, and for awhile that region enjoyed comparative repose.

This invasion of the richest portion of South Carolina seems more like a raid for plunder than an expedition for conquest. Almost every house over a wide extent of country was entered by the soldiery, who stripped the women of their jewelry and fine clothing, the men of their money, valuable horses and other wealth, and the houses of plate, furniture, bedding, and rare ornaments. Tombs were actually rifled by the soldiery in search of treasure. Gardens were devastated, beautiful conservatories were laid waste, and live-stock and fowls were wantonly slaughtered. So complete was the devastation of the country, that many hundred fugitive slaves died of starvation in the woods, many perished by fever in the British camp, and full three thousand were carried into Georgia by the army, many of whom were sent to the West Indies and sold. This was done under the sanction of the king and his ministers. Germain had instructed the British officers to confiscate and sell not only the negroes employed in the American army, but those who voluntarily sought British protection.

While these events were occurring in the South, Sir Henry Clinton was

not idle in the North, but sought to distress the Americans by marauding expeditions. In this business Ex-Governor Tryon, who had been named "The Wolf" by the suffering people of North Carolina over whom he had been ruler, was a willing worker. Late in April, 1779, he left camp near Kingsbridge, at the northern end of New York Island, with fifteen hundred regulars and Hessians, to destroy some salt-works at Horse Neck and attack an American detachment under General Putnam at Greenwich, on the



AN INVASION OF PLUNDERERS.

borders of Connecticut. Putnam's scouts had discovered them, and on the morning of the 26th, he had his little band drawn up in battle array, with a two-gun battery to meet them. They approached in solid column, horse and foot. Perceiving their overwhelming numbers, Putnam ordered a retreat. That retreat became a rout. The soldiers fled to adjacent swamps, while the general, putting spurs to his horse, sped toward Stamford, pursued by several of the British dragoons. Near a meeting-house was a very steep hill around the brow of which the road swept in a broad curve. Up the acclivity

some stone steps had been constructed, to allow the people beyond a nearer way to the meeting-house. When Putnam reached the turn in the road at the brow of the hill, the dragoons were so near, that he must either dash down the declivity or surrender. Choosing the former alternative, he spurred the horse down the hill at full speed, in a zigzag course, traversing a few of the lower steps, and escaped, for the troopers dared not follow him. They sent a few harmless bullets after him, and he flung curses upon the British behind him, in his flight. Tryon plundered the inhabitants there of everything valuable, destroyed a few salt-works and some vessels, damaged the houses of Whigs, and then went back to Kingsbridge. Putnam rallied a few of his men and some militia and pursued the marauders. He recaptured some of the plunder, which he returned to the inhabitants, and made thirty-eight of the British prisoners, having lost in the affair about twenty of his own men.

A little later, a marauding expedition appeared on the coast of Virginia. On the 9th of May, a squadron commanded by Sir George Collier, entered Hampton Roads, with land troops under General Matthews, who desolated the region on both sides of the Elizabeth River from the Roads to Norfolk and Portsmouth. After destroying a vast amount of property, they withdrew and returned to New York; and on the 30th of May this naval force accompanied Sir Henry Clinton up the Hudson River to dislodge the Americans at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point opposite. In this expedition, the troops were commanded by General Vaughan, the officer who led the marauders who burned Kingston in the autumn of 1777. The British landed on the morning of the 31st, when the little garrison at Stony Point fled to the Highlands. The next morning (June 1, 1779) the guns of the captured fortress were pointed toward Fort Fayette, opposite. The little garrison there, attacked by troops in the rear, surrendered as prisoners of war. The loss of these forts was lamented by Washington, and his first care was to recover them.

These achievements accomplished, Sir Henry sent Collier with his squadron to the shores of Connecticut, with a band of marauders under Governor Tryon, about twenty-five hundred strong, composed of British and Hessians. The latter were sent on these expeditions, because they were more cruel than the Britons, and delighted in plundering, burning buildings, and ill-treating the defenceless inhabitants; a mode of warfare ordered by Lord George Germain to awe the people into submission. The expedition left New York on the night of the 3d of July, and in the course of about a week, laid waste and carried away a vast amount of property. They plundered New Haven on the 5th, laid East Haven in ashes on the 6th,

destroyed Fairfield on the 8th, and plundered and burned Norwalk on the 12th. Not content with this wanton destruction of property, the invaders cruelly abused the defenceless inhabitants. The soldiery were given free license to oppress the people, Tryon encouraging instead of restraining them in their horrid work. The Hessians were his incendiaries. To them he entrusted the operation of the torch and the most brutal acts, which British



PUTNAM'S ESCAPE.

soldiers would not perform. Whilst Norwalk was in flames, Tryon sat in a rocking-chair upon a hill in the neighborhood, a delighted spectator of the scene. Nero fiddled while Rome was burning; this puny imitator of the emperor made merry over the conflagration of a defenceless town inhabited by people of his own nation. In allusion to this and kindred expeditions, Trumbull, in his *McFingal*, makes Malcolm say :

“ Behold like whelps of British lion,
Our warriors, Clinton, Vaughan and Tryon,
March forth with patriotic joy
To ravish, plunder and destroy.
Great gen’rais, foremost in their nation,
The journeymen of Desolation !

Like Sampson's foxes, each assails,
Let loose with firebrands in their tails,
And spreads destruction more forlorn
Than they among Philistines' corn."

When Tryon (whom the English *people* abhorred for his wrong doings in America) had completed the destruction of these pleasant New England villages, he boasted of his extreme clemency in leaving a single house standing on the coast of Connecticut.

The Americans, meanwhile, were preparing to strike the British heavy and unexpected blows. The brave and impetuous General Wayne was then in command of infantry in the Hudson Highlands. Washington was at New Windsor just above them. Wayne proposed to surprise the garrison at Stony Point, and take the fort by storm. "Can you do it?" asked Washington. "I'll storm hell, if you'll only plan it, general," replied Wayne. Washington consented to let him try Stony Point first; and on the evening of the 15th of July, Wayne was within half a mile of the bold, rocky promontory with a few hundred men whom he had led secretly through the mountains, from near Fort Montgomery. As stealthily they approached the fort at midnight, arranged in two columns, a greater part of the little force crossed a narrow causeway over a morass, in the rear, and with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, marched up to the assault. A forlorn hope of picked men led the way to make openings in the *abatis* at the two points of attack. The alarmed sentinels fired their muskets, and the aroused garrison flew to arms. The stillness of the night was suddenly broken by the rattle of musketry and the roar of cannon from the ramparts. In the face of a terrible storm of bullets and grape-shot, the assailants forced their way into the fort at the point of the bayonet. Wayne, who led one of the divisions in person, had been brought to his knees by a stunning blow from a musket-ball that grazed his head. Believing himself to be mortally wounded, he exclaimed: "March on! carry me into the fort, for I will die at the head of my column!" He soon recovered, and at two o'clock in the morning, he wrote to Washington: "The fort and garrison, with General Johnston, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men determined to be free." In this assault, the Americans lost about one hundred men; fifteen killed and the remainder wounded. The British had sixty-three killed; and Johnston, the commander, and five hundred and forty-three officers and men, were made prisoners. The British ships lying in the river near by, slipped their cables and moved down the stream. The Americans attempted to recapture Fort Fayette, on Verplanck's Point opposite, but failed. They removed the heavy ordnance and the stores from Stony Point to West Point,

for the republicans were not strong enough to garrison and hold it, and abandoning the post it was repossessed by the British a few days afterward. The Congress awarded a gold medal to Wayne, and a silver medal each to Colonels De Fleury and Stewart, the leaders of the two main divisions, for their gallantry on this occasion.

This brilliant victory—one of the most brilliant of the war—was followed by another bold exploit a month later. The British had a fortified post at Paulus's Hook (now Jersey City) opposite New York. Between three and four o'clock on the morning of the 19th of August (1779), its garrison was



WAYNE AT STONY POINT.

surprised by Major Henry Lee, who had come from the rear of Hoboken with three hundred picked men, followed by Lord Stirling with a strong reserve force. The British garrison, unsuspecting of danger near, were careless. Lee entered the loosely-barred gate of the outer works, and gained the interior of the main intrenchments before he was discovered, the sentinels being absent or asleep. He captured one hundred and fifty-nine of the garrison. The redoubt, in which the remainder had taken refuge, was too strong to be affected by small arms, and as he was without cannon, Lee retreated, bearing away his scores of captives. For this exploit the Congress honored him with a vote of thanks and a gold medal. In this expedition, Lee had only two men killed and three wounded.

These events elated the Americans. A sad one in the far east lessened their joy. Massachusetts had fitted out about forty war-vessels and transports to convey almost a thousand men to attempt the capture of a British

fort at Castine, at the mouth of the Penobscot River. They arrived on the 25th of July, and landed on the 28th. Too weak to take the fort by storm, they waited more than a fortnight for reinforcements. Meanwhile Sir George Collier sailed into the Penobscot with a British squadron, just as the republicans were about to assail the fort (August 14), and attacked the American flotilla. He captured two war-vessels, when the rest, with the transports, fled up the river, and were burned by their crews. Sir George took many of the soldiers and sailors prisoners, and drove the remainder into the wild forests, where they suffered intensely while making their way back to Boston. The survivors reached that town toward the close of September.

The atrocities of the Indians in the valley of Wyoming and around the headwaters of the Susquehanna in the summer and autumn of 1778, kindled the hottest indignation of the American people, and it was determined by the Congress to chastise the savages who committed the murderous deeds, especially the Senecas. In the summer of 1779, Washington sent General Sullivan, with a little army of Continental troops, into the heart of the country of the Six Nations, all of whom, excepting the Oneidas, had been won over to the royal cause by the Johnsons and other British emissaries. Sullivan gathered his troops in the Wyoming Valley, and with these, three thousand strong, he marched up the Susquehanna on the last day of July. On the 22d of August he was joined, at Tioga Point, by General James Clinton, who had come from the Mohawk Valley with about fifteen hundred men. Meanwhile there had been hostilities in the wilderness. In April several hundred soldiers, led by Colonels Van Schaick and Willett, had penetrated the Onondaga country from Fort Schuyler, destroyed three villages, burned the provisions of the inhabitants, and slaughtered their live-stock. Three hundred Onondaga braves were immediately sent out upon the war-path charged with the vengeance of the nation. They spread terror and desolation far and near, in conjunction with other savages. They pushed down to the waters of the Delaware and the borders of Ulster county. In July, Brant, with Indians and Tories, fell upon and devastated the settlement of Minnisink in the night. Growing crops were destroyed, and cattle and other plunder were carried away. One hundred and fifty militia and volunteers went in pursuit, when, on the 22d of July, the savages turned upon them. A severe conflict ensued; the republicans were beaten, surrounded, and murdered after they were made prisoners. Only thirty of the patriotic pursuers survived to tell the dreadful story. These events gave strength to the courage of Sullivan's men.

The forces of Sullivan and Clinton, at Tioga Point, numbered five thousand men. They moved cautiously, and on the morning of the 29th, dis-

persed a party of eight hundred Indians and Tories strongly fortified at Chemung, now Elmira. Brant was at the head of the Indians, and Sir John Johnson, with the Butlers and Captain McDonald, led the Tories. The fight was severe. Sullivan's army rested on the battle-ground that night, and the next morning pushed on in pursuit of the fugitives.

That pursuit was quick and sharp. A part of the army penetrated the wilderness to the Genesee Valley, and a part to Cayuga Lake. In the course of three weeks, they destroyed forty-three Indian villages, with a vast amount of food in fields, gardens, and garrisons—one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn. Flourishing and fruitful orchards were cut down; hundreds of gardens were desolated; the inhabitants were driven into the forests to starve, and were hunted like wild beasts; their altars were overturned, and their graves were trampled upon by strangers; and a beautiful well-watered country, teeming with a prosperous people, and just rising from a wilderness state by the aid of cultivation, to a level with the productive regions of civilization, was desolated, and cast back almost a century. This scourging awed the Indians for the moment, but did not crush them. The fires of hatred were fiercely kindled, and spread like a conflagration far among the tribes upon the great lakes and in the valley of the Ohio. Washington, who ordered the chastisement, was called "*The Town Destroyer*." Cornplanter, a chief of the Senecas, standing before President Washington, said, in the course of a long speech: "When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you *The Town Destroyer*; and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers."

With the chastisement of the Indians, the campaign of 1779 ended in the North, where, at the close of the year, events appeared somewhat encouraging to the Americans. The British had withdrawn from Rhode Island, and had abandoned the forts on the Hudson, giving the freedom of King's Ferry, at Stony Point, to the Americans; and nowhere in New England, west of the Penobscot, did the enemy hold a foot of the soil. At the same time the army and the finances of the Americans were in a wretched condition, and gave a gloomy appearance to the future of the republican cause. The army, cantoned in New Jersey, were enveloped in snow two feet in depth, before the middle of December, and suffered dreadfully, at times, because of a lack of the necessaries of life. Washington's headquarters were again at Morristown, in the midst of a fertile region and patriotic people. Fortunately for the army and the cause, the crops in New Jersey during the year just closed, were abundant, and the people were willing to do all in their power to meet the requisitions upon the several counties from time to

time, by the commander-in-chief, for supplies, notwithstanding the Continental bills offered in payment were rapidly depreciating. At the close of 1779 one dollar in gold or silver would purchase thirty dollars of paper money. Terms of enlistment of many of the troops would soon expire, and large bounties offered to those who should engage "for the war" brought very few into the ranks. The Congress could compel nothing; yet their appeals to the people—to the militia—in serious emergencies, seldom failed



COUNT D'ESTAING.

GENERAL WAYNE.

GENERAL SULLIVAN.

to receive an encouraging response. The Congress, the army and the people, never lost faith in the cause. That faith, and the generous aid afforded by the inhabitants of New Jersey from time to time, saved the army from disbanding in the winter of 1779-80.

We have observed that D'Estaing sailed to the West Indies late in 1778 to attack the British possessions there. He found the naval strength of the enemy in those waters to be superior to that of the French, and for six months he kept his fleet sheltered in the Bay of Port Royal. After that, he fought Admiral Byron successfully; and on the first of September, in response to the expressed wishes of the Congress and the urgent appeals of the South Carolinians, he appeared so suddenly off the coast of Georgia, with a power-

ful fleet, that he surprised and captured four British ships-of-war. He announced his willingness to co-operate with the republican army in the reduction of Savannah, provided he should not be detained too long on that dangerous coast, for he could find neither roadsteads, harbor, nor offing for his twenty great ships-of-the-line. His entire fleet consisted of thirty-three sail, bearing a large number of very heavy guns.

On the appearance of the French fleet, Prevost summoned the troops from all his outposts to come to the defence of Savannah. Three hundred negroes from the neighboring plantations and others not engaged were pressed into the service to strengthen the fortifications. Thirteen redoubts and fifteen batteries with connecting lines of intrenchments were speedily completed, upon which seventy-six cannon were mounted, and before them strong *abatis* were laid. The works on Tybee Island, at the mouth of the Savannah River, were also strengthened. All of these defences were constructed under the supervision of the talented engineer, Major Moncrief.

Meanwhile General Lincoln had marched from Charleston and concentrated his army at Zubley's Ferry, on the 12th of September. On the same day the French troops of D'Estaing's fleet landed below Savannah, and moved up to a point within three miles of the town. Lincoln had sent Count Pulaski, with his legion of horse and foot, and McIntosh's infantry, to attack the British outposts, while he moved cautiously toward Savannah. On the 16th, he was within three miles of the town, with his whole force. On that day D'Estaing summoned Prevost to surrender the fort to the arms of the French king. The latter asked for a truce until the next day, for he hourly expected eight hundred men from Beaufort, under Maitland. It was unwisely granted. Meanwhile the British employed a large force in strengthening their works. Maitland came in time, warm with a fatal fever, and then Prevost sent a defiant answer to D'Estaing. The golden opportunity for the combined armies was lost by the unwise forbearance of the French commander.

It was now perceived that the town must be taken by regular approaches, and not by assault. The heavy French ordnance, and the stores, were brought up from their landing-place, and on the 23d of September the siege began. It was continued, with varying success, until the 8th of October. D'Estaing became impatient to depart, for the season of dangerous gales on that coast had arrived. It was rumored, too, that Admiral Byron was approaching with a British fleet. A council was held. The engineers decided that it would take ten days more to reach the British lines by trenches; whereupon D'Estaing told Lincoln that the siege must be raised immediately or an attempt must be made to take the place by storm. The

latter alternative was chosen, and the sanguinary work began the next day, October 9, 1779. The plan of the attack was revealed to Prevost the night before, by a citizen of Charleston, named Cunny, a sergeant-major of Lincoln's army, who had deserted to the enemy. It gave the British a decided advantage.

About forty-five hundred men of the combined armies moved to the attack just before the dawn, completely shrouded in a dense fog, and covered by a heavy fire from the French batteries. They advanced in three columns, the main one commanded by D'Estaing in person, assisted by Lincoln; another led by Count Dillon, and a third by General Isaac Huger, of Charleston. The latter was to make a feigned attack to divert attention from the movements of the other two. The right of the British, where the principal assault was to begin, was commanded by the gallant Maitland, who was then suffering from the fever that finally destroyed him. His chief defence was a strong work on the Augusta road, known as the Spring-Hill redoubt. This D'Estaing was to attack, while Count Dillon was to make his way along the edge of a swamp to the weakest point of the British lines on the east, and assail them there.

Dillon became entangled in the swamp, and failed. At dawn D'Estaing and Lincoln attacked the redoubt. A fierce battle ensued, and lasted almost an hour. D'Estaing was wounded and carried to his camp. Whole ranks of the assailants were mowed down by bullets and grape-shot; yet the gallant allies pressed forward, leaped the ditch, and placed the French and American flags on the parapet of the redoubt. Fresh forces within pressed them back into the ditch, and tore down the ensigns. The American flags were two that were embroidered and presented to the Second South Carolina regiment by Mrs. Susannah Elliot of Charleston, and were planted on the parapet by Lieutenants Hume and Bush. These officers were both killed. Lieutenant Gray seized the standards and kept them erect. He, too, was slain, when Sergeant Jasper, the hero of Fort Sullivan, rushed to the rescue of the flags, and fell into the ditch mortally wounded. "Tell Mrs. Elliot," said the dying hero, "that I lost my life supporting the colors she presented to our regiment." The flags were of silk; a blue field bearing a white crescent.

While this fearful struggle was going on at the redoubt, Huger and Pulaski were trying to force their way into the enemy's works on different sides of the town. The latter, at the head of his legion and with his banner in his hand, was fighting his way not far from the Spring-Hill redoubt, when he was mortally wounded by a grape-shot. His troops were driven back. Already the French had withdrawn from the assault, and the Continentals

under Lincoln were falling back. After five hours hard fighting, the allies showed a white flag, and asked for a truce to bury their dead. It was granted. D'Estaing and Lincoln held a consultation about the future. The former had lost many of his men, and wished to abandon the siege; the latter, confident that a victory might be speedily won, wished to continue it.



DEATH OF PULASKI.

The former refused to remain any longer; and on the evening of the 18th, the allies withdrew—the French to their ships and the Americans to Zubley's Ferry. Lincoln made his way to Charleston with the remains of his army, and at the beginning of November, the French fleet sailed for France. The allied armies had lost over a thousand men in the siege and assault; the British only one hundred and twenty. The South Carolinians were disheartened by the result, and looked to the future with gloomy forebodings.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE CONTINENTAL NAVY—ITS ORGANIZATION—SUCCESS OF CRUISERS—A CRUISE AROUND IRELAND—DOINGS ON THE AMERICAN COAST—LOSS OF BRITISH VESSELS—NOTABLE CRUISERS—JOHN PAUL JONES IN BRITISH WATERS—ROBBERY OF THE EARL OF SELKIRK—CAPTURE OF THE DRAKE—ACTIVITY OF AMERICAN CRUISERS—JONES'S GREAT FIGHT OFF THE COAST OF SCOTLAND—HIS REWARDS—THE KING AND PARLIAMENT—IRELAND—POWNELL'S PROPHECY—THE ARMED NEUTRALITY—FOREIGN NEGOTIATIONS—LAFAYETTE.

WE have observed on page 828 that late in 1775, the Congress ordered the establishment of a Continental navy. The thirteen vessels then authorized to be built or purchased were furnished early in 1776, and these, with many privateers, did good service on the ocean. The affairs of the little navy were at first managed by a committee of Congress only. This committee was modified from time to time, and finally, in October, 1779, it assumed the form and name of a "Board of Admiralty," with a salaried secretary, and was composed of members of Congress and three paid commissioners who were not members of that body. This organization continued until 1781, when General Alexander McDougal was appointed "Secretary of Marine," whose functions were essentially those of our Secretary of the Navy at the present time. Very soon afterward he was superseded by an "Agent of Marine," and in that office the name of Robert Morris often appeared. That eminent financier of the Revolution had more to do with the management of naval affairs than any other man. He sent out privateers on his own account, a business in which other patriots engaged. Washington was, at one time, part owner of a privateer.

Esek Hopkins, of Rhode Island, was appointed commander-in-chief of the little Continental navy. The avowed object of the armament was to intercept British vessels bearing supplies for the British armies in America, but the Continental war-ships were frequently more aggressive. Hopkins sailed on his first cruise in February, 1776. He left the Delaware with a small squadron of five vessels, carrying an aggregate of ninety-eight guns. The *Alfred*, 28, was his flag-ship, and his first-lieutenant was John Paul Jones, who afterward became famous. Jones raised on the *Alfred*, in the

Delaware, in December, 1775, the first American ensign ever shown on an American vessel-of-war. Hopkins's captains were Whipple, Biddle, J. B. Hopkins and Hazard, all of them but Biddle, Rhode Island men. The first cruise was against Lord Dunmore, then distressing the Virginia coast. Hopkins extended his cruise to the Bahama Islands to capture British stores at Nassau, New Providence, and was successful. Among the spoils were one hundred cannon. Retiring, he operated off the New England coasts; but the Congress censured him for departing from the line of his instructions, and dismissed him from the service. His lieutenant, Jones, was placed in command of the *Alfred*, the following autumn. No naval commander-in-chief was subsequently appointed.

Jones was always successful. While in command of the *Providence*, in September, 1776, he was chased by two British ships-of-war off the Carolina coasts, but escaped, and sailing eastward as far as Nova Scotia, he captured and carried into Newport fifteen prizes. Meanwhile Whipple and Biddle were equally successful off the eastern coasts; and the New England colony vessels were very active. These, and the Continental cruisers, deprived the British army of about five hundred soldiers during the summer and fall of 1776. No less than three hundred and forty-two British vessels fell into the hands of the Americans that year.

In the fall of 1776, the Continental ship *Reprisal*, Captain Wickes, carried Dr. Franklin, as American Commissioner, to France, where she cruised in European waters, the first American armed ship that had appeared there. She captured several British prizes in the Bay of Biscay. Among these was the royal English packet on its way from Falmouth to Lisbon. These prizes were sold in French ports, and the proceeds were used by the American commissioners in Paris for purchasing other vessels in French ports. In the summer of 1777, Wickes, with a little squadron of three vessels, sailed entirely around Ireland, sweeping the channel in its whole breadth, and capturing or destroying a great number of British merchant vessels. This cruise produced a powerful impression on the public mind in England, and France was required to renounce its friendship for the rebellious colonists or pronounce a disclaimer. Policy, then, dictated the latter course and the American vessels were ordered to leave the French coast. When the *Reprisal* was returning homeward, she was wrecked on the coast of Newfoundland, and Captain Wickes, and all of his people but the cook, perished.

The duplicity of France, at that time, caused much trouble. Franklin carried with him a number of blank commissions from the Congress, for army and navy officers who might be willing to enter the Continental service. One of them was given to Captain Conyngham, who sailed from Dun-

querque (Dunkirk), on the northern coast of France, in the brig *Surprise*, in May, 1777. He captured two British vessels and re-entered the harbor of Dunkirk, when, on account of the remonstrance of the British ambassador, they were released and their captors were imprisoned. Unwilling to offend the American commissioners, the French government allowed Conyngham to sail from Dunkirk in the *Revenge*, with which he unsuccessfully sought the ships bearing the German mercenaries to America. He made many



A NAVAL ENGAGEMENT IN 1779.

prizes, with the proceeds of which the Commissioners in Paris were supplied with money. General alarm prevailed. Marine insurance rose to twenty-five per centum; and so loth were British merchants to ship goods in English bottoms, that at one time forty French vessels were together loading in the Thames.

While these events were occurring in European waters, there was no less activity shown by American cruisers off the western shores of the Atlantic. These contributed a greater share to the list of three hundred and forty-two British prizes captured. The success of these vessels off our coast, and naval events on Lake Champlain, closed the maritime operations of 1776, with honor to the Americans. Early in 1777, the *Randolph*, Captain Biddle, sailed on her first cruise. She was successful; but in the spring of 1778, while fighting a British vessel-of-war, she blew up, and Biddle and all of his crew perished, excepting four men. During 1777, Captains Manly, McNeil, Saltonstall, Olney, Hinman, Thompson and others made successful cruises; and the year closed with a loss to the British of four hundred and sixty-seven merchantmen, notwithstanding they had seventy vessels-of-war in American waters.

Soon after the conclusion of the treaty of alliance in 1778, French vessels-of-war went out on the ocean to co-operate with the Americans, and the Congress fitted out some more armed ships at the same time. Among them, the *Alliance*, 32, became the favorite ship of the patriots. The most conspicuous naval operations of that year were the cruise of the *Providence*, Captain Rathburne, to the Bahamas; of the *Raleigh*, Captain Thompson, and the *Alfred*, Captain Hinman, from L'Orient; the *Virginia*, Captain Nicholson, on the American coast; of John Paul Jones in the *Ranger*, in British waters, and of Captain Barry in the *Raleigh*, in the waters of the Atlantic ocean. The *Alfred* was captured, in March, 1778, by two British war-ships, in European waters, and at about the same time the *Virginia* was lost in Chesapeake Bay. Early in April (1778), Jones appeared in British waters for the first time. The *Ranger* was an inferior vessel, and yet her commander, after making some important captures in the British Channel, undertook the bold task of seizing the English ship-of-war *Drake*, lying in the harbor of Carrickfergus, Ireland. He failed. Then he sailed to the English coast, entered the port of Whitehaven, seized the forts, spiked the cannon, and, setting fire to a ship in the midst of a hundred other vessels, departed. The flames were extinguished and the shipping was saved; and from that day to this, the name of Jones has been associated in the English mind with ideas of piracy and devastation, and he is called a "pirate" and "corsair" by English historians. His exploit spread terror along the British coasts, and produced a profound sensation throughout the kingdom.

Emboldened by this success, Jones proceeded to the coast of his native country (Scotland), cruised up and down between the Solway and the Clyde, and attempted the capture of the Earl of Selkirk, at his seat near the mouth of the Dee. The earl was the early friend of Jones's father; and beneath his majestic oak and huge chestnut trees, our hero had played in his boyhood. He anchored the *Ranger* in the Solway at noon, and with a few men in a single boat, went to the wooded promontory on which the earl's fine mansion stood, where he learned that his lordship was absent. Disappointed, he ordered his men back to the boat, when his lieutenant, a large and fiery man, proposed to carry away the plate of the earl, in imitation of English plunderers on the American coasts. Jones would not entertain the proposal. The memory of old associations forbade it. He was standing in the shadows of the old wood wherein he had enjoyed life in his childhood. From the hand of Lady Selkirk he had received nothing but kindness. Again he ordered his men back, but they and the lieutenant, eager for prize money, made his expostulations vain, and he ordered them to perform, what he

deemed to be a mean robbery, with the greatest delicacy. The frightened Lady Selkirk delivered up the plate with her own hands; and when the marauders returned to the boat, they found Jones walking moodily among the old trees. He had laid his plans for the future. When the prizes of the *Ranger* were sold in the harbor of Brest, in May, he bought the plate and returned it to Lady Selkirk with a letter, in which he expressed his regret because of the annoyance she had suffered.

Late in April, Jones again appeared off Carrickfergus, when the *Drake* went out to give the *Ranger* battle. They fought more than an hour, when the *Drake*, much shattered, and forty of her men slain, surrendered. With this prize Jones went around Ireland and arrived at Brest on the 8th of May. Meanwhile D'Estaing had sailed for the Delaware, and his arrival made the American cruisers more active and bold. Captain Barry performed some notable exploits in the fall of 1778; and early in 1779, the *Alliance*, Captain Landais, sailed for France, bearing Lafayette, who went home to urge his king to send troops to America.

During the spring and summer of 1779, the American cruisers were very active. In March, the *Hampden*, a Massachusetts ship, had a severe fight with an English Indiaman, and was much damaged, but escaped capture. In April, Captain J. B. Hopkins, sailing on a cruise from Boston, captured several British vessels bound for Georgia with supplies for Prevost. In June, Captains Whipple and Rathburne, in command of two ships, captured several British merchant-vessels under convoy of a ship-of-the-line. In a money point of view, this was one of the most successful enterprises of the war. The estimated value of eight of the prizes taken into Boston was over a million dollars.

While these events were occurring in the western hemisphere, the French monarch and the American commissioners joined in sending Paul Jones, with five vessels, from L'Orient to the coast of Scotland, at the middle of August. His flag-ship was the *Bon-Homme Richard*. Just as he was about to strike some armed British vessels, in the harbor of Leith, a storm arose, which drove his squadron into the North Sea. When the tempest subsided he drew near the land, and cruising along the coast of Scotland, he captured thirteen prizes by the middle of September. Consternation prevailed along the coast, and many people buried their plate to keep the "pirate's" hands from it.

Late in September, while the squadron of Jones lay a few leagues north of the mouth of the Humber, he discovered the Baltic fleet of forty merchantmen, convoyed by the *Serapis*, a 44-gun ship, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of 22 guns, stretching seaward from behind Flamborough

Head. Here was a tempting prize for which he had sought. Jones signalled for a general chase, and all but the *Alliance*, Captain Landais, obeyed. The British vessels immediately prepared to defend the merchantmen; and while they, and the *Richard* and *Pallas* were manœuvring for advantage, night fell upon the scene. The darkness did not restrain the impetuous Jones. At seven o'clock in the evening, the *Richard* was within musket-



PAUL JONES ENCOURAGING HIS MEN.

shot distance of the *Serapis*, when one of the most desperate naval fights ever recorded began. The wind was slack, and as the vessels were struggling for the weather-guage, they came in contact. Their spars and rigging were entangled, when Jones, at the head of his men, attempted to board the *Serapis*. After a sharp and close contest with pike, pistol and cutlass, he was repulsed, when Captain Pearson of the *Serapis*, who could not see

the ensign of the *Richard*, called out: "Has your flag been struck?" Jones shouted, "I have not begun to fight yet."

The vessels now separated, and Jones attempted to lay his ship athwart the hawser of his enemy. He failed, and the wind brought the two ships broadside to broadside, the muzzles of the guns touching each other. Jones instantly lashed the ships together, and in that close embrace they poured their terrible volleys into each other with awful effect. From deck to deck of the entangled vessels the combatants madly rushed, fighting like demons. Very soon the *Richard* was pierced between wind and water with several 18-pound balls, and began to fill. Her ten greater guns were silenced, and only three 9-pounders kept up the cannonade; but the marines in the round top of the *Richard* sent deadly volleys of bullets down upon the struggling Englishmen. Ignited combustibles were scattered over the *Serapis*; and at one time she was on fire in a dozen places. Some cartridges were ignited on her lower deck and blew up the whole of the officers and men that were quartered abaft the mainmast. At half-past nine, just as the moon rose in a cloudless sky, the *Richard* was discovered to be on fire, also, and a scene of appalling grandeur was presented. In the midst of smoke and half-smothered flame, and the incessant roar of great guns, men as furious as wounded tigers were seen struggling hand-to-hand for the mastery. At that moment a cry was raised on the *Richard*—"The ship is sinking!" A frightened gunner ran aft to pull down the American flag, when he found the halyards cut away. He cried, "Quarter, quarter!" until he was silenced by a blow from a discharged pistol which Jones hurled at his head. It fractured his skull, and sent him headlong down the gangway. "Did you ask for quarter?" shouted Pearson. "Never!" replied Jones. "Then I'll give you none," answered the enraged Englishman; and the desperate fight went on more fiercely than before.

The situation of Jones was becoming, every moment, more critical, for his ship could not float much longer. Nothing appeared more hopeless than his prospect for victory. Yet he won it. The flames crept up the rigging of the *Serapis*, and by their glow and the full light of the moon, Jones saw that his double-headed shot had almost cut Pearson's mainmast in two. He hurled another shot upon it, until the tall mast reeled. Pearson saw his great peril, and striking his flag, surrendered to his really weaker foe. Enveloped in sparks and smoke, Pearson said, in a surly manner, as he hurriedly handed his sabre to Jones: "It is painful to deliver up my sword to a man who has fought with a rope around his neck." Jones courteously replied, as he returned the weapon: "Sir, you have fought like a hero, and I make no doubt your sovereign will reward you in the most

ample manner." The king knighted Pearson. When Jones heard of it, he said: "Well, he deserves it; and if I fall in with him again, I'll make a lord of him."

The battle ceased after raging three hours. Fire was consuming both ships, and all hands turned to fighting the flames. They did so successfully. The vessels were soon disengaged, when the mast of the *Serapis*, which had



been kept erect by the entangled spars and rigging, fell with a tremendous crash, carrying with it the mizzen-topmast. The *Richard* was damaged past recovery, and now settled rapidly. Every living person was transferred to the *Serapis*, and sixteen hours afterward the gallant *Bon Homme Richard* went down into the valleys of the North Sea.

The *Countess of Scarborough*, Captain Cotineau, surrendered to the *Pallas* after an hour's fight, notwithstanding the treacherous Landais brought the guns of the *Alliance* to bear upon the latter as he had upon the *Richard*, pretending to mistake them, in the darkness, for the ships of the enemy. This brilliant victory was achieved on the night of the 23d of September. The Baltic fleet had taken shelter behind Flamborough Head. After tossing about on the Northern Sea ten days, Jones ran into the Texel, Holland, with his little squadron and prizes, only a few hours before eleven English ships-of-war that had been sent after him, appeared in the offing. A demand was made upon Holland to deliver up the prizes, and Jones and his

men, to the English authorities. By adroit diplomacy, the States-General refused, without involving themselves in trouble with the British government; and Jones, instead of being conveyed to England as a "corsair," was put in command of the *Alliance*, and did good service for the Americans afterward. His fame spread through the civilized world. The French monarch gave him an elegant gold-mounted sword, bearing on its blade the words: "*Louis XVI, Rewarder of the Valiant Asserter of the Freedom of the Sea.*" He also created him a knight of the Order of Merit. Catharine of Russia conferred on him the ribbon of St. Anne; and from Denmark, he received marks of distinction and a pension. The United States thanked him cordially, and eight years afterward gave him a gold medal.

The exploits of Jones exasperated and alarmed the British. They made even heavy line-of-battle-ships shy of him; and he was regarded as like

"A malignant comet, bearing in its tail,
Death, famine, earthquakes, pestilence, and ruin."

The British government put forth its energies to the utmost to carry on the war against the allies with vigor. The powerful East India Company, whose possessions were menaced by the French, presented to the crown three fine 74-gun ships for the purpose, and offered a bounty for raising six thousand soldiers. When the Parliament assembled on the 25th of November, the king, in his speech, called upon that body to exert their greatest efforts in defence of the country against "one of the most dangerous confederacies ever formed against the crown and people of Great Britain," alluding to France and Spain, the latter being then in an attitude of hostility to the British. He did not mention America in his speech; but he called special attention to Ireland, where the discontents of the people appeared like the prelude to a general revolt. The separation of Ireland from Great Britain was a favorite scheme of Vergennes; but, he said, he would not rely upon the Roman Catholics of that country, as they were naturally in favor of a monarchical government; and he had information that a large body of the most influential Irish Romanists, professing to speak "for all their fellow Roman Catholic subjects," had addressed the English secretary in Ireland, expressing their abhorrence of the "unnatural American rebellion," and their attachment "to the best of kings," at the same time offering him "two millions of faithful and affectionate hearts and hands in defence of his person and government in any part of the world." Vergennes said he would rely upon the numerous Presbyterians who inhabited the North of Ireland, whose fanaticism makes them enemies of all civil or religious authority concentrated in a chief. "They aspire to nothing," he said, "but to give

themselves a form of government like that of the United Provinces of America." These Presbyterians were the men which the government suspected of contemplating rebellion, and the king recommended measures to conciliate them. Some of the sentiments of the king's speech were warmly criticised by the Opposition. The blunders of the ministry, in their dealings with the Americans, were severely condemned; and it was shown that since the beginning of the war against the colonies, more than three hundred million dollars had been added to the national debt. It was shown that Great Britain then had a military establishment by sea and land of not much less than three hundred thousand men, "a force exceeding the ability of any power in Europe to support for a continuance." But the king and his ministers carried their measures triumphantly through Parliament. That body voted one hundred and twenty thousand men for the united service, and appropriated one hundred million dollars to defray the expenses of the campaign of 1780. Yet these formidable preparations to enslave them did not, at that gloomiest period of the war, make the Americans quail or falter. They relied for success upon the justice of their cause, the generosity of human nature, and the favor of a righteous God. Thomas Pownall, in the British Parliament, uttered some remarkable prophecies concerning the future of America, saying, after speaking of what the colonies had done:

"Commerce will open the door to emigration. By constant intercommunication, America will every day approach more and more to Europe.

. . . . North America has become a new primary planet, which, while it takes its own course in its own orbit, must shift the common centre of gravity. These sovereigns of Europe, who shall find this new empire crossing all their settled maxims and accustomed measures, will call upon their ministers and raise men: 'Come, curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me!' These statesmen will be dumb, but the spirit of truth will answer: 'How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed.' Those sovereigns of Europe, who shall call upon their ministers to state to them things as they really do exist in nature, shall form the earliest, the most sure and natural connection with North America, as being, what she is, an independent state. The new empire of America is like a giant ready to run its course. The fostering care with which the rival powers of Europe will nurse it, insure its establishment beyond all doubt or danger."

These significant words were uttered at the beginning of 1780, when the league of leading nations of Europe, known as the "Armed Neutrality" against the pretensions of Great Britain as "Mistress of the Seas," was about to be consummated. That league had been in a formative state many months. It was conceived in the summer of 1778, when British cruisers

seized American vessels engaged in commerce with Russia, in the Baltic Sea. Russia was then assuming colossal proportions among the European powers. They all courted the friendship of her empress, Catharine, who was talented and powerful; and Great Britain tried to induce her to become its ally against France. Catharine coquetted with that government a long time, while her sympathies were with Sweden, Denmark and Holland, whose neutral ships were continually interfered with by British sea-rovers, and whose acts were justified by their government. The French monarch, by a master-stroke of policy, had gained the good-will of the northern maritime powers, by a proclamation of protection to all neutral vessels going to or from a hostile port with contraband goods, whose value did not exceed three-fourths that of the whole cargo. That was in the summer of 1778. From that time, until the opening of 1780, the insolence of British cruisers, and the tone of the British ministers, offended the northern powers. That tone was generally deprecatory and disparaging. "When the Dutch," said Lord North, "say 'We maritime powers,' it reminds me of the cobbler who lived next door to the Lord Mayor, and used to say 'My neighbor and I.'" Official language was sometimes equally offensive. When the Dutch complained of interference with their commerce and appealed to treaties in support of their claims as neutrals, the British minister at the Hague said: "For the present, treaty or no treaty, England will not suffer materials for ship-building to be taken by the Dutch to any French port." A similar tone was indulged in toward the other northern powers, excepting Russia; but the shrewd Catharine, perceiving the commercial interests of her realm to be involved in the maintenance of the neutral rights of others, after long coquetting with Great Britain, assumed the attitude of defender of those rights before all the world. Early in March, 1780, she issued a declaration, the substance of which was (1) That neutral ships shall enjoy free navigation from port to port, and on the coasts of belligerent powers; (2) That free ships free all goods except contraband; (3) That contraband are arms and ammunition of war, and nothing else; (4) That no port is blockaded unless the enemy's ships, in adequate number, are near enough to make the entry dangerous.

It was declared that those principles should rule decisions on the legality of prizes; and that state paper said: "In manifesting these principles before all Europe, Her Imperial Majesty is firmly resolved to maintain them. She has therefore given an order to fit out a considerable portion of her naval forces, to act as her honor, her interest, and necessity may require."

The empress invited Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and the Netherlands to join in support of her declaration. These, with Russia, entered into the

league in the course of the year. France and Spain acquiesced in the new maritime code; and at one time a general war between Great Britain and the Continental powers seemed inevitable. The Congress approved the position of the empress, and toward the close of 1780, sent Thomas Dana as ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg to concede, on behalf of the United States, the principles of the coalition, and to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce. At that time similar negotiations had been proposed or entered upon by the United States with other European powers. John Jay had been sent to Spain for the purpose, early in the fall of 1779; and John Adams was appointed a diplomatic agent to form a treaty of peace and commerce with Great Britain. Meanwhile Gerard had been succeeded by the Chevalier de Luzerne, as French minister in the United States, and was invested with limited authority from Spain to negotiate with our government concerning territories and boundaries in America. A plan for a commercial treaty with Holland had been perfected, but at the time we are considering (the beginning of 1780) nothing definite had been done. The States-General had pursued a timid policy, fearing to offend Great Britain, and were silent on American affairs; but Van Berkel, the bold and enlightened head of the Amsterdam regency, had said in a letter to an American in 1778: "With the new republic, clearly raised up by the help of Providence, we desire a league of amity and commerce, which shall last to the end of time." He doubtless expressed the sentiments of the hearts of all intelligent Netherlanders at that time.

At the close of 1779, Lafayette had completed important services for the Americans, in France, by inducing the king to order a French army to America under the command of the Count de Rochambeau, to assist the republicans in their struggle. He had been received in France, on his return home early in the year, with intense enthusiasm, for his fame as a soldier here was universally known. His personal magnetism was wonderful. Whenever he appeared in the streets, crowds followed him. When his name was mentioned in the theatres, it was greeted with wildest applause. His persuasions at court were irresistible. Old Count Maurepas, who was at the head of the French ministry, said: "It is fortunate for the king that Lafayette did not take it into his head to strip Versailles of its furniture to send to his dear America, as his majesty would have been unable to refuse it."

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CHARLESTON BY THE BRITISH—VIOLATIONS OF SOLEMN ENGAGEMENTS—SUFFERINGS OF LEADING CITIZENS—BOLDNESS OF GADSDEN—EFFECTS OF THE FALL OF CHARLESTON—BUFORD'S DEFEAT—ANDREW JACKSON—HARSH MEASURES—DE KALB—GATES IN COMMAND—EXPLOITS OF SUMTER AND MARION, AND OTHER PARTISANS—CORNWALLIS IN CHIEF COMMAND—LORD RAWDON AT CAMDEN—CORNWALLIS DEFEATS GATES—SUMTER'S MEN DISPERSED—A MISTAKEN POLICY—DOINGS IN WESTERN CAROLINAS—DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH AT KING'S MOUNTAIN—ITS EFFECTS—TREATMENT OF TORIES—PARTISAN WARFARE—MARION'S EXPLOITS AND HIS SWAMP CAMP.

THE British ministry ordered the subjugation of South Carolina, and on the day after Christmas, 1779, Sir Henry Clinton sailed from New York on that errand, with five thousand troops borne by a fleet commanded by Admiral Arbuthnot. He left General Knyphausen in charge of the troops in New York. Encountering heavy storms off Cape Hatteras, the fleet was scattered. Many of the horses perished. A ship loaded with cannon went to the bottom of the sea; another, bearing Hessian troops, was driven across the Atlantic and dashed on the shore of England. It was late in February, 1780, before the scattered British forces (including those of Prevost at Savannah), ten thousand strong, appeared on John's Island in sight of Charleston, a wealthy city of fifteen thousand inhabitants, white and black, and spread over a broad peninsula between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, at their entrance into the sea. The city was then defended by less than two thousand effective men, under General Lincoln. The people of the State were disheartened by events in Georgia. Their western frontier was menaced by the savages, and there was much disaffection in the interior. Had Clinton marched directly upon Charleston when he landed on the islands, it would have been an easy prey; but he tarried a month in preparations and waiting for the arrival of more troops which he had ordered from New York. Meanwhile Lincoln had cast up fortifications across Charleston Neck; and Commodore Whipple, who was in command of a flotilla of small vessels near the bar, had fled into the harbor, sunk some of his craft to obstruct the channels, and transferred his guns and seamen to the fortifications. Fort Moultrie (Sullivan) was well garrisoned, but offered no resistance to the British fleet when it entered the harbor on

the 9th of April. The troops had appeared before the American works on the 29th of March, and on the 10th of April, Clinton and Arbuthnot demanded the surrender of the city. It was promptly refused by Lincoln, and a siege went on for a month afterward.

Lincoln soon discovered his peril, and on the 13th of April called a council of officers to consider the propriety of evacuating the town. Before a conclusion could be reached, that movement was impossible. Some detachments of cavalry sent out to keep open a communication between the town and country had been dispersed by British troopers, and Cornwallis had arrived from New York (April 19th) with almost three thousand fresh troops. All hopes for the Americans faded. Fort Moultrie was compelled to surrender to the British on the 6th of May; and on the 9th, a third summons was made for the surrender of the army and the city, and refused. The succeeding night was a terrible one for Charleston. Late in the evening a general cannonade began. The thunders of two hundred heavy guns shook the city all night long. Fiery bomb-shells were rained upon it; and at one time the flames of burning buildings shot up at five different points. Nor did the morning bring relief. The cannonade continued all the day. At two o'clock on the morning of the 11th, Lincoln made a proposition to Clinton for a surrender. The British fleet had moved near the town, to join in the work of destruction, and further resistance would have been madness. The terms of surrender were arranged. It was agreed that the Continental soldiers should march out with their colors cased, and to lay down their arms as prisoners of war; the militia to be dismissed on their parole to take no further part in the contest, and to be secure in person and property so long as they remained faithful to that parole. The citizens of suitable age were also paroled; and by this extraordinary measure, Clinton could boast of over five thousand prisoners of war.

The city was given up to pillage by the British and Hessian troops. When the whole amount of plunder was appraised for distribution, it aggregated, in value, a million and a half dollars, Clinton and his major-generals each receiving about twenty thousand dollars. Houses were rifled of plate and other valuables; confiscation of the estates of the Whigs was threatened, and afterward executed; and slaves, even those who had sought British protection, were seized and sent to the West Indies for sale to swell the money-gains of the conquerors. Over two thousand were sent at one embarkation. They were driven on board the ships in gangs of four or five, lashed together by ropes—men and women—without regard to the separation of families or the supplications of parting kindred. Only upon the promise of unconditional loyalty was British protection offered to any

citizen ; and in gross violation of the terms of the capitulation, a large number of the leading men of Charleston were taken from their beds, in August, by armed men, and carried on board prison-ships, under the false accusation that they were concerned in a conspiracy to burn the town and murder the loyal inhabitants. In these ships hundreds suffered terribly. Among the more prominent citizens thus treated were Lieutenant-Governor Gadsden



SLAVES SENT TO THE WEST INDIES.

and David Ramsay, the historian, who were sent to St. Augustine, where Governor Tryon, the North Carolina "Wolf," was in command. Tryon offered them their liberty on parole. Gadsden, the sturdy patriot, refused. He would make no further terms with men who had broken solemn pledges. "Had the British commander," he said, "regarded the terms of capitulation at Charleston, I might now, although a prisoner, enjoy the smiles and consolations of my family under my own roof; but even without a shadow of accusation preferred against me, for any act inconsistent with my plighted faith, I am torn from them, and here, in a distant land, invited to enter into new engagements. I will give no parole." "Think better of it," said Tryon; "a second refusal of it will fix your destiny—a dungeon will be your future habitation." "Prepare it, then," replied the inflexible patriot. "I will give no parole, so help me God!" And the petty tyrant *did* prepare it. For forty-two weeks that brave man, almost three-score years of age, never saw the light of the blessed sun, but lay incarcerated in the castle at St. Augustine. And when he, and other prisoners, were exchanged the next

year, they were not allowed to enter Charleston, but were sent to Philadelphia, whither their families had been exiled.

The fall of Charleston and the loss of the Southern army were severe blows to the republicans. It paralyzed their strength; and, for awhile, South Carolina lay helpless at the feet of the oppressor. With an activity unusual for British officers in America, Clinton took immediate steps to extend and secure his conquests, and to re-establish royal authority in the South. With a mistaken policy he used harshness instead of conciliation toward the smitten and humbled inhabitants. He sent out three strong detachments to overrun the country and awe the people by a display of power. One of these, under Lord Cornwallis, marched up the course of the Santee River, to Camden; another, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger, was ordered to penetrate the country to Ninety-Six; and a third, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, went up from Savannah to Augusta.

Meanwhile Colonel Abraham Buford, with four hundred Continental infantry, a small number of cavalry and two cannon, who had hastened toward Charleston to help Lincoln, had been dreadfully smitten by Tarleton. Buford had retreated from Camden toward Charlotte, in North Carolina, on the approach of Cornwallis. Tarleton, with seven hundred cavalry and mounted infantry, was sent in pursuit. By a forced march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-five hours, he overtook Buford, on the Waxhaw (May 29th, 1780), and almost surrounded him before the republican leader was aware of his approach. Tarleton demanded his instant surrender upon the terms granted at Charleston. Buford refused compliance. While flags for conference were passing and re-passing, Tarleton, contrary to military rules, made preparations for assault when that conference should end. The instant he received Buford's reply, his cavalry made a furious charge upon the unprepared and astonished Americans. All was confusion. Some resisted; others threw down their arms and begged for quarter. None was given, and men without arms were hewn in pieces by the British cavalry. One hundred and thirteen were slain; one hundred and fifty were so maimed as to be unable to travel; and fifty-three were made prisoners, and graced Tarleton's triumphal march into Camden. The spoils of victory were Buford's artillery, ammunition and baggage. Cornwallis eulogized this savage act of Tarleton; Stedman, one of Cornwallis's officers, and a historian of the war, wrote: "On the occasion, the virtue of humanity was totally forgot." Tarleton received the special favor of Lord George Germain, for the cold-blooded massacre; and "Tarleton's quarter," became the synonym for cruelty. It was the war-cry for vengeance of the patriots in the field afterward. Among the witnesses of that massacre was Andrew Jackson,

then a lad thirteen years of age. The event fired his patriotism, and he and his brother Robert entered the military-service under Sumter. They were made prisoners, and while in captivity the spirit of the future military hero and headstrong President of the United States was displayed. A British officer ordered Andrew to clean his muddy boots. The boy refused to do this menial service for an enemy of his country, and received from the officer a sword-cut, the scar of which he bore to the grave sixty-five years afterward.



MASSACRE OF BUFORD'S COMMAND.

This massacre spread terror throughout the interior of South Carolina. Families fled from their homes in the pathway of the invaders, until there was no place of refuge for them. The exasperated patriots were ready to fight, but there was no military organization. Taking advantage of their helplessness, the conqueror now attempted to crush out all independence in the State by requiring every able-bodied man to join the British army, and take an active part in the re-establishment of royal rule, and threatening all who should refuse compliance with treatment as "rebels to the government of the king." The silence of fear and weakness overspread the State. Mistaking this lull in the storm, and the numerous applications for protection, for permanent tranquillity, Clinton and Arbuthnot, with a large body of troops, returned to New York. On the eve of his departure, Clinton wrote

to Germain: "The inhabitants from every quarter declare their allegiance to the king, and offer their services in arms. There are few men in South Carolina who are not either our prisoners or in arms with us."

The lull in the tempest of war was brief. To aid the Southern patriots, Washington had sent the Baron De Kalb, with Maryland and Delaware troops, to help Lincoln at Charleston. He was a brave but slow moving French officer, about sixty years of age, who accompanied Lafayette to this country, and was commissioned a major-general by the Congress, in September, 1777. He was yet in Virginia, whose leading men were making noble sacrifices to strengthen him, when he heard of the surrender of Charleston, and it was late in June when he entered North Carolina. By the capture of Lincoln, De Kalb became commander-in-chief of the army in the South, a position which he was not competent to fill with efficiency. Washington desired to have General Greene succeed Lincoln, but the Congress, yielding to the importunities of the friends of Gates, procured his appointment to that difficult position. That body gave the favorite orders to act independently, and to report directly to them. He was gratified by the trust reposed in him, and joined De Kalb on the 25th of July. The prospect before him was far from flattering. An army without strength; a military chest without money; an inefficient commissary department; a climate unfavorable to health; the spirit of the republicans cast down; loyalists and timid patriots swarming in every direction, and a victorious enemy pressing on to spread his legions over the territory Gates had come to defend, were the grave obstacles to success before him. But the approach of the "conqueror of Burgoyne," who was yet surrounded by the glory of that event, inspirited the republicans of the South. Sumter, Marion, Pickens and Clarke, brave and skillful, true and persistent partisan leaders in Carolina and Georgia, summoned their fellow-patriots to the field. Seeing how lightly the invaders regarded their solemn pledges, the republicans, renouncing their "paroles" and "protections," flocked to the standards of these brave partisans, and prepared the way for Gates. They swept over the country with celerity, in small bands, striking British detachments here or a company of Tories there, such unexpected, sharp, quick and decisive blows that the enemy, alarmed and perplexed, was checked in their invading march into the interior.

General Thomas Sumter now first appeared in power on the borders of the Catawba River. The Whigs, following local leaders, had already assailed the enemy at different points between the Catawba and Broad rivers. Sumter, meanwhile, had gathered a considerable force, and on the 30th of July (1780) he attacked a British post at Rocky Mount, on the right bank

of the Catawba, where he was repulsed but not disheartened. He crossed the river and fell upon another British post under Major Carden at Hanging Rock, a few miles eastward, on the 6th of August. A large body of British and Tories were there. They were at first dispersed; but Sumter's men, seeking plunder, and drinking the liquors found in the camp after they had secured it, lost the victory through separation and intoxication. The ranks of the patriots became disordered. The enemy rallied, and a very severe contest ensued. The British were reinforced, and Sumter was compelled to retreat. But he had handled his enemy so severely, that he did not attempt to follow. In the meantime Colonel Francis Marion (soon afterward a brigadier-general), a soldier of the French and Indian war, a hero at Fort Sullivan in 1776, a brave combatant at Savannah in 1779, and an active partisan leader in his native State (South Carolina) afterward, was smiting the enemy with sudden and fierce blows among the swamps in the low country, on the borders of the Pedee. So brave and wily were these partisans, that the British called Sumter "The Carolina Game-Cock," and Marion "The Swamp Fox." The latter was one of the most noted and beloved of the partisan leaders in that struggle, and was more feared by the British and Tories in the South than any other, for they never knew where he was until they felt his blows. He was

"A moment in the British camp—
A moment—and away
Back to the pathless forest,
Before the break of day."

At the same time Colonel Andrew Pickens was annoying Cruger in the neighborhood of Ninety-Six and the waters of the Saluda, and Colonel Elijah Clarke was calling for the patriots of the country along the Savannah, Ogeechee, and Alatomaha, to drive Brown from Augusta.

On the morning of the 27th of July, General Gates, after sending Marion toward the interior of South Carolina, put his "grand army," as he called his forces, in motion, by the shortest route toward Camden. He was speedily joined by Colonel Porterfield with Virginians, and by North Carolinians under Colonel Caswell in the east, and Rutherford in the west. The British officers were perplexed. Clinton had left Cornwallis in chief command in the south, and the latter had entrusted the leadership of his troops on the Santee to Lord Rawdon, an active and meritorious officer. With these gathering legions in the north and the active Sumter and Marion on their flanks, the British were certainly in a perilous position. Major McArthur, who was on the Cheraw Hills to encourage the Loyalists, called in his

detachments, and with his whole force hastened to join Rawdon at Camden. Cornwallis, perceiving the gathering storm on the borders of South Carolina, hastened to Camden to join Rawdon, and reached that village on the same day (August 14) when Gates advanced and took post at Clermont. There the latter was joined by seven hundred Virginia militia under General Stevens; and he felt so sure of victory, that he did not prepare for a retreat by appointing a place of rendezvous. It was a fatal blunder. On the same day Gates weakened his army by sending to Sumter a detachment to assist in intercepting a convoy of supplies on their way from Ninety-Six, to Rawdon; and on the evening of the 15th he marched to attack the latter with a little more than three thousand men. He would listen to no advice from his officers, but began his march, confidently, before a proper disposition of his baggage in the rear had been made. Cornwallis had left Camden to meet Gates, at about the same time. The road was very sandy, and foot-falls could not be easily heard. The vanguards of the belligerents met, between two and three o'clock in the morning, on a gentle slope a little north of Sanders's Creek, that runs through a swamp, nearly eight miles from Camden. It was a mutual surprise, for neither party knew that the other had struck his tents. Both began firing at the same time. Some of Colonel Armand's troops, who led the van, were killed, and the remainder fell back in disorder upon the first Maryland brigade, and broke its line. The whole army were filled with consternation, and would have fled but for the wisdom and skill of Porterfield, who, in rallying them, was mortally wounded. Both armies halted, when it was perceived that the British had the advantage, having crossed the small creek, and being protected by an impenetrable swamp on their flanks and rear.

Both parties anxiously awaited the dawn, and prepared for battle. The right of the British line was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Webster, and the left by Lord Rawdon. De Kalb commanded the American right, and General Stevens the left, and the centre was composed of North Carolinians under Colonel Caswell. A second line was formed by the first Maryland brigade led by General Smallwood.

The battle was opened by American artillery. The war of cannon was followed by an advance to the attack by some volunteers under Colonel Otho H. Williams and Stevens's militia. The latter had been given bayonets only the day before, and were now ordered to rely upon them chiefly. They did not know how to use them. The veteran British troops, led by Webster, fell upon these raw recruits, when the latter threw down their muskets and fled to the woods for shelter. Then Webster attacked the Maryland Continentals, who fought gallantly until they were outflanked, when they, also,

gave way. Twice they were rallied, but finally retreated, when the brunt of the battle fell upon the Maryland and Delaware troops, led by DeKalb, assisted by General Gist, Colonel Howard, and Captain Kirkwood. They fought desperately and were almost in possession of victory, when Cornwallis sent against them some fresh dragoons and infantry that turned the tide. De Kalb was so badly wounded that he died three days afterward.

Gates's whole army was utterly routed and dispersed, and he was the most expert of the fugitives in running away. He abandoned his army, and with Caswell fled to Clermont in advance of any of his flying troops. Thence he hastened to Charlotte where he left Caswell, and then hurried on to Hillsborough. In this ignoble flight, he rode about two hundred miles in three days and a half. He had lost about a thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; the British loss was less than five hundred. In the meantime, Sumter had been successful in capturing the convoy alluded to, with about forty wagons and their contents. He was now at the head of the largest body of republican troops in South Carolina. On hearing of Gates's defeat, he marched up the Wateree to the mouth of the Fishing Creek and encamped; and there at mid-day, on the 18th of August (1780), he was surprised by some of Tarleton's cavalry. About three hundred and fifty of his men were killed or made prisoners, and the British captives and wagons were retaken. Sumter escaped in such haste that he rode into Charlotte without hat or saddle.

The defeat of Sumter's band made the victory of Cornwallis complete. The hopes of the patriots were almost extinguished. Within the space of three months, two republican armies had been almost annihilated by capture or dispersion; and the earl, regarding the full and final subjugation of South Carolina as accomplished, moved toward the North State accompanied by Martin, a former royal governor of North Carolina, who assured him that the people there would rise to welcome him. Had Cornwallis been guided by good judgment and humanity, the conquest of South Carolina, and the restoration of North Carolina to a loyal condition, might have been permanent; for the former State swarmed with Tories, and the republicans were weary of the unequal contest. But following the wicked suggestions of Martin and the sanguinary Tarleton, and animated by the cruel instructions from Germain, he proposed to establish a system of revolting terrorism. He put military despotism in place of civil law, and treated the people as slaves having no rights which he was bound to respect. He ordered all militia-men who had served in Loyalist corps and were afterward found in arms against the king, to be hanged without mercy. He gave full license to Tories to execute these orders. Private rights were everywhere trampled

under-foot. Property was wantonly destroyed by fire and violence; the chastity of women was set at naught; plunder was universal; and Whigs, both men and women, cultivated and tenderly reared, were hunted by the ravenous Tory wolves as legitimate prey to their worst passions. These ruthless measures created the most intense hatred. The people revolted and thirsted for vengeance. They only awaited the appearance of good leaders, to fly to arms and rid the country of their oppressors. Only Marion was then in the field, untrammelled by any parole. Governor Rutledge had commissioned him a brigadier, and with his famous brigade of ragged followers, he performed those deeds for the redemption of South Carolina which have made his name immortal.

The first symptoms of that revolt were seen in Western Carolina. Cornwallis had marched his army to Charlotte, in North Carolina, early in September, and from that point he sent out detachments to execute his cruel orders. While Tarleton and his legions were operating eastward of the Catawba, Major Patrick Ferguson was sent to embody the Tories among the mountains west of the Broad River. Many profligate and unworthy men joined his standard, and at the beginning of October he was encamped among the gravelly, wooded hills of King's Mountain, about two miles south of the North Carolina border. Meanwhile the patriots west of the Alleghany ranges had taken up arms to frustrate the plans of Cornwallis. They were embodied in regiments under Colonels Shelby, Sevier, Campbell, Cleaveland, McDowell and Williams, and were chiefly Virginians and North Carolinians. On the evening of the 6th of October (1780) they were all assembled at the "Cowpens," in Spartanburg district, and called themselves "The Western Army." There they heard that Ferguson was at King's Mountain, and they determined to proceed that night and strike him by surprise. Nine hundred of their best horsemen (they were all mounted) marched by moonlight, and on the afternoon of the next day, they came near Ferguson's camp of a little over eleven hundred men (mostly Tories), who were resting in fancied security on account of their peculiar position.

The republicans dismounted, and forming themselves into four columns, advanced to within a quarter of a mile of Ferguson's camp, without being discovered. The regiments of Shelby and Campbell, which formed the right and left centres of the force, pushed up the hill and made the first attack. The aroused British flew to arms, and the bayonets of the few regulars overmatched the rifles of the assailants for a moment. For ten minutes the advanced regiments sustained a fierce contest for the crown of the hill, when the right and left wings of the republican army fell upon Ferguson's left and rear and drove him into a hollow, where he was slain on the border of a clear

mountain brook. The position of his force was now untenable, and Captain De Peyster (of the "King's American Regiment"), Ferguson's senior surviving officer, hoisted a flag of submission. The firing ceased, and the invaders surrendered, with fifteen hundred stand of arms. The entire loss of the British was eleven hundred and five, of whom four hundred and fifty-six were either killed or wounded. The Americans lost twenty-eight killed and sixty wounded. Among the British prisoners were many of the worst Tories, who had most cruelly executed the severe orders of Cornwallis. Ten of these, after a brief trial the next morning, were hanged together upon an outstretching limb of a tulip tree, which, when I visited the spot in 1849, was huge, and overshadowed a small monument erected on the spot where Ferguson was slain. That stone was set up in commemoration of Major Chronicle and three other Americans who were killed in the battle. Upon it were their names, and on the opposite side were these words: "Colonel Patrick Ferguson, an officer belonging to his Britannic Majesty, was here defeated and killed."

This annihilation of Ferguson's corps crushed the spirits of the loyalists, destroyed the hopes of Cornwallis of aid from those of South Carolina, and weakened, beyond recovery, the royal power in the South. King's Mountain was to Cornwallis what Bennington was to Burgoyne. When the earl heard of the disaster, he retreated from North Carolina and took position at Winnsboro' in Fairfield district, between the Broad and Catawba rivers—a station between Ninety-Six and Camden. The loyalists of North Carolina were repulsed, and the Whigs, everywhere, were strengthened. There was a general revolt against Cornwallis, who had expected to subdue the whole region south of the Susquehanna by easy conquests. In his retreat he was greatly annoyed by the uprising of republicans, who hung on his rear; and his whole army suffered much from exposure in almost incessant rains, and for want of food for man and forage for horses, during the retrograde march of fifteen days.

Nearer the seaboard the patriots were gaining strength. Marion and his men were striking the banding Tories, and annoying British outposts continually; while Colonels Pickens and Clarke were hourly increasing their forces in Georgia and southwestern Carolina. Sumter, too, undismayed by his recent defeat, had rallied the patriots above Camden; and men were in the field here and there between the Yadkin and the Catawba, ready to swell the ranks of any good leader, or strike a British foraging party. Sumter's men were all mounted, and cut off many supplies for Cornwallis's army at Winnsboro'. The earl sent Major Wemyss, with some mounted infantry, after him. These fell upon Sumter's camp at Fish Dam Ford

on the Broad River, on the night of the 11th of November, but were repulsed. Wemyss was made prisoner, and on his person were found memoranda that revealed his cruelty toward the inhabitants. Cornwallis, on hearing of his defeat, recalled Tarleton from the pursuit of Marion in the lower country, and sent him after Sumter, who, with reinforcements, was pushing on to the British post of Ninety-Six. Tarleton overtook the partisan at Blackstock's plantation on the banks of the Tyger River, in Union district, and attacked him there on the night of the 20th of November. The assailants were repulsed, with heavy loss, leaving their wounded in the hands of Sumter. The latter was disabled by a severe wound, but his loss in men was inconsiderable.

Meanwhile Marion had won victory after victory in forays against British and Tories in the vicinity of the Pedee and Santee rivers. Cornwallis had



A HOMELESS FAMILY.

sent Tarleton, with his legion, to catch the "Swamp Fox." That officer and his men marked their track with desolation and woe. It might have been traced by burning dwellings, and groups of homeless women and children. On the banks of the Santee he beat the widow of a republican officer because she would not tell him where Marion was encamped. He robbed her of all her clothing excepting what she had on; burned her house and devastated her plantation. While pursuing this wicked career, he was recalled to go in pursuit of Sumter. Now Marion attempted a bolder stroke, by assailing the British post at Georgetown, on Winyaw Bay, to procure needed supplies for his men. He was beaten in a skirmish near the town, and retired to Snow's Island at the confluence of the Pedee and Lynch's

Creek, which was a high river swamp, dry, and covered with a heavy forest filled with game. At that skirmish, Marion's nephew was murdered after he had surrendered. From that time the battle cry of Marion's men was "No quarter for Tories!"

On Snow's Island, surrounded by vast swamps, Marion had a secure retreat. To his camp, there, a young British officer was sent to treat concerning prisoners. He was led,



MARION AND THE BRITISH OFFICER.

blindfolded, to the camp, where he saw in the person of the famous partisan leader, a diminutive man, with large, sunken, lustrous eyes, and very coarsely clad, surrounded by rough-looking men with tattered garments. When the business of his mission was closed, Marion invited him to dine at his table. The invitation was accepted. Some roasted sweet potatoes were brought into the tent on a piece of bark, of which the general partook freely, and invited his guest to do the same. "Surely, general," said the astonished Briton, "this cannot be your ordinary fare." "Indeed it is," Marion replied; "and it is a fortunate circumstance that, on this occasion, entertaining company, we have more than our usual allowance." The young officer threw up his commission

on returning to his commander, saying, "Such a people cannot, and ought not to be subdued."



CHAPTER XXXVI.

POSITION OF THE BELLIGERENT ARMIES—MRS. WASHINGTON AT HEADQUARTERS—HAMILTON AND MISS SCHUYLER—BRITISH INVASION OF NEW JERSEY—MURDER OF MRS. CALDWELL—ARRIVAL OF FRENCH FORCES—TREASON OF ARNOLD—HIS CHARACTER—PROGRESS OF HIS TREASON—INTERVIEW BETWEEN ARNOLD AND ANDRÉ—CAPTURE OF ANDRÉ—ARNOLD'S ESCAPE—DISCOVERY OF THE TREASON—EXECUTION OF ANDRÉ—THE FATE OF ARNOLD AND ANDRÉ CONSIDERED—THE CAPTORS OF ANDRÉ REWARDED—THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND HOLLAND—THE AMERICAN CAUSE IN PERIL—A STRONGER GOVERNMENT LONGED FOR—HAMILTON'S PROJECT—REFORMS IN THE ARMY.

WHILE stirring events were taking place in the South, important ones were occurring in the North, where military operations had almost ceased because the theatre of war had been transferred to the Carolinas and Georgia. Washington had his headquarters at Morristown, at a house yet standing there, and his main army were encamped within call.

The winter of 1779-80 was very severe. The salt waters that surround New York city were so bridged with solid ice that the British took heavy cannons across from that town to Staten Island. The Continental Army, as we have observed, were encamped chiefly in New Jersey, and the British occupied the city of New York. The snow lay so deep on the ground that both armies were compelled to remain quiet several weeks. When the spring opened, the troops under the direct command of Washington numbered less than four thousand effective men; and between the Chesapeake and the northern and eastern frontiers of the Union, there were not more than seven thousand Continental soldiers.

The troops at and near Morristown suffered much from hunger and cold, at times. Mrs. Washington passed that winter there, with her husband. Sentinels and Life-Guardsmen were continually on duty to defend headquarters from sudden and secret attack. Sometimes, when alarms were quite frequent, guards were placed in Mrs. Washington's sleeping apartment. When an alarm occurred, they threw open the windows to give full play to their muskets. On one of these occasions, on a bitter cold night, the windows were kept open more than an hour, exposing Mrs. Washington to the intense cold, with no other defence against it than the ordinary bed-

clothing and the thick curtains drawn. General Schuyler also passed a greater portion of the winter and spring at Morristown, in consultation with Washington about the future. • His quarters were near those of the commander-in-chief, and his family were with him. His daughter Elizabeth was then betrothed to Colonel Alexander Hamilton, of Washington's staff, and the young couple were together almost every evening. On one of these occasions, when Hamilton was returning to his quarters, he had forgotten the countersign. The charms of Miss Schuyler seem to have obliterated the

word from his memory. He came to the sentinel, who knew him well, but the faithful soldier would not let him pass without giving the word. The colonel was greatly embarrassed. A son of Mr. Ford, a lad fourteen years of age, at whose father's house Washington had his quarters, was entrusted with the countersign for the day, whenever he wished to go to the village and return in the evening. He had just passed the sentinel, when, hearing the voice of Colonel Hamilton, he stopped and waited for him to come up. Hamilton discovered the boy, by the light of the stars, and called out, "Aye, Master Ford, is that you?" Then stepping aside, he called the boy to him, and drawing young Ford's ear to his lips, he whispered, "Give me the countersign." He did so, and



HAMILTON AND THE SENTINEL AT MORRISTOWN.

the colonel presented himself in front of the sentinel and gave the word. The soldier kept his bayonet at a present. "I have given you the word, why do you not shoulder your musket?" Hamilton asked. The sentinel, suspecting the colonel was trying his fidelity, said, "Will that do, colonel?" "It will for this time," Hamilton replied; "let me pass." The soldier reluctantly obeyed the illegal command. Colonel Hamilton and his betrothed were married in December following.

The news of the surrender of Charleston reached New York at near the close of May. This intelligence, and the assurance of Tories from New Jersey that the people there were wearied with the struggle and were disposed to submit, seemed to present a favorable opportunity for making a raid into that State by British troops, and setting up the royal standard there. At the beginning of June, General Maxwell, with his New Jersey brigade, was at Connecticut Farms (now the village of Union), a hamlet a few miles from Elizabethtown; and three hundred New Jersey militia under Colonel Dayton occupied the latter place. Against these, Knyphausen sent General Mathews, with about five thousand troops, on the 6th of June. They passed over from Staten Island to Elizabethtown Point, and the next day took possession of Elizabethtown. The militia there retired before the superior force, when the invaders pressed on to Connecticut Farms, greatly annoyed on their way by the rising militia who hung upon their flanks. At the Farms the British murdered the wife of the Rev. James Caldwell, a very active patriot, who was then in Washington's army. Mrs. Caldwell did not fly, with her neighbors, on the approach of the enemy, but remained, trusting in Providence for protection. When the invaders entered the hamlet, she retired to an inner room with her children, one of them a suckling. A British soldier came through a yard to an open window of the room, and shot her as she sat on the edge of the bed. Two bullets pierced her, and she fell dead to the floor, with her infant in her arms. The babe was unhurt. The nurse snatched it up and ran out of the house, which was on fire. The church and every building of the hamlet became a victim to the flames. There was barely time to drag the body of Mrs. Caldwell out of the burning building into the street, where it lay exposed several hours, until permission was given to her friends to bury the remains.

As the invaders pushed on toward Springfield, they were met by Maxwell's troops, and after a brief skirmish, and hearing that forces were coming down from Morristown, they retreated to the coast, where they remained about a fortnight. Meanwhile Clinton had arrived from Charleston. He sent reinforcements to Mathews, and after making a feint upon the Hudson Highlands, he and Knyphausen crossed over and joined the troops at Elizabethtown Point. The feint deceived Washington, who left the command of a considerable force of Continental troops at the Short Hills, between Springfield and Morristown, with General Greene, while he moved with another force in the direction of the Hudson. Early in the morning of the 23d of June (1780), the British advanced toward Springfield, and Greene moved forward to meet them, in battle array. The invaders approached in two columns. Greene was advantageously posted. The British force, about

five thousand strong, with cavalry and almost twenty cannon, seemed sufficient to crush any republican army that might oppose them ; but after a very severe skirmish, the invaders were defeated. Setting fire to Springfield, they retreated to the shore, and crossed over in haste from Elizabethtown Point to Staten Island, on a bridge of boats. Clinton had lost a rare opportunity for the conquest of New Jersey, and possibly the destruction or dispersion of Washington's army.

Good news for the Americans now came from the east. The strong recommendations from D'Estaing on his return to France, joined with the persuasions of Lafayette, had induced the French government to send an army to America, under the Count de Rochambeau, who was instructed to act under the orders of Washington at all times, after his arrival. The troops were borne over the Atlantic in a fleet commanded by Admiral de Ternay, and arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, on the 10th of July. The General Assembly of the State were then in session, and received the strangers cordially. The news of their arrival was greeted with joy everywhere in the Union ; and Washington sent a letter of welcome to Rochambeau, by the hand of Lafayette, who was instructed to concert measures with the French general for the future operations of the allied armies. In compliment to the strangers and as a symbol of the alliance with them, Washington requested his officers to wear on their chapeaus white and black cockades.

When news of the arrival of the French at Newport reached New York, Clinton ordered the British fleet there to bear an army to Rhode Island to attack the newly arrived enemy. He detached about eight thousand men for that service. The militia of New England flew to arms, and the French longed for the British to come ; but the expedition did not go out of Long Island Sound, and soon returned to New York. Clinton now attempted, by the aid of treason, to accomplish what he had failed to do by honorable warfare. The man who played the part of a traitor to the American cause on that occasion was General Benedict Arnold, a brave soldier, but a bad man. He was ambitious of personal renown, impulsive, rapacious, unscrupulous, and vindictive ; personally very unpopular, and seldom without a quarrel with some of his fellow-officers. The sad story of his treason has been so often told in detail, that we need to give it in general outline only.

Soon after the appointment to the military governorship of Philadelphia, in 1778, he married the beautiful daughter of Edward Shippen, a leading loyalist of that city. He lived in a style which caused expenditure beyond his income, and to meet the demands of importunate creditors, he engaged in fraudulent and dishonorable official acts which caused the public to detest

him. Finally serious charges of dishonesty were preferred against him before the Continental Congress; and a court-martial ordered by that body to try him, found him guilty. In their sentence they treated him most leniently. It was a simple reprimand by the commander-in-chief. That duty was performed by Washington in the most delicate manner; but the disgrace awakened vengeful feelings in the bosom of Arnold. These, operating with the pressure of debt, made him listen to the suggestions of a bad nature; and he let Sir Henry Clinton know that he preferred service in the British army to that in which he was engaged. Correspondence upon the subject, which was continued several months, was conducted on the part of Sir Henry, through the accomplished Major John André, his adjutant-general, under an assumed name. So, also, did Arnold assume a fictitious name; and on the part of both, the correspondence was carried on in commercial phraseology. Arnold agreed to ask for the command of the strong post of West Point and its dependencies, in the Hudson Highlands, and, if obtained, to betray it into the hands of Clinton. For this service Arnold was to receive the commission of brigadier in the British army, and fifty thousand dollars in gold. It is asserted by Mr. Bancroft, that "in the course of the winter of 1778-1779, he was taken into the pay of Clinton, to whom he gave on every occasion most material intelligence."

The nefarious plot had been made known to the British minister, and he and Clinton believed that its consummation would end the war. In the spring of 1780, Arnold took measures to secure for himself the command of West Point. He enlisted the sympathies and services in his behalf of General Schuyler, Robert R. Livingston and other leading patriots of New York, pretending that his wounds would not permit him to do active service in the field, and that he was very anxious to serve his country. His pro-



BENEDICT ARNOLD.

fessions of patriotism were so vehement that he deceived those men, and they united in recommending Washington to give him the important position. The latter had lost faith in Arnold's integrity, but could not believe him capable of treason to the cause. He finally yielded to the request of others more than to the dictates of his better judgment, and in August (1780) he placed Arnold in command of the Highland forts, with his headquarters at the house of Beverly Robinson (yet standing), opposite West Point. Then Arnold bent all his energies for the consummation of his treason, first requiring a personal interview with André, to make a definite arrangement about the terms of the bargain.

It was late in September before that personal interview was held. Washington, accompanied by Lafayette and Hamilton, crossed the Hudson at Verplanck's Point (where he was joined by Arnold), on his way to Hartford, to have his first personal conference with Rochambeau there. That was on the 18th. Arnold ascertained the time when they might be expected at West Point, on their return, and he resolved to bring the plot to a point ready for the final act before then. He immediately informed Clinton of the situation, and desired him to send André up the river to the *Vulture* sloop-of-war, then lying just above Teller's (now Croton) Point, to which a boat with a flag would be sent to convey the major to a selected place of meeting, between midnight and dawn. Clinton embarked troops on the Hudson, with a pretext that they were bound for the Chesapeake. These he intended to lead in person against the Highland forts.

On the morning of the 20th André departed from Dobb's Ferry for the *Vulture*; but it was the second night after his arrival, when the flag appeared, borne by Joshua H. Smith, a resident near Haverstraw. André had been instructed by Clinton not to change his dress and not to take any papers with him; so, with his regimentals, covered with a long surtout, he went ashore, and met Arnold in bushes at the foot of Torn Mountain, near Haverstraw, by the light of a waning moon. Dawn was approaching before the interview was ended; and the conspirators mounted horses which Arnold had provided, and rode to the house of Smith before the break of day. At sunrise, cannons were heard upon the river, and the *Vulture* was seen to fall down the stream, out of sight, to avoid the effects of artillery trained upon her at Teller's Point. This gave André uneasiness, for he would be compelled to return to New York by land.

The conference at Smith's house lasted several hours. It was agreed that Arnold should so distribute the garrison at West Point as to weaken it. When it should be known that the British troops were ascending the river, Arnold was to apply to Washington at Tappan for reinforcements; and after

making a show of resistance, he was to surrender the post in time for Clinton to fall upon the approaching troops which might be led by the commander-in-chief in person. So, at one blow, Washington's army was to be ruined, and the important post to be seized by the enemy.

André received from Arnold a written statement of the condition of the Highland forts, and a pass for "John Anderson" (his assumed name) "to the White Plains and beyond." With the latter in his pocket and the former under his feet, in his boots, the young officer, having exchanged his scarlet uniform for a coat that belonged to Mr. Smith, buttoned his surtout up to his chin, crossed the river at the King's Ferry, and on horseback made his way toward New York on the east side of the Hudson. So far the plot had worked well. Knowledge of the conspiracy was yet locked in the bosom of a single American—the traitor himself. But difficulties soon arose. When the major had reached the vicinity of Tarrytown, sixteen miles from the strong British post at King's Bridge, and was riding in fancied security up the gentle hill from Sleepy Hollow, he was suddenly confronted by three young militiamen—John Paulding, Isaac Van Wart, and David Williams—who belonged to a party of seven who were out to prevent cattle being driven from the vicinity to the British lines, and to arrest any suspicious characters on the highway. These young men were playing cards in the shadow of a wood by the road-side, when André appeared. Paulding, followed by his companions, stepped into the road, and presenting his bayonet ordered the well-dressed "gentlemanly traveler" to stop. André, supposing them to be Loyalists, said: "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party." "Which party?" asked Paulding. "The Lower party." Paulding answered misleadingly, "We do," when André said, "Gentlemen, I am a British officer, out in the country on particular business, and hope you will not detain me a minute." He then showed them his watch in token of his being an officer, when Paulding ordered him to dismount. Perceiving his mistake, André said: "My God! I must do any thing to get along," and then showed them Arnold's pass. "Gentlemen," he said, "you had best let me go, or you will bring yourselves into trouble, for your stopping me will detain the general's business." He told them he was going to Dobbs' Ferry to meet a person there from whom he expected important intelligence for Arnold. Paulding courteously said: "I hope you'll not be offended; we do not intend to take any thing from you; there are many bad people on the road, and you, perhaps, are one of them. Have you any letters?" He answered, "No." Then they took him into the bushes, and searched him. André was dressed in a blue surtout, a claret-colored body-coat trimmed with lace; nankeen waistcoat and breeches; flannel underclothes, round

hat, and thread stockings, and boots. They stripped him to his shirt, but found no papers on him; and they were about to let him go, when it was suggested that something might be concealed in his boots. He reluctantly obeyed an order to pull them off, when the papers alluded to were found between his stockings and his feet. "This is a spy!" exclaimed Paulding. André offered them large bribes to release him. "Not for ten thousand



CAPTURE OF MAJOR ANDRÉ.

guineas," said Paulding; and the three young men conducted their prisoner to Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who was in command of the nearest military post, at North Castle. Jameson, with amazing stupidity, resolved to send the prisoner to Arnold. Major Tallmadge, next in rank, suspecting the general of treachery, warmly remonstrated, when Jameson consented to confine the captive until he should receive orders from Washington or Arnold. He insisted upon writing a letter to Arnold informing him of the arrest of the prisoner. This was a fatal blunder, and led to great mischief.

That night the prisoner wrote a letter to Washington, frankly announcing

his name and rank, and giving a truthful account of the whole affair. He gave the letter to Tallmadge to read, who was astonished to find that the captive was Major André, adjutant-general of the British army. He was finally taken to the headquarters of the army at Tappan.

While these events were occurring, Washington was on his way from Hartford. On the morning of the 25th (September, 1780), he and his attendants left Fishkill before the dawn, and rode on with speed toward the Robinson house to breakfast with General and Mrs. Arnold. When near there, the chief turned down a lane to view a battery on the brink of the river, and told his young companions to go forward and he would soon join them. While they were at the table with the general, a messenger brought a letter to him from Jameson; but instead of announcing, as he expected it would, that a British armament was ascending the river, it told him of the arrest of Major André. His presence of mind did not forsake him. He told his guests that business of importance demanded his presence at West Point immediately. He ascended to his wife's chamber and sent for her. There, in brief and hurried words, he told her that they must instantly part, perhaps forever, for his life depended upon his reaching the British lines as quickly as possible. Horror-stricken, the poor young creature, one year a mother but not two a bride, swooned and sank senseless upon the floor. Arnold dared not call for help, but kissing with lips blasted by words of guilt and treason, his boy then sweetly sleeping, he rushed from the room, mounted a horse belonging to one of his guests, and hastened to the river along a by-way yet known as *Arnold's Path*. Then he entered his barge, and directed his six oarsmen to push out into the middle of the river and pull for Teller's Point. They were ignorant of his errand, and having their muscles stimulated by a promise of two gallons of rum, they rowed the little vessel swiftly down the stream to the *Vulture*. Having made himself known to the commander, Arnold rewarded his faithful men with the fate of prisoners instead of the promised beverage. Clinton, despising the traitor's meanness, set them at liberty when the *Vulture* arrived at New York.

Washington arrived at Robinson's house just after Arnold had left. No one there, excepting Mrs. Arnold in her chamber, knew of the traitor's flight. Supposing he had gone over to West Point, the chief crossed the river, and did not return until near noon. He was met near the landing-place by Hamilton, into whose hand a messenger from Jameson had placed the proof of Arnold's guilt—the papers taken from André's boots, and the major's letter to Washington. Efforts were immediately made to overtake the traitor, but he had four hours the start, and escaped, as we have observed. The fugitive's wife was crazed by the shock for several hours, and

her condition excited the warmest sympathy of the chief and his attendants. She pressed her infant to her bosom and lamented his fate because of the conduct of his father. "All the sweetness of beauty, all the loveliness of innocence, all the tenderness of a wife, and all the fondness of a mother," wrote Colonel Hamilton, "showed themselves in her appearance and conduct." They believed that she was entirely ignorant of his crime until it was revealed to her at the time of his flight.



ARNOLD'S ESCAPE.

Major André was tried at Tappan by fourteen general officers, found guilty, and hanged there on the 2d of October, 1780. He begged to be shot that he might die like a *soldier* and not as a *spy*. In a letter to Washington he pleaded with touching but manly earnestness for this boon. That letter has been thus paraphrased in verse, by Willis :

"It is not the fear of death that damps my brow,
It is not for another breath, I ask thee now ;
I can die with a lip unstirr'd, and a quiet heart—
Let but this prayer be heard ere I depart.

I can give up my mother's look—my sister's kiss ;
I can think of love—yet brook a death like this !
I can give up the young fame I burn'd to win ;
All—but the spotless name I glory in.

Thine is the power to give, thine to deny
Joy for the hour I live, calmness to die.
By all the brave should cherish, by my dying breath,
I ask that I may perish by a soldier's death."

The usage of both armies and the implacable demands of the military code toward a spy forbade a compliance with his wishes. The British officers, on all occasions, had been quick to hang American captives. We have seen how brutally they gibbeted young Nathan Hale; and scores of patriots in South Carolina had recently perished by the rope by order of Cornwallis, for no other offence than loving the service of their own country better than that of their oppressors. Every officer in the American army would gladly have exchanged André for Arnold, and efforts to accomplish that end were made, but failed. Arnold died in his bed twenty-one years afterward; while André, the more innocent victim of the wicked complot of Clinton and Arnold, perished on a gibbet four days after he was convicted. The last words of André to the multitude who saw him die were—"I pray you bear me witness that I met my fate like a brave man." The American people and their annalists have ever done so. His king knighted his brother, and pensioned his mother and sisters; and the custodians of Westminster Abbey dishonored that sanctuary of the virtuous and noble dead of the kingdom, by allowing a conspicuous monument to his memory to be placed in it. Arnold escaped punishment altogether, for his was too coarse a nature to suffer the mental anguish of remorse. He was shunned and neglected by those who accepted the treason but despised the traitor, excepting the king and a few persons in office; and he died in London, in poverty and obscurity. His children were placed on the pension-list of the realm.

The captors of André—the three young militiamen—were rewarded by the Congress with a vote of thanks; and to each was awarded a commemorative medal of silver and two hundred dollars a year for life. At the burial place of each a marble monument has been erected; and another marks the spot where André was arrested.



EXECUTION OF ANDRÉ.

The year 1780 now drew to a close, yet the patriots were far from being subdued. The British government had expended vast sums of money and many precious lives in endeavors to subjugate them, and had involved the nation in a war with France, as a consequence. Yet English pluck would not yield an iota to adverse circumstances. Great Britain seemed to acquire fresh vigor when any new obstacle presented itself. Seemingly unmindful of the fact that large French land and naval forces were on the shores of America, the British ministry, when satisfied that Holland would give national aid to the "rebellious colonies," caused a declaration of war to be made against that power by the king, and procured from Parliament immense appropriations of men and money, ships and stores, to sustain the power of the empire on land and sea. British cruisers had already depredated upon Dutch commerce in times of peace; and the British government treated the Netherlands more as a vassal than as an independent nation. So early as May (1780) the British minister at the Hague had been instructed to inform his government concerning the current voyages of Dutch merchantmen, "that the British cruisers might know where to go for the richest prizes."

To prevent Holland joining the Armed-Neutrality league, the ministry sought a decent pretext for making war on that republic. It was found in October (1780) when Henry Laurens, late president of the Congress, who had been authorized by that body a year before to negotiate a commercial treaty with Holland and for a loan of ten million dollars from that government, was captured on the high seas by a British cruiser. Among his papers (which he threw into the sea, but which were recovered) were found an unofficial copy of a treaty with the Netherlands, and evidence that such negotiations had been going on between Holland and the United States. Here was the coveted pretext. Laurens was confined as a state prisoner in the Tower of London under circumstances of great severity, and on the 20th of December, the king declared war against Holland. Before his declaration had been promulgated, and while efforts were a-making at the Hague to conciliate England and avoid war, British cruisers pounced upon and captured two hundred unsuspecting Dutch merchantmen, laden with cargoes valued at more than five million dollars; and orders had gone forth for the seizure of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius. It was a cruel and unjust war, and deepened the hatred of Continental Europe for Great Britain. That government was regarded as a bully ready to oppress and plunder the weak.

Notwithstanding the Americans were not subdued at the close of 1780, their cause was in great peril from the weakness of its material props. The condition of the currency was an impediment to all vigorous measures. "A

wagon-load of money would scarcely buy a wagon-load of provisions." The States were urged to supply quotas of funds for the common use, but their responses were slow and feeble, and there was no central power competent to levy taxes or demand forced loans. A closer union and greater power in the general government were essential to success, and wise patriots in every position appealed to the people in favor of a stronger government. General Greene, who, as quartermaster-general, saw clearly the public needs, wrote in June, 1780: "The Congress have lost their influence. I have for a long time seen the necessity of some new plan of civil constitution. Unless there is some control over the States by the Congress, we shall soon be like a broken band." There was a spirit of patriotism among the people ample to meet the great emergency; but legislators lacked wisdom to grasp the problem. While the people yearned for a closer union and a truly national government, Virginia was contending for State supremacy. The legislators of that State agreed with John Adams, who wrote that the assembly in any State was "every way adequate to the management of all the federal concerns of the people of America, because Congress is not a legislative assembly, nor a representative assembly, but a diplomatic assembly."

At a convention of delegates from three New England States, held in Philadelphia in August, 1780, it was resolved that the national concerns should be "under the superintendency and direction of one supreme head," and recommended the investment of the Congress with such power. These words powerfully impressed the mind of young Hamilton, who was then a member of Washington's military family and his able secretary. He invited Mr. Duane, a representative of New York in the Congress, to propose in that body a convention of all the States in November following, and submitted a general plan for a national government, not in form but in concrete suggestions, full of wisdom and evidences of sound statesmanship. He said, truly, that the plan for a confederation which the Congress had adopted, and was awaiting the ratification of the several States, was "neither fit for war or peace," saying: "The idea of uncontrollable sovereignty in each State will defeat the powers given to Congress, and make our union feeble and precarious." At the same time Washington, who, from the beginning, had urged the necessity of a permanent military force, now pleaded for a system of enlistments "for the war," and other reforms in the army. "We have lived," he wrote, "upon expedients till we can live no longer. The history of this war is a history of temporary devices instead of a system." The Congress took measures for "reforming the army," but that body was powerless, and cast the burden of responsibility upon the several States.

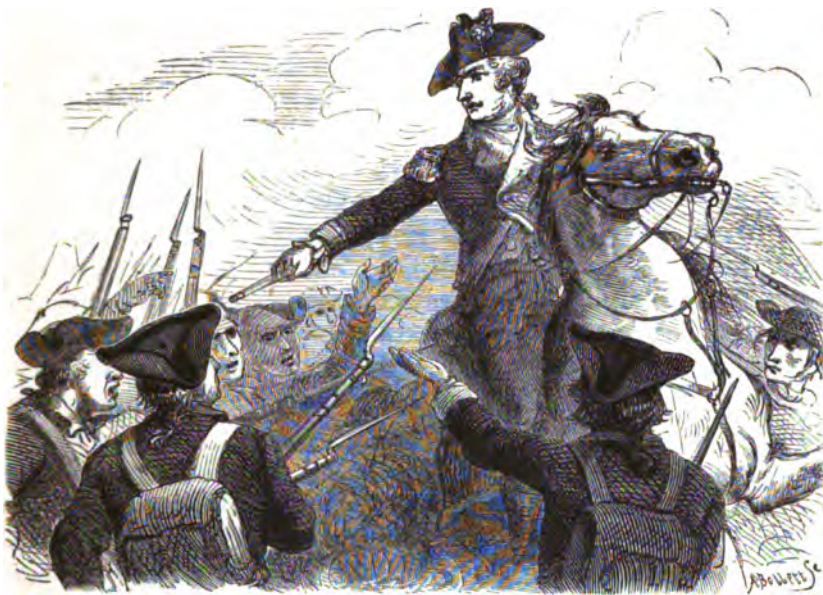
CHAPTER XXXVII.

PATRIOTISM OF THE SOLDIERS REMARKABLY DISPLAYED—A MUTINY SUPPRESSED—JOHN LAURENS
AND A FRENCH LOAN—ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION—A BANK ESTABLISHED—GREENE SUC-
CEEDS GATES—CUNNINGHAM'S ATROCITIES—BATTLE AT THE COWPENS—GREENE CHASED BY
CORNWALLIS—BATTLE AT GUILFORD COURT-HOUSE—FOX AND PITT ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS—
ARNOLD IN VIRGINIA—DEPREDACTIONS BY PHILLIPS AND ARNOLD—LAFAYETTE AND STEUBEN
IN VIRGINIA—CORNWALLIS AND LAFAYETTE—CAPTURING EXPEDITIONS FOILED—CORNWAL-
LIS MARCHES FOR THE SEA-COAST—ORDERS FROM CLINTON—CORNWALLIS SEATED AT YORK-
TOWN.

THE seventh year of the old war for independence (1781) opened with an extraordinary display of patriotism on the part of the Continental soldiers. Always lacking means for the prompt performance of their legitimate duties, the Congress were always dilatory in carrying out their promises embodied in resolutions. The consequence was that the army suffered great privations for want of money and clothing. Not comprehending the real weakness of the Congress, loud complaints were uttered that sometimes grew into the manifestations of a mutinous spirit. The tardiness in exchanging prisoners, and the seeming neglect of them by the Congress, had been a source of much dissatisfaction from the time when the sugar-houses and churches in the city of New York were made prisons for the reception of American captives taken on Long Island and at Fort Washington in 1776. Their sufferings in those sugar-houses, three in number, and in the Provost prison under the wicked rule of Marshall Cunningham, were very terrible. The story of the horrors of those prisons and of the prison-ships near New York form some of the darkest chapters in human history.

At the time we are considering there was great dissatisfaction in the army because of the official interpretation of the words "for three years or during the war," in the terms of enlistment of the private soldiers. The latter claimed that it meant for three years if the war continued, or to be discharged sooner if the war should cease. The official interpretation was that it meant for three years or longer if the war continued. This matter, the promises of Congress repeatedly broken, and the real sufferings of the soldiers at that time from lack of necessities for themselves and their fami-

lies, partly on account of the worthlessness of the Continental money, caused thirteen hundred men of the Pennsylvania line to march from the camp at Morristown for Princeton, on the first of January, 1781, with the avowed intention of going to Philadelphia and, in person, demanding justice at the hands of Congress. General Wayne, their commander, tried by threats and persuasions to induce them to return to their duty. They regarded their time of enlistment as fulfilled; and when he placed himself before them and



GENERAL WAYNE AND THE MUTINEERS.

cocked his pistol, they presented bayonets at his breast, declaring that much as they loved and respected him, they would put him to death instantly if he should fire. He appealed to their patriotism. Finding they would not listen to him, he resolved to accompany them. At Princeton they gave him a written list of their demands. They appeared reasonable. He caused them to be laid before Congress, who promptly complied with them as far as possible, and disbanded a larger portion of the Pennsylvania line for the winter, which was filled by new recruits in the spring.

When Sir Henry Clinton heard of this movement, he mistook the spirit of the mutineers and hoped to gain great advantage from the revolt. He passed over to Staten Island with troops to support them, and sent two

emissaries among them, with a New Jersey Tory, bearing an offer to pay them the arrearages of their wages in hard cash, clothe them well, give each a free pardon, and take them under the protection of the British government if they should lay down their arms and march to New York. The soldiers treated his offers with scorn. "See, comrades," said one of them, "he takes us for traitors. Let us show him that the American army can furnish but one Arnold, and that America has no truer friends than we." They immediately seized the emissaries, and handed them over to Wayne to be tried as spies. They were found guilty and executed. The reward which had been offered for the apprehension of the emissaries was tendered to the soldiers, when they crowned their act of patriotism by refusing it, saying: "Necessity wrung from us the act of demanding justice from Congress, but we desire no reward for doing our duty to our bleeding country."

At the middle of January, a part of the New Jersey line followed the example of the Pennsylvanians. Washington, perceiving the danger of allowing troops to obtain even their just rights by mutinous ways, promptly put down this second revolt by force of arms, and hanged two of the ring-leaders. These measures of justice and harshness had a salutary effect. The Congress and the people saw the necessity for more efficient measures for the support of the army, and the former sent young Colonel John Laurens abroad to negotiate loans from France. Laurens bore a letter from Washington to Vergennes, setting forth the absolute need of aid at that time, and another from the chief to Franklin, written in a similar strain. Lafayette also sent by the same hand an urgent memorial to Vergennes. When the special ambassador one day stood before that minister, and in eloquent words in the French language pressed his errand, Vergennes said coldly, that the king had "every reason to favor the United States." These words and the manner of the minister kindled the indignation of the young diplomatist, and he replied, with emphasis: "Favor, Sir! The respect which I owe to my country will not admit the term. Say that the obligation was mutual, and I will acknowledge the obligation. But, as the last argument, I shall offer to your excellency this: The sword which I now wear in defence of France as well as of my own country, unless the succor I solicit is immediately accorded, I may be compelled, within a short time, to draw against France, as a British subject." This assertion had the intended effect. Nothing was more dreaded by France at that moment than a reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies, and a cessation of the war for independence. A subsidy of one million two hundred thousand dollars, and a further sum as a loan, were granted. At the same time the necessity for a closer union was generally felt by the Americans, and the imperfect plan for

a national government known as the *Articles of Confederation*, already described, was ratified by the requisite number of States, on the 1st of March, 1781. In May following an amendment was offered by Mr. Madison, for establishing a stronger central government. The same month Pelatiah Webster published a pamphlet in which he recommended a convention to revise the Articles.

The ratification of the defective constitution was also followed in May (1781) by the submission of a financial plan by Robert Morris for raising money for the support of the army, which seemed ready to be disbanded by



GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

their own act. It was perceived that the Congress had no power to enforce taxation. Morris proposed the establishment of a bank at Philadelphia with a capital of four hundred thousand dollars, the promissory notes of which should be a legal-tender currency to be received in payment of all taxes, duties and debts, due the United States. The plan was approved by the Congress, and that financial agent of the government was chartered with the title of *The President and Directors of the Bank of North America*. With the able guidance of Mr. Morris, who was the Secretary of the Treasury, that corporation furnished adequate means for saving the Continental army from

disbanding. He collected the taxes, and he used his private fortune freely for the public welfare.

The chief theatre of war continued to be in the South, where it was prosecuted with energy during a greater portion of 1781. On the 30th of October, 1780, General Nathaniel Greene was appointed to succeed Gates in command of the troops in the Southern States. Congress, perceiving their folly in making the Southern Department independent, gave Greene all the power which they had conferred upon their favorite, but "subject to the control of the commander-in-chief." This unity of the military forces had a most salutary effect. Greene hastened southward; and leaving Steuben in Virginia, to collect and forward troops, he reached Charlotte on the 2d of December, where he received a complaint from Cornwallis concerning the ten Tory prisoners who were hung on the tulip tree at King's Mountain. That complaint Greene quickly silenced, by sending to the earl a list of full fifty patriots who had been hanged by his orders, in South Carolina, because they were patriots; at the same time he avowed his determination to be governed by the principles of humanity, whatever the British commander might do to the contrary. Greene and his subordinates adhered to this principle, while the British leaders ridiculed the idea of extending mercy to the "rebels," whom they held to be traitors to the king and deserving of death. One of the most noted of the executors of the British will, in this regard, was Colonel William Cunningham, who was ordered by Colonel Balfour at Charleston to carry terror into the interior of South Carolina. At the head of a hundred and fifty white men and negroes, he carried out these orders during the winter of 1781. He killed every person suspected of being favorable to the American cause, and burned their houses. Full a hundred persons were murdered by this British agent, with the approval of his masters.

General Greene, with his usual energy, at once prepared to fight or pursue the enemy, as circumstances might require. He arranged his army in two divisions. With the main force he took post at Cheraw, east of the Pedee River, and sent General Daniel Morgan, the heroic leader at Saratoga, with about a thousand men, to occupy the country near the junction of the Broad and Pacolet rivers in Western South Carolina. Cornwallis, who was just preparing to march into North Carolina again, now found himself in a position of danger, for he was between two hostile forces. Unwilling to leave Morgan in his rear, he sent Tarleton to capture or disperse his troops. Before this superior force Morgan retreated over rivers and small streams, and through tangled marshes, to the Thicketty Mountains, in Spartanberg District, not far from the North Carolina line. There, near a place called

The Cowpens, where great herds of cattle were salted and marked by their owners, Morgan encamped on a plain covered by an open pine forest; and there he was overtaken by Tarleton, and compelled to fly again or fight. The brave soldier chose the latter, and with deliberation prepared for battle. About four hundred of his best men he arranged in battle order on a little rising ground—Maryland light infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel John Eager Howard composing the centre, and Virginia riflemen forming the



BATTLE AT THE COWPENS.

wings. Eighty dragoons, led by Lieutenant-Colonel William Washington, were placed out of sight as a reserve, and about four hundred Carolinians and Georgians under Pickens were in the advance to defend the approaches to the camp. North Carolina and Georgia sharp-shooters acted as skirmishers on each flank.

Such was the disposition of Morgan's little army when, at eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th of January, 1781, Tarleton, with eleven hundred troops, horse and foot, with two pieces of cannon, rushed upon the republicans with loud shouts. A furious battle ensued. In a skillful movement in the form of a feigned retreat, Morgan turned so suddenly upon his pursuers, who believed the victory was secured for them, that they wavered. Seeing this, Howard charged the British line with bayonets, broke their ranks, and sent them flying in confusion. At that moment Washington's cavalry suddenly broke from their concealment, and made a successful charge upon Tarleton's horsemen. The enemy was completely routed, and

were pursued almost twenty miles in their eager flight. In this Battle of the Cowpens the Americans lost only seventy-two killed and wounded; the British lost over three hundred killed and wounded, and more than five hundred prisoners. The spoils were cannon, horses, wagons, eight hundred muskets, and two standards. The two cannon had been taken from the British at Saratoga, and were retaken by them at Camden. Tarleton's immense baggage, which he had left in the rear, was destroyed by his own men to prevent its being taken by the Americans. The Congress gave Morgan their thanks and a gold medal for his brilliant victory, and to Lieutenant-Colonels Howard and Washington each a silver medal.

At the close of the battle, Morgan pushed forward with his prisoners across the Broad River intending to pass the Catawba River and make his way toward Virginia. When Cornwallis heard of Tarleton's defeat, he started in pursuit of Morgan, with his whole army, as little encumbered with baggage as possible. He hoped to intercept the Americans at the fords of the Catawba, but he was too late. Morgan had crossed two hours before the arrival of the earl. Feeling sure of his prey, Cornwallis deferred crossing the river until morning. A heavy rain during the night swelled the stream to its brim, and he was kept back many hours. Meanwhile Morgan had reached the banks of the Yadkin, where he was joined by Greene. The latter, on hearing of the fight at the Cowpens, had left the camp at Cheraw in command of General Huger, and hastened to confer with Morgan. On the way he heard of the pursuit by Cornwallis, and sent back an order to Huger to break up the camp and join Morgan at Salisbury or Charlotte, in North Carolina. Cornwallis had been joined by troops from Camden under General Leslie; and at Ramsour's Mills (where, in June, 1780, North Carolina militia and a body of Loyalists had a sharp fight), he ordered all superfluous baggage and wagons to be destroyed. It was the 31st of January when Greene reached Morgan's camp on the Yadkin.

Now began one of the most remarkable military movements on record. It was the retreat of the Americans under Greene from the Catawba into Virginia, closely pursued by Cornwallis for about two hundred miles. When the waters of the Catawba had subsided, the earl had renewed the chase after Morgan; and he reached the western shore of the Yadkin (February 3) just as the Americans had formed for marching, on the eastern bank. Swelling floods again arrested the pursuers. Onward the retreating army pressed, but Cornwallis could not cross and give chase until the next day. At Guilford Court-House Greene was joined by his forces from the Pedee, but being still too weak to fight the stronger pursuers, he continued his flight, with the whole army, to the Dan, which he reached on the 13th of February.

The wearied troops crossed the rising flood and found repose in the bosom of Halifax county, in Virginia. The earl, unable to cross the ford because of the high water, discomfited a third time by the elements, gave up the chase, turned his face southward, and moving sullenly back through North Carolina, established his headquarters at Hillsborough.

Greene remained in Virginia only long enough to rest and recruit his army, when he recrossed the Dan (February 23) with the intention of



frustrating the efforts of Cornwallis to embody the Loyalists of North Carolina into military corps. The gallant Colonel Henry Lee, with his legion, was with Greene. At the head of his cavalry he scoured the country around the headwaters of the Haw and Deep rivers, where, by force and stratagem, he foiled Tarleton, who was recruiting among the Tories there. On the 2d of March he deceived Colonel Pyle, who was at the head of three hundred Loyalists, and near the Allamance Creek attacked, defeated, and dispersed his men. Tarleton, who was near, fled in alarm to Hillsborough, and the disheartened Tories returned to their homes. "I am among timid friends and adjoining inveterate rebels," Cornwallis wrote.

General Greene, in the meantime, had moved cautiously forward, and on the first of March found himself in command of almost five thousand effective troops. Feeling strong enough to cope with the earl, he sought an opportunity to fight him. The earl, too, was anxious to attack Greene, and on the 15th of March they met and contended fiercely near Guilford Court-House, not far from the present Greensborough, in Guilford county, North Carolina. Greene had encamped within eight miles of the earl on the evening of the 14th. The latter had been trying to bring on an engagement with the Americans, and on the morning of the 15th, he moved against Greene. The latter was prepared to receive his enemy. His main camp was upon a large hill surrounded by smaller ones, and all were covered with a forest of magnificent old trees, and thick underwood. Greene had sixteen hundred and fifty of the best veteran Continental troops, and two thousand militia; Cornwallis had nineteen hundred of the finest British veterans.

Greene disposed his army in three positions—the first at the edge of the woods on the greater hill; the second in the forest three hundred yards in the rear, and the third a little more than a fourth of a mile in the rear of the second. The first was composed of North Carolina militia, not quite eleven hundred in number and mostly raw recruits, commanded by Generals Butler and Eaton. They had two 6-pounders, with Washington's cavalry on the right wing and Lee's legion, with Campbell's militia, on the left wing. Their position was a very advantageous one. At a little past noon the British appeared on their front in full force, and, under cover of cannon-firing, they delivered a volley of musketry as they approached the Americans, and then, with a shout, rushed forward with their bayonets. The American militia fled after firing one or two volleys, when the victors, without halting, pressed on and attacked the second line composed of Virginia militia under Generals Stevens and Lawson. These were used to forest warfare and made a stout resistance for awhile, when they, too, fell back upon the regulars of the third line. Thus far the fight had been carried on by the British with their right, which was commanded by General Leslie; now Colonel Webster, who commanded the left, pressed forward with his division, in the face of a terrible fire of musketry and grape-shot. Greene commanded the Americans in person; and nearly the whole of the two armies were now in conflict. The battle lasted about two hours, when Greene, ignorant of the heavy losses of his enemy, ordered a retreat, leaving his cannon and the field to the British.

This was one of the sharpest battles of the war, and was disastrous to both armies. The Americans lost about four hundred killed and wounded, and a thousand who deserted to their homes; the loss of the British was

about six hundred. Among their mortally wounded was Colonel Webster. "Another such victory," said Charles James Fox in the House of Commons, "will ruin the British army." Fox moved (June 12) to recommend the ministers to conclude a peace, at once, with the Americans. On the same day, William Pitt, son of the great Chatham, and then only twenty-two years of age, spoke of the war against the Americans as a "most accursed" one, "wicked, barbarous, cruel, and unnatural; conceived in injustice, it was brought forth and nurtured in folly," he said; "its footsteps are marked with slaughter and devastation, while it meditates destruction to the miserable people who are the devoted objects of the resentments which produced it." Fox said: "America is lost, irrevocably lost to the country. We can lose nothing by a vote declaring America independent."

The battle at Guilford put an end to British domination in North Carolina. The forces of Cornwallis were too much shattered for him to maintain the advantage he had gained; so after issuing a proclamation, in which he boasted of his victory, called the Tories to rally to his standard and offered pardon to the "rebels," he moved, with his whole army, toward Wilmington, near the sea-board, while Greene retreated to the Reedy Fork. To these commanders might have been appropriately applied the line of a Scotch ballad:

"They baith did fight; they baith did beat; they baith did run awa."

When Greene heard of the earl's retreat, he pursued him as far as the Deep River, whence he turned back and moved toward Camden with a determination to strike a blow for the recovery of South Carolina.

Virginia, with great generosity, had sent her best troops to assist the Carolinians in their attempts to throw off the yoke of the oppressor. To prevent this movement, or to call back the Virginians to the defence of their State and so aid Cornwallis in his subjugation of the Carolinas, Arnold the traitor was sent with a marauding party of British and Tories, about sixteen hundred in number, with some armed vessels, to plunder, distress, and alarm the people of that State. In no other way could Arnold be employed by his master, for respectable British officers refused to serve with him in the army. The traitor appeared in Hampton Roads, with his motley host, at the close of December, and, ascending the James River in armed vessels and transports, he landed, with about a thousand men, at Westover, on the 2d of January, 1781. The Baron de Steuben had been left in Virginia by Greene, as we have observed, to gather up and discipline the levies voted by that State for the Southern army; and on the appearance of this new danger, the militia flocked to his standard. Believing Petersburg to be

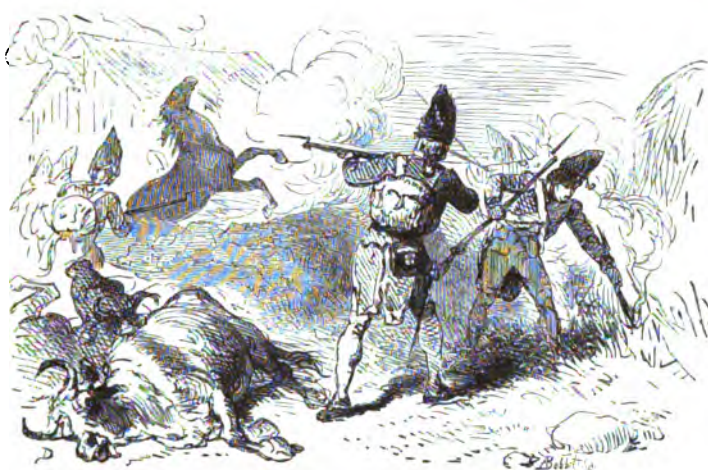
Arnold's chief object, the Baron kept his small force on the southern side of the James River; but Arnold pushed on toward Richmond from Westover, to plunder the tobacco warehouses there. He offered to spare the town if his vessels might be permitted to carry away his plunder unmolested. The proposition was rejected with scorn by Governor Jefferson, when the invader applied the torch and laid the village and stores, public and private, in ashes. Then he withdrew to Westover, and re-embarked for a marauding raid down the river. He was pursued by Steuben and General Nelson, with Virginia militia; and having been warned by Admiral Arbuthnot, that French vessels from Rhode Island were on their way to the Chesapeake, Arnold fled up the Elizabeth River and made his headquarters at Portsmouth, opposite Norfolk.

Great efforts were made by the Americans to capture and punish Arnold. Jefferson offered five thousand guineas for his arrest, and Washington detached Lafayette, with twelve hundred troops drawn from the New England and the New Jersey levies, to march to Virginia to assist in protecting that State and catching the traitor. For the same purpose some French war-vessels were sent to the Chesapeake from Rhode Island in March, but as they could not go up the Elizabeth River, they soon returned to Newport.

Late in March, General Phillips, who had been sent from New York to Virginia with two thousand picked men, joined Arnold, and took the chief command. They went up the James River to plunder and ravage, and to attempt the subjugation of the State. They carried away or destroyed a vast amount of stores, and they also plundered the plantations of slaves and sent them to the West Indies to be sold. This formidable invasion caused widespread alarm. Lafayette was on his way, and Wayne was preparing to follow with Pennsylvanians. By a forced march of two hundred miles, the marquis reached Richmond at the close of April, twelve hours before Phillips and Arnold appeared on the opposite side of the river. He had just been joined by militia under Steuben, and they held the invaders in check. Two weeks later Phillips died at Petersburg of a malignant fever, when the command devolved upon Arnold a few days, until the arrival of Cornwallis, who, abandoning North Carolina, had marched into Virginia, hoping by that movement to draw Greene away from Lord Rawdon, then encamped at Camden. The earl so heartily despised Arnold that he could not endure him in his camp, and he sent him to New York. During the few days that the latter was in command he wrote an official letter to Lafayette, who returned it unopened, for he would have no communication with a traitor. One day Arnold found an intelligent young man among his prisoners, and questioned him respecting the feelings of his countrymen. "If the Americans should catch me, what would they do with me?" he asked. The

prisoner promptly replied: "They would bury, with military honors, your leg wounded at Quebec and Saratoga, and hang the rest of you."

Cornwallis determined to make the Virginians feel his power. He seized all the fine horses he could find along the James River, with which he mounted almost six hundred cavalry, whom he sent after Lafayette, then not far distant from Richmond, with three thousand troops, waiting for Wayne and his Pennsylvanians. The vigilant marquis fell slowly back,



WANTON DESTRUCTION OF LIVE-STOCK.

keeping north of the earl. He crossed the South and North Anna rivers, and at Raccoon's Ford, on the Rapid Anna River, he met Wayne with eight hundred men. Cornwallis had pursued him as far as Hanover Court-House, from which place the earl sent Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, with his *Queen's Rangers*, to capture or destroy stores in charge of Steuben at the Point of Forks, at the junction of the Rivanna and Fluvanna rivers. Steuben, warned of his approach, had taken most of his stores beyond the Fluvanna, which Simcoe's horses could not ford. Tarleton had been detached at the same time with orders to capture Governor Jefferson and the members of the Virginia legislature at Charlottesville, whither they had fled from Richmond. Only seven of the law-makers were captured. Jefferson narrowly escaped by fleeing from his house on horseback, accompanied by a single servant, and hiding himself in the mountains. He had left his dwelling only ten minutes before one of Tarleton's officers entered it.

Cornwallis was now at Jefferson's Elk Hill plantation, near the Point of

Forks, where he committed the most wanton destruction of property, cutting the throats of young horses not fit for service, slaughtering the cattle, burning the barns with the crops of the previous year, and destroying the growing ones, laying all the fences on the estate in ashes, and carrying away about thirty slaves. The agile Lafayette had now turned upon the earl. The latter supposing the forces of the marquis to be much greater than they really were, turned his face toward the sea-coast and retreated down the peninsula to Williamsburg, making his pathway a black line of desolation. It is estimated that during this invasion of Virginia, from the advent of Arnold in January, until Cornwallis reached Williamsburg late in June, property to the value of fifteen million dollars was destroyed, and thirty thousand slaves were carried off. The British had been closely followed by Lafayette, Wayne and Steuben, and were allowed to rest at Williamsburg. They were there reinforced, and were protected by shipping.

A few days after reaching Williamsburg, Cornwallis received an order from Sir Henry Clinton to send three thousand of his troops to New York, then menaced by the combined American and French forces. Clinton also directed the earl to take a defensive position in Virginia at some healthy location, and fortify it. This order greatly irritated the earl, for he regarded it as an intentional frustration of his own plan for an active campaign in Virginia. He aspired to Clinton's place, and was a favorite of Germain. Clinton knew that, and for a long time the two commanders had been excessively jealous of each other.

Cornwallis, satisfied that after he should send away so large a detachment of his army he could not cope with Lafayette, determined to cross the James River and make his way to Portsmouth. This movement was accelerated by the bold attitude of the republican troops, who were pressing close upon him. On the 6th of July, a detachment sent out by Wayne to capture a British field-piece, boldly resisted a large portion of Cornwallis's army, as the former fell back to Lafayette's main force near the Green Spring plantation, the estate of Governor Berkeley, where a sharp skirmish occurred, in which the marquis had a horse shot under him, and each party lost about a hundred men. The blow was so severe that Cornwallis hastened to cross the river, which he did on the 9th of July, and marched without further molestation to Portsmouth. Disliking that situation, he went to Yorktown, on the York River, and there, upon a high and healthful plain, he established a fortified camp. He also threw up strong military works at Gloucester, on the opposite side of the river. Here we will leave the earl, while we take a brief survey of military events in the Carolinas.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

BATTLE BETWEEN GREENE AND RAWDON NEAR CAMDEN—RAWDON ABANDONS CAMDEN—CAPTURE OF BRITISH POSTS—PATRIOTISM OF MRS. MOTTE—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF AUGUSTA—SIEGE OF FORT NINETY-SIX—GREENE RAISES THE SIEGE AND PURSUES RAWDON—THE BRAVE EMILY GEIGER—GREENE ON THE HIGH HILLS OF SANTEE—MURDER OF ISAAC HAYNE—GREENE PURSUES STEWART—BATTLE AT EUTAW SPRINGS—GREENE RETURNS TO THE SANTEE HILLS—THE BRITISH DRIVEN INTO CHARLESTON—JUNCTION OF THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH TROOPS—ARNOLD'S RAID INTO CONNECTICUT—GATHERING OF TROOPS AT WILLIAMSBURG—SIEGE OF YORKTOWN—SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.

GREENE perceived that the possession of the interior of South Carolina depended on the posts at Camden and Ninety-Six, and he resolved to capture them. Lord' Rawdon was in command at Camden with a force nine hundred in number, and strongly intrenched. When Greene relinquished the pursuit of Cornwallis, he marched directly against Rawdon, and arrived within a mile of his intrenchments on the 19th of April, 1781. The works were too strong for Greene's force to assail, and the latter were not numerous enough to invest them and begin a siege; so he withdrew to Hobkirk's Hill, a well-wooded eminence northward of Camden, and encamped within a mile and a half of Rawdon's intrenchments, where he awaited expected reinforcements under Sumter. There, on the 24th, he heard of the capture of a post at Wright's Bluff, below Camden, by Marion and Lee, and was impatient to fall upon Rawdon, for he was informed that almost five hundred troops were marching up the Santee to reinforce the latter. That night a drummer deserted to the enemy, and informed Rawdon of the weakness of Greene and his expectation of reinforcements immediately. Rawdon's provisions were almost exhausted, he saw no chance for success in battle excepting in an immediate surprise and attack. So he prepared to fall upon Greene early in the morning of the 25th.

At dawn Greene's cavalry, who had been on duty all night, were dismounted, their horses were unsaddled, and they were taking refreshments preparatory to a few hours repose. Some of the other soldiers were washing their clothes, and Greene and his staff were at a spring on the eastern slope

of Hobkirk's Hill, at breakfast. Rawdon had sallied out with his whole garrison, and by marching unperceived along the margin of a swamp, had gained the left flank of the Americans. Greene, partially surprised, quickly formed his little army in battle-line. His cavalry were immediately remounted. The Virginia brigade under General Huger, with Lieutenant-Colonels Campbell and Hawes, formed the right; the Maryland brigade (with Delaware troops under Kirkwood), led by Colonel Williams, with Colonel Gunby and Lieutenant-Colonels Ford and Howard, occupied the left, and the artillery under Colonel Harrison were in the centre, on the road. Washington's cavalry were directed to make a circuit through the woods and fall upon the rear of the enemy, and North Carolina militia were held as a reserve. In this position Greene prepared to receive the on-coming Rawdon. As the British troops moved slowly up the slope, with a narrow front, the regiments of Campbell and Ford were ordered to turn their flanks, and Gunby's Marylanders to assail their front with bayonets, without firing. The battle now opened with great vigor, the Virginians led by Greene in person. The artillery hurled grape-shot with deadly effect, when the British line wavered, and the Americans felt sure of gaining a victory. At that moment Captain Beatty, commanding a company of Gunby's veterans, was killed, and his followers gave way. Unfortunately an order followed for the whole regiment to retire, when the British broke through the American centre, pushed up the brow of the hill, and forced Greene to retreat. Washington, meanwhile, had succeeded in capturing about two hundred of the British soldiers, whose officers he quickly paroled; and in the retreat he carried away fifty of the captives. The Americans were chased a short distance, when Washington, turning upon his pursuers, by a gallant charge checked them. Greene saved all of his artillery and baggage, rallied his men at Rugeley's, crossed the Wateree River above Camden, and took a strong position to rest before marching on Ninety-Six. The loss of each was less than two hundred and seventy. This defeat was unexpected to Greene, and disconcerted him at first, but his genius and courage were equal to the occasion.

Rawdon followed Greene a little way beyond the Wateree, but finding the communication between Camden and Charleston broken by American partisans, he resolved to abandon the whole country north of the Congaree. He ordered Colonel Cruger to leave Fort Ninety-Six, and join a British force at Augusta; and on the 10th of May, after burning his stores and public and private buildings at Camden, Rawdon left that post forever, and marched down to Nelson's Ferry on the Santee, to drive off Marion and Lee, then besieging Fort Motte. But within six days afterward the post at Nelson's

Ferry, Fort Granby near the site of the city of Columbia, Fort Motte on the Congaree, and Orangeburg near the waters of the Edisto, fell into the hands of the Americans. Fort Motte was composed of the fine residence of Mrs. Rebecca Motte (a widowed mother with six children), and temporary fortifications constructed around it. Mrs. Motte was an ardent Whig, and had been driven from her house by the British. She had taken refuge at her



A DISPLAY OF GENUINE PATRIOTISM.

farm-house on a hill near by, when Marion and Lee approached with a considerable force. They had no artillery, and could make only a slight impression upon the fort. What was to be done had to be done quickly. Lee proposed to dislodge the enemy by hurling some combustible material upon the roof of the building and setting it on fire. Mrs. Motte readily consented to this destruction of her property. She brought out a strong Indian bow and some arrows, and with these a soldier, expert in their use, sent fire to the dry roof. When it burst into a flame, the alarmed garrison, one hundred and sixty-five in number, surrendered. The patriotic owner then

regaled both the American and British officers with a good dinner at her own table.

Marion now hastened to attack a British post at Georgetown; and Lee pushed forward toward the Savannah to aid Pickens and Clarke in holding the country between Ninety-Six and Augusta, to prevent the garrison at either place joining the other. In this they were successful. Rawdon's order to Cruger to evacuate Ninety-Six reached him when the pathway between that post and Augusta was closed by the partisan rangers; and Rawdon, alarmed by the rapid and successful movements of these partisans, fled toward the sea-coast, and did not halt until he reached Monks' Corners, well down toward Charleston. Pickens and Clarke had kept watch over the British at Augusta, and when, on the 20th of May, they were joined by Lee, they proceeded to invest the fort there. Fort Galphin, twelve miles below Augusta, was taken on the 21st of May, and then an officer was sent to demand the surrender of the main fort. Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, one of the most cruel of the Tories of that region, who was in command, refused to surrender, when a regular siege began. A general assault was about to be made on the 4th of June, when Brown proposed to surrender, and on the following day this important post passed into the hands of the Americans. In that siege the Americans lost fifty-one killed and wounded, and the British parted with fifty-two in the same way, and over three hundred made prisoners. At the close of the siege, Lee and Pickens hastened to Ninety-Six, then beleaguered by the forces of Greene.

Kosciuszko was Greene's chief engineer, and with that skillful officer he began the siege of Ninety-Six on the 22d of May, with about a thousand men. The garrison numbered five hundred and fifty. The post was well fortified, and Cruger was a brave soldier. Some troops having arrived from Ireland early in June, Lord Rawdon, thus reinforced, hastened to the relief of the beleaguered fort, with about two thousand men. His approach was heralded by a horseman in the garb of a planter, who rode along the American lines at twilight one evening, and talked freely with the officers. It was a common occurrence, and attracted no special attention. When he reached the road leading directly to the fort, he put spurs to his horse and dashed toward the gate of the fortress followed by a score of bullets. He reached the portal unharmed, bearing in his upraised hand a large letter. It was a despatch to Cruger from Rawdon, announcing his approach. The former had not heard from the writer since he fled from Camden; and he was so hard pressed by the besiegers, who had cut off his water supply, that he was contemplating a surrender. The news encouraged the garrison to endure a little longer. When, on the 18th of June, Rawdon was drawing nigh,

Greene attempted to take the fort by storm. It was a disastrous failure. Only one of every six of the assailants escaped unhurt; one-third of them were killed. On the following day Greene raised the siege and fled beyond the Saluda, pursued some distance by the garrison.

The chief commanders of the contending armies now changed their relative positions. As the post of Ninety-Six could not be held, Rawdon ordered its abandonment. Leaving Cruger and the garrison to assist the



ARREST OF EMILY GEIGER.

loyalists in fleeing to Charleston from the wrath of their incensed neighbors, he pushed on toward Orangeburg, with about a thousand men, pursued by Greene, but avoiding a contest with him. Greene sent a message to Marion and Sumter, then on the Santee, to take a position in front of the enemy and impede his progress. His messenger was Emily Geiger, daughter of a German planter. No man in the army was willing to attempt the hazardous service, for the Tories were on the alert. The brave young girl was not more than eighteen years of age. She volunteered to carry a letter to Sumter. With his usual caution Greene told her its contents, so that, in case she might find occasion to destroy it, she could still bear the message to the partisan. The brave maiden mounted a fleet horse, crossed the

Wateree at the Camden Ferry, and while passing through a dry swamp on the second day of her journey, she was arrested by some Tory scouts. As she came from the direction of Greene's army, she was suspected of being a messenger. They took her to a house on the edge of the swamp, and with proper delicacy employed a woman to search her person. No sooner was she left alone than she ate up Greene's letter, piece by piece. The matron who was sent for searched in vain for any scrap of paper. Her captors made many apologies for detaining her, and Emily passed on to Sumter's camp. Very soon he and Marion were co-operating with Greene in sorely pressing the troops of Rawdon. Emily Geiger afterward married a rich planter on the Congaree.

When Greene approached Orangeburg, he found Rawdon reinforced and so strongly intrenched that he did not deem it prudent to attack him; and as the heats of summer were approaching, he crossed the Congaree and in July encamped his army on the High Hills of Santee, famous for the salubrity of the air and the purity of the water. Then Rawdon, leaving the troops at Orangeburg in command of Colonel Stewart, went down to Charleston, and complaining of ill-health soon embarked for England. A short time before he sailed, he was a party to an inhuman transaction. Among those who took protection after the fall of Charleston was Isaac Hayne, a planter in the low country. When the British were driven out of his section, by Greene's troops, they could no longer give him protection, and feeling himself relieved from the obligation which it had imposed, he took command of a regiment of South Carolina militia. While in arms he was made prisoner. Colonel Balfour, then in command at Charleston, hesitated in disposing of him; but when Rawdon arrived, that officer, pursuant to the spirit of Cornwallis's orders, directed Hayne to be hung. This was done without even the form of a trial. Not even the prisoner anticipated such harsh treatment, until he was informed that he had not two days to live. The patriot's children, the women of Charleston, the lieutenant-governor of the province, all pleaded for his life in vain. The savage sentence was executed, and Isaac Hayne has been embalmed in history as a martyr. After Balfour's death, Rawdon tried to fix the ignominy of the act on that officer. It aroused the fiercest indignation even among moderate men who were inclined to feel kindly toward British rule; and the patriotic women of Charleston could not, at times, restrain their feelings of contempt for British officers after that. One day when Colonel Balfour was walking in the garden of Charles Elliot, in Charleston, with the wife of that gentleman, he pointed to a chamomile flower, and asked its name. "The rebel flower," said Mrs. Elliot. "And why is it called the rebel flower?" inquired Balfour.

"Because," replied the patriotic woman, "it always flourishes most when trampled upon."

Greene did not tarry long on the High Hills of Santee. He was reinforced there by North Carolina troops early in August, and toward the close of that month he crossed the Congaree with a greater part of his force, and marched upon Orangeburg. Stewart had just been joined by Cruger and the garrison of Fort Ninety-Six, but he immediately fled eastward forty miles and pitched his tents at Eutaw Springs, near the Santee. So secretly and skillfully was he pursued by Greene, that he was not fully aware that the republicans were after him until they were close upon his heels; and near the Springs a severe battle was fought on the 8th of September, 1781. Greene had moved before the dawn in two columns so stealthily that it was almost a surprise. The centre of his first line was composed of North Carolina militia-men, with a battalion of South Carolina militia on each flank commanded respectively by Marion and Pickens. The second line consisted of North Carolina regulars led by General Sumner, on the right; an equal number of Virginians under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell in the centre, and Marylanders commanded by Colonel Williams, on the left. Lee's legion covered the right flank, and troops led by Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson covered the left. Washington's cavalry with Kirkwood's Delawares formed a reserve, and each line had artillery on its front. Skirmishing commenced at eight o'clock in the morning, and very soon the fight became general and very severe. The British were defeated and driven from the field with much loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The victory was complete, when the Americans, like those under Sumter at Hanging Rock, spread over the deserted camp of the enemy, eating, drinking, and plundering. Very suddenly and unexpectedly the British renewed the battle, and after a terrible conflict for about five hours the Americans, who had lost heavily, were compelled to give way. Stewart felt insecure, for the partisan legions were not far away; so, that night, after breaking up a thousand muskets and destroying stores, he retreated toward Charleston. Early the next morning (September 9, 1781) Greene sent parties in pursuit, who chased the fugitives far toward the city by the sea, and then took possession of the battle-field. Although the advantage lay with the Americans, neither party could claim a victory. In killed, wounded and prisoners, the British lost full eight hundred men; the Americans lost about five hundred and fifty. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington was severely wounded in the second battle on that day, and was made a prisoner. For his good conduct on that occasion, Greene was presented by Congress with a vote of thanks, a gold medal, and a British standard taken

in the fight. Having a large number of sick soldiers, he left Eutaw Springs a few days after the battle, and again encamped on the High Hills of Santee, where he remained until the middle of November, when he marched his army into the low country, where he might obtain an abundance of food. Meanwhile his partisan corps under Marion, Sumter, Lee and others had been driving the British force from post to post in the low country, and smiting Tory bands in every direction. The British finally evacuated all of their interior stations and retired to Charleston, pursued almost to the verge of the city by partisan troops. Greene's main army occupied a position



GENERAL FRANCIS MARION.

between that city and Jacksonborough, where the South Carolina legislature had resumed its sessions. That able and skillful leader had not won victories in the field, but had accomplished the objects for which he fought. In the course of nine months he had recovered the three Southern States, and at the close of 1781, he had all the British troops below Virginia hemmed in the cities of Charleston and Savannah, General Wayne and his little army becoming the jailers at the latter place at the opening of 1782.

While these events were occurring south of Virginia, important ones had taken place in that State. We left Cornwallis at Yorktown establishing a fortified camp there. Lafayette had taken a position with his little army eight miles from

the British lines "to oppose the projects of the Court of St. James and the fortunes of Lord Cornwallis," he wrote to old Maurepas. He had plainly perceived the mistake of Clinton in ordering Cornwallis to take a defensive position in Virginia; and as early as July, he wrote to Washington from Randolph's, on Malvern Hill, urging him to march into Virginia in force, and saying, "Should a French fleet enter Hampton Roads, the British army would be compelled to surrender." The Count de Grasse was, at that time, in command of the French fleet in the West Indies, and Washington had received assurances that he would co-operate with the allied armies in any

undertaking that promised success. Meanwhile Rochambeau had led the French army from New England to the Hudson River, and the junction of the American forces and their allies was effected on the 6th of July, near Dobbs Ferry.

At that time Washington was contemplating an attack on the British in New York. Preparations were made for the movement; but before De Grasse was ready to co-operate with them, Sir Henry Clinton was reinforced by three thousand troops from England. They arrived at New York on the 11th of August. At about the same time Washington was informed that De Grasse could not leave the West Indies just then. Thus foiled, the commander-in-chief turned his thoughts toward Virginia, to which Lafayette had invited him. Thenceforth his plans were made in reference to an autumn campaign in that State. While he was yet uncertain what course it was best to pursue in the absence of a co-operating French fleet, he received from De Barras, the successor of Admiral de Ternay, who had died at Newport, the joyful intelligence that De Grasse was to sail for the Chesapeake Bay at the close of August with a powerful naval armament, and more than three thousand land troops. De Barras wrote: "M. de Grasse is my junior; yet, as soon as he is within reach, I will go to sea to put myself under his orders."

Washington had made ample preparations for marching into Virginia. To prevent any interference from Sir Henry Clinton he wrote deceptive letters to be intercepted, by which the British general was made to believe that his enemy still contemplated an attack upon New York. So satisfied was he that such was Washington's designs, that for nearly ten days after the allied armies had crossed the Hudson (August 23 and 24) and were marching through New Jersey, he believed the movement was only a feint to cover a sudden descent upon the city in overwhelming force. It was not until the 2d of September that he was convinced that the allies were marching against Cornwallis. Then he rejoiced that on the arrival of his reinforcements, he had countermanded his order for Cornwallis to send troops to New York.

On the 5th of September the allied armies encamped at Chester, in Pennsylvania, where Washington received news that De Grasse with his ships and land troops had entered Chesapeake Bay. The heart of the commander-in-chief was filled with joy, for in this event he saw a sure prophecy of success and the security of independence for his country. De Grasse had moored the most of his fleet in Lynn Haven Bay, barred the York River against reinforcements for Cornwallis, and landed three thousand troops, under the Marquis de St. Simon, on the peninsula, near old James-

town. Meanwhile De Barras had sailed from Newport, with a fleet conveying ten transports laden with ordnance for the siege of Yorktown. Arbuthnot had been succeeded in command of the British fleet at New York by Admiral Graves, a coarse, vulgar, and inefficient man. That officer, on hearing of the approach of the French fleet, sailed for the Chesapeake. De Grasse went out to meet him, and on the 5th of September they had a sharp fight, in which the British fleet was so much damaged that it returned to New York, leaving De Grasse master of the Chesapeake.

When Clinton was assured that Washington was really leading the armies to Virginia, he tried to recall some of the troops by menacing posts at the North. He threatened New Jersey, and caused a rumor to go abroad that he was about to attack the American works in the Hudson Highlands with a strong force. He also sent Arnold on a marauding expedition into New England. The traitor, with a band of regulars and Tories, crossed the Sound from Long Island, and on the 6th of September, landed his troops on each side of the Thames below New London. That town, which could offer very little resistance, was plundered and burned. Fort Griswold, at Groton, opposite New London, was taken by storm after a gallant defence by Colonel Ledyard and his little garrison of one hundred and fifty poorly-armed militia-men. Only six of the Americans were killed in the fight; but after the surrender, the British officer in command murdered Colonel Ledyard with his sword, and refused to give quarter to the garrison. Seventy-three were massacred. Some were badly wounded, and others were carried away captive. Some of the wounded were placed in a baggage-wagon at the brow of the hill on which the fort yet stands, and it was sent down the rough and steep slope, a hundred rods, with great violence, for the purpose of plunging the helpless victims into the river. The jolting caused some of the wounded to expire, while the cries of agony from the lips of the survivors were heard across the river in the midst of the crackling noise of the burning town. An apple-tree had arrested the course of the wagon, and there the sufferers remained more than an hour, when their captors laid them on the beach and left them to die. Friendly hands conveyed them to a house near by, where they were cared for by tender women. With this atrocious expedition the name of Benedict Arnold disappears from history.

Neither Clinton's threats nor Arnold's atrocities stayed the onward march of the allied troops. It was intended to transport them by water from the head of Elk (now Elkton, in Maryland), but there were not sufficient vessels there for the purpose, and a greater portion of them made their way to Annapolis by land. Afterward the whole of the allies were carried by water to the James River by transports from the squadron of De Barras.

From Baltimore, where he arrived on the 8th of September, Washington, accompanied by Rochambeau and the Marquis de Chastellux, journeyed to his home at Mount Vernon, from which he had been absent since July, 1775. There they remained two days, when they departed for Williamsburgh, and arrived there on the 14th. Washington immediately repaired to the *Ville de Paris*, De Grasse's flag-ship, lying off Cape Henry, to meet the admiral, and to congratulate him on his victory over Graves on the 5th. There satisfactory arrangements were made for a combined attack upon Yorktown by land and water, as soon as the troops should reach Williamsburgh. While waiting for the slowly approaching forces, word came that the British fleet at New York had been reinforced. De Grasse proposed to leave some frigates to blockade the York River, and go out in his great ships in quest of the enemy. There would be great danger in such a movement. The British fleet might enter Chesapeake Bay, and assist Cornwallis in making his escape. Washington perceived the peril, and persuaded De Grasse to remain. The last division of the allied forces reached Williamsburgh on the 25th of September, when preparations for the siege were immediately begun.

Cornwallis had solicited aid from Clinton. On the 17th he wrote: "This place is in no state of defence. If you cannot relieve me very soon, you must be prepared to hear the worst." On the same day a council of Clinton's officers in New York decided that Cornwallis must be relieved "before the end of October"—and so he was, but not by their aid.

On the 28th the allied armies marched from Williamsburgh, about twelve thousand in number, to begin the siege of Yorktown, twelve miles distant, driving in the British outposts on the way. Some of the allies took possession of outworks which the British had abandoned, and then sent out covering parties for the diggers of trenches and builders of redoubts. The line of the allies extended in a semicircle about two miles from the British works, each wing resting on the York River, and on the 30th the place was completely invested. On account of the possession of the abandoned outworks, the allies were in an advantageous position to command the British lines and carry on the siege by opening trenches. The enemy at Gloucester were imprisoned by the French dragoons under the Duke De Lauzun, Virginia militia under General Weedon, and eight hundred French marines. Only once did the British attempt offensive operations from that point. Tarleton and his legion once sallied out, but were soon driven back by Lauzun's cavalry, who took Tarleton's horse a prisoner and came near capturing its owner.

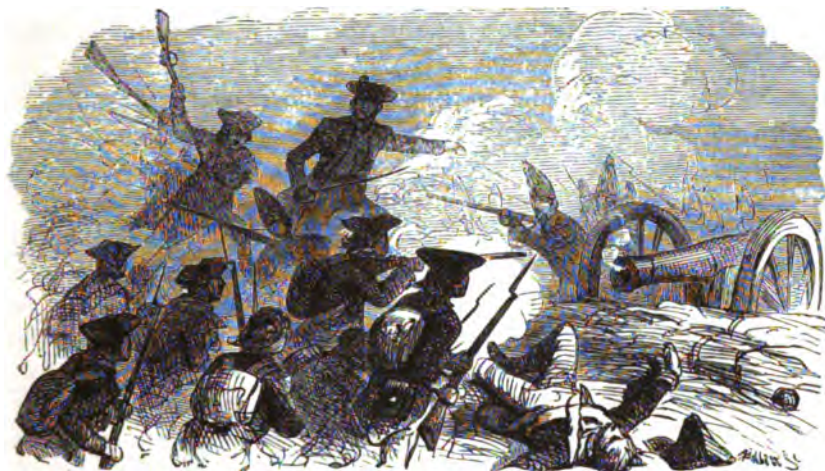
In the besieging line the French troops occupied the left, the West India

troops of St. Simon on the extreme flank. The Americans were on the right, and the French artillery, with the quarters of the two commanders, occupied the centre. The American artillery under General Knox were on the right. De Grasse remained in Lynn Haven Bay to beat off any British fleet that might attempt to relieve Cornwallis.

On the night of the 6th of October, the heavy ordnance had been brought from the vessels, and trenches were begun at a distance of six hundred yards from the British works. The night was dark and stormy, and at dawn the Americans, working under the command of General Lincoln, had completed the first parallel, their labors being entirely unsuspected by the British sentinels. On the afternoon of the 9th several batteries and redoubts were completed, and a general discharge of heavy guns was begun by the Americans on the right. All night long cannon thundered, and the roar of artillery was increased early in the morning when the French on the left opened several batteries. At evening (October 10) the French hurled red-hot cannon-ball upon British vessels in the river, which fired the *Charon*, a 44-gun ship, and three heavy transports, and all were consumed. The whole scene that night was one of terrible grandeur.

On the night of the 11th the allies began the second parallel within three hundred yards of the British works. This labor was not discovered by the enemy until daylight, when they brought heavy guns to bear upon the diggers. It took them days to complete this second parallel. Two redoubts that commanded the trenches and greatly annoyed the diggers were breeched by the cannon-balls of the besiegers on the 14th, when it was determined to attempt to take them by storm. One on the right, near the York River, was garrisoned by forty-five men; the one on the left was manned by about one hundred and twenty men. The capture of the former was intrusted to Americans led by Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton, and that of the latter to French grenadiers led by Count Deuxponts. At a given signal Hamilton advanced in two columns—one led by Major Fish, the other by Lieutenant-Colonel Gimat, Lafayette's aid, while Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, with eighty men, turned the redoubt to intercept a retreat. The assailants leaped the *abatis* and the palisades with so much celerity, and attacked the garrison so furiously, that the redoubt was captured in a few minutes with little loss on either side. Laurens was among the first to enter the work and make the commander, Major Campbell, a prisoner. The life of every man who ceased to resist was spared. In the meantime the French, after a severe struggle with ball and bayonet (in which they lost about a hundred men in killed and wounded), captured the other redoubt in a similar manner. As they charged the garrison with the bayonet, Deuxponts, their

leader, shouted "Vive le Roi!" and the cry was echoed by his followers. Washington, with Knox and some others, had watched these movements with intense anxiety; and when he saw both redoubts in possession of his troops, he turned to Knox and said, "The work is done, and well done." Then calling to his favorite body-servant, he said: "Billy, hand me my horse." That night both redoubts were included in the second parallel.



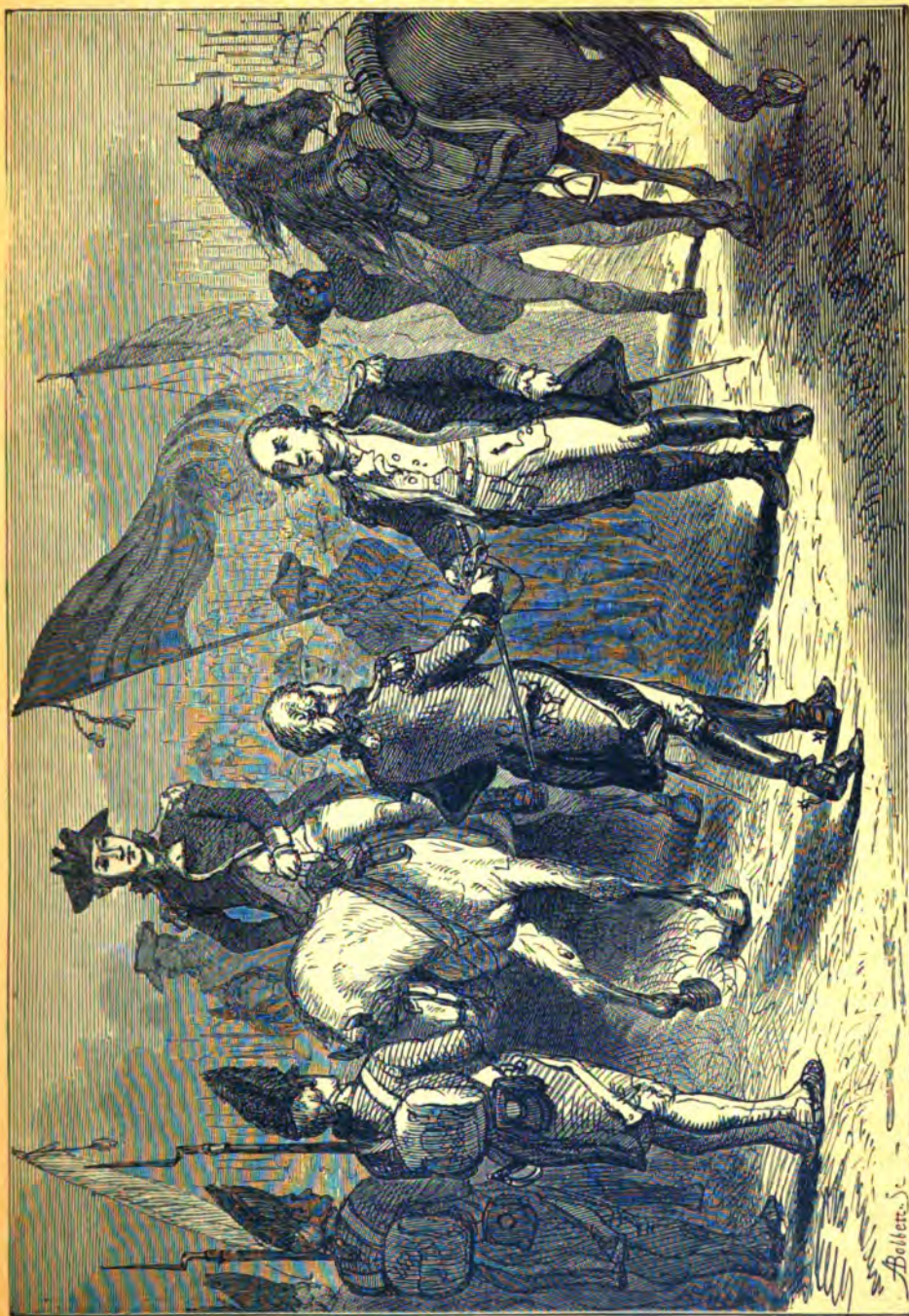
CAPTURE OF A REDOUBT AT YORKTOWN.

The situation of Cornwallis was now becoming desperate. A superior force environed him, and his works were crumbling; and he knew that when the second parallel of the besiegers should be completed, his post would be untenable. He resolved to make an effort to escape by abandoning his baggage and sick, crossing the river with his troops to Gloucester, cutting up or dispersing the allies who were imprisoning the British garrison there, and by rapid marches gaining the forks of the Rappahannock and Potomac, and, forcing his way through Maryland and Pennsylvania, join Clinton at New York. Boats for the passage of the York were prepared, and on the evening of the 16th a part of the troops were carried over to Gloucester, when a furious storm of wind and rain, as sudden as a summer tornado, arose and made any further attempt to pass the river too hazardous to be undertaken. The troops were brought back. The earl lost hope. The bombardment of his lines was very severe and destructive, and on the 17th he proposed to surrender. On the following day Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens and Viscount de Noailles (a relative of Lafayette's wife), as commissioners on the

part of the allies, met Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas and Major Ross of the British army, and drafted a capitulation. The terms were similar to those demanded of Lincoln at Charleston. All the troops were to be prisoners of war, and all public property was to be surrendered. All slaves and plunder found in possession of the British might be reclaimed by their owners; otherwise, private property was to be respected. The loyalists were abandoned to the mercies or resentments of their countrymen. Such were the general terms; but by the packet which carried his despatches to Sir Henry Clinton, Cornwallis managed to send away persons who were most obnoxious to the Americans.

Late in the afternoon of the 19th of October, 1781, the surrender of Cornwallis and his army took place. The allied troops were drawn up in two columns. Washington on his white charger was at the head of the Americans; and Rochambeau on a powerful bay horse at the head of the French columns. A vast concourse of people from the surrounding country were spectators of the impressive scene. Cornwallis, feigning sickness, sent General O'Hara with his sword, as his representative. That officer led the vanquished troops out of their intrenchments with their colors cased, and marched them between the victorious columns. When he arrived at their head he approached Washington to hand him the earl's sword, when the commander-in-chief directed him to General Lincoln as his representative. It was a proud moment for Lincoln. Only the year before he had been compelled to make a humiliating surrender to royal troops at Charleston. He led the subdued army to the field where they were to lay down their arms, and then received from O'Hara the sword of Cornwallis, which he politely returned to be given back to the earl. The standards, twenty-eight in number, were then given up, and the royal army laid down their arms.

The whole number of troops surrendered was about seven thousand. To these must be added two thousand sailors, eighteen hundred negroes, and fifteen hundred Tories, making the total number of prisoners over twelve thousand. Besides these, the British lost in killed, wounded and missing during the siege, about five hundred and fifty men; the loss of the Americans was about three hundred. The spoils of victory were nearly eight thousand muskets; seventy-five brass and one hundred and sixty iron cannon, and a large quantity of munitions of war and stores. To accomplish this great victory, the French had provided thirty-seven ships-of-the-line and seven thousand men; and the Americans furnished nine thousand troops, of which number five thousand five hundred were regulars.



GENERAL LINCOLN RECEIVING CORNWALLIS'S SWORD FROM GENERAL O'HARA.

1912

CHAPTER XXXIX.

EFFECT OF THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS, IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES—THE NEWS IN PHILADELPHIA—SCENES IN PARLIAMENT—NEGOTIATIONS FOR A TREATY OF PEACE BEGUN—VARIOUS MILITARY MOVEMENTS—WASHINGTON ADOPTS HIS STEP-SON'S CHILDREN—AFFAIRS IN SOUTH CAROLINA—EVACUATION OF SAVANNAH AND CHARLESTON—PEACE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED—PRELIMINARY TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN—TREATY WITH HOLLAND—GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES—A BUDDING CONSPIRACY REBUKED BY WASHINGTON—DEPARTURE OF THE FRENCH ARMY—SEDITIONOUS MOVEMENT AT NEWBURGH FOILED BY WASHINGTON—GRADUAL DISBANDING OF THE ARMY—TREATY WITH SWEDEN—DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE—WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESSES—THE TWO ARMIES—EVACUATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK—THE LAST COMBAT.

ON the day after the surrender of Cornwallis, Washington, in general orders, expressed his great approbation of both armies. That all his soldiers might participate in the general joy and thanksgiving he ordered every one under arrest or in confinement to be set at liberty and as the following day would be the Sabbath, he closed his orders by directing divine service to be performed in the several brigades on the morrow.

The surrender of so large a portion of the British army in America secured the independence of the United States. The blow of final disseverance had fallen; war would no longer serve a useful purpose; humanity and sound policy counselled peace. The king and his ministers were astounded when the news of the surrender reached them. Lord North received the intelligence, said Germain, "as he would have taken a cannon-ball in his breast, for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apartment a few minutes, 'O God, it is all over!' words which he repeated many times under emotions of the deepest consternation and distress." The stubborn king was amazed and greatly disturbed, but he soon recovered his calmness and wrote in view of propositions in the Parliament to give up the contest: "No difficulties can get me to consent to the getting of peace at the expense of a separation from America."

Great was the exultation and joy of the Americans as the news of the surrender went from lip to lip throughout the Union. Lieutenant-Colonel Tighlman, one of Washington's aids, rode express to Philadelphia to carry the despatches of his chief announcing the joyful tidings to the Congress.

It was midnight (October 23) when he entered the city. Thomas McKean, then President of the Congress, resided on High Street near Second Street. Tighlman knocked so violently at his door that a watchman was disposed to arrest him as a disturber of the peace. McKean arose, received the messenger with joy, and soon the glad tidings spread over the city. The watchmen proclaiming the hour, and the usual cry "All's well!" added "and Cornwallis is taken!" That announcement, going out upon the frosty night air, called thousands from their beds. The old State-House bell that sounded so clearly when independence was declared more than five years before, now rang out tones of gladness. Lights were seen moving in almost every house; and very soon the streets were thronged with men and women, all eager to know the details. It was a night of great joy in Philadelphia, for the people had anxiously waited for news from Yorktown. The first flush of morning was greeted with the booming of cannon; and at an early hour the Congress assembled and heard Charles Thompson read the despatch from Washington. That grave Senate could hardly repress huzzas while the Secretary read; and at its conclusion it was resolved to go in a body, at two o'clock in the afternoon, to the Dutch Lutheran Church, and "return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied armies of the United States and France with success." Six days afterward that body voted thanks and appropriate honors to Washington, Rochambeau, and De Grasse and their officers, and resolved that a marble column should be erected at Yorktown with emblems of the alliance in commemoration of the event. The Congress also appointed a day for a grand thanksgiving and prayer throughout the Union, on account of the signal mark of Divine power. Legislative bodies, executive councils, city corporations, and many private societies presented congratulatory addresses to the commanding generals and their officers; and from almost every pulpit in the land arose the voice of thanksgiving and praise accompanied by the alleluiahs of thousands of worshipers before the altars of the Lord of Hosts.

The Duke de Lauzun bore the glad tidings to France, where he found the king and court rejoicing because of the birth of a dauphin, or heir to the French throne. The news reached England by way of France on the 25th of November, and produced the effect already noticed. The city of London petitioned the king to "put an end to the unnatural and unfortunate war;" and in Parliament, a great and rapid change of opinion on the subject was visible. Late in February General Conway, in the House of Commons, moved to address the king in favor of peace, when warm debates arose, Lord North defending the royal policy with vigor on the ground of its justice and its maintenance of British rights. "Good God! are we yet to

be told of the rights for which we went to war?" exclaimed Burke. "O, excellent rights! O, valuable rights! Valuable you should be, for we have paid dear at parting with you. O, valuable rights! that have cost Britain thirteen provinces, four islands, one hundred thousand men, and more than seventy millions [\$350,000,000] of money." Conway's proposition was carried at the beginning of March.

The opposition in Parliament now pressed measures for peace more vigorously; and on the 20th of March (1782) Lord North, who, under the inspiration of the king, had misled the nation for twelve years, retired from office, and he and his fellow-ministers were succeeded by the friends of peace. The stubborn king stormed, but was compelled to yield to the inexorable logic of events. The Parliament resolved to end the war at once, and he was obliged to give his sanction; and early in May, Sir Guy Carleton arrived in New York, bearing propositions for reconciliation. Lord Shelburne, who had charge of American affairs in the new cabinet, selected Richard Oswald, a merchant, as a diplomatic agent to repair to Paris and confer with Dr. Franklin on the subject of a treaty for peace.

In the meantime the Americans did not relax their vigilance nor preparations for the continuance of the war. General Greene, as we have observed, left the High Hills of Santee, when he heard of the surrender of Cornwallis, and marched toward the seaboard. The South Carolina legislature at Jacksonborough authorized Governor Rutledge to offer pardon to all penitents, and hundreds of Tories gladly availed themselves of the privilege. General St. Clair, while on his way to reinforce Greene, had driven the British from Wilmington and left the Tories of North Carolina undefended, amazed and confounded. Wayne, as we have observed, was keeping the enemy close within his intrenchments at Savannah, and Washington, who returned to the North soon after the surrender of Cornwallis, closely imprisoned Sir Henry Clinton and his army in New York. When the commander-in-chief had completed his arrangements to leave Yorktown, he hastened to the bedside of Mr. Custis, his aid, and the only son of Mrs. Washington, who was dying of camp fever at Eltham, the seat of Colonel Bassett. He was met at the door by Dr. Craik, who informed Washington that all was over. The chief bowed his head, and with tears gave vent to his great sorrow; then turning to the weeping widow, the mother of four children, he said: "I adopt the two younger children as my own." These were Eleanor Parke and George Washington Parke Custis, the former then three years of age, and the latter six months. Washington remained a short time to console the afflicted widow, and then pressed on toward Philadelphia and the Hudson River.

Marion and his men kept watch and ward over the country between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, to prevent intercourse from the enemy at Charleston, and the latter began to feel straitened in their supplies. When General Leslie, who was in command of the British army in that city, heard of the peace proceedings in Parliament, he proposed to General Greene a cessation of hostilities, and asked the latter to allow him to purchase food for his troops. Greene was unwilling to nurture a viper in his own bosom.



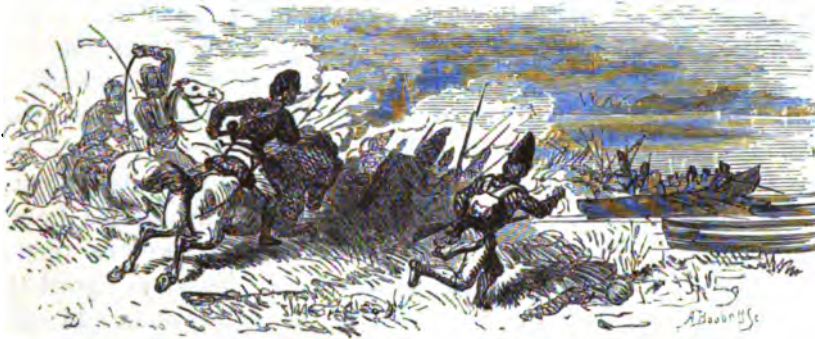
ELEANOR PARKE CUSTIS.
Aged 50 years.

GEORGE W. P. CUSTIS.
Aged 7 years.

and refused. Leslie made several ineffectual attempts to penetrate the country by force of arms to procure supplies; and in August he sallied out in considerable force, and attempted to ascend the Combahee River, when he was confronted by General Gist, who, with about three hundred men of the Maryland line, horse and foot, had been detached to watch the movements of the British. After a severe skirmish near Combahee Ferry, the enemy were driven to their boats. They succeeded in carrying away from the neighboring islands a large amount of plunder, and returning to Charleston enriched by considerable supplies. In that skirmish the accomplished Colonel John Laurens was slain. His blood was almost the last that was spilled in the struggle for independence. It is believed that the very last

life sacrificed in the cause was that of Captain Wilmot, who was killed in a skirmish at Stono Ferry in September following.

The British had evacuated Savannah on the 11th of July, when General Wayne, in consideration of the eminent services of Colonel James Jackson, appointed the latter "to receive the keys" of that city "from a committee of British officers." So Georgia was redeemed forever from British rule, and Wayne joined his forces to those of Greene. Charleston was evacuated



BATTLE ON THE COMBAHEE.

on the 14th of December following. At daylight on that morning the British left Gadsden's wharf for their ships, and at eleven o'clock an American detachment marched in and took formal possession of the city, when General Greene escorted the governor and other civil officers to the Town Hall. From windows and balconies, and even from the house-tops, the American troops were greeted with cheers, waving of handkerchiefs, and cries of "Welcome! welcome! God bless you, gentlemen!" Before sunset the British fleet of transports, about three hundred sail, had crossed the bar and disappeared below the eastern horizon.

Measures had meanwhile been taken by the Congress and the British government to arrange a treaty of peace. The former appointed (September, 1782) four Commissioners for the purpose, that different States of the Union might be represented. These Commissioners were John Adams of Massachusetts, John Jay of New York, Dr. Franklin of Pennsylvania, and Henry Laurens of South Carolina, who were all in Europe at that time. The British government gave Mr. Oswald full power to treat for peace with these Commissioners. He had discussed the terms with Dr. Franklin, who assured him that independence, satisfactory boundaries, and a participation in the fisheries would be indispensable requisites in a treaty. In July the

British Parliament had passed a bill to enable the king to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and all obstacles in the way of negotiation were removed. The American Commissioners first named were joined by Laurens at Paris, where the negotiations were carried on. There, on the 30th of November, a preliminary treaty of peace, on the basis of independence, was signed by the American Commissioners and Mr. Oswald without the knowledge of the French government. This was in violation of the spirit of the terms of alliance, by which it was understood (and the Commissioners had been so instructed) that no treaty should be signed by either party to the alliance without the knowledge of the other. Some of the Commissioners doubted the good faith of Vergennes, believing him to be swayed by Spanish influence; but he acted honorably throughout. Dr. Franklin, who never doubted him, removed the dissatisfaction in the mind of Vergennes, because of this affront, by a few soft words. In the meantime the States-General of Holland had acknowledged the independence of the United States by receiving John Adams as an ambassador from the Congress in April of that year; and on the 8th of October (1782) they concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with them. This was signed at the Hague by Mr. Adams and representatives of the Netherlands. It was not ratified until January, 1783.

Coincident with these preparations for a solid national existence, was the adoption of a device for a great seal—the symbol of sovereignty and authority—for the inchoate republic. A committee for the purpose was appointed on the afternoon of the 4th of July, 1776. That committee and others, from time to time, presented unsatisfactory devices. Finally, in the spring of 1782, Charles Thompson, the Secretary of Congress, gave to that body a device largely suggested to John Adams by Sir John Prestwich of England, which was made the basis of a design adopted on the 20th of June, 1782, and which is still the device of our great seal. It is composed of a spread-eagle, the emblem of strength, bearing on its breast an escutcheon with thirteen stripes alternate red and white. In his right talon he holds an olive-branch, emblem of peace, and in his left, thirteen arrows, emblems of the thirteen States, ready for war if it should be necessary. In his beak is a ribbon bearing the legend: *E Pluribus Unum*—"many in one"—many States making one nation. Over the head of the eagle is a golden light breaking through a cloud surrounding thirteen stars forming a constellation on a blue field. On the reverse is an unfinished pyramid, emblematic of the unfinished republic, the building of which is still going on. In the zenith is an All-seeing Eye surrounded by light, and over the eye the word *Annuit* *Captis*—"God favors the undertaking." On the base of the pyramid, in

Roman numerals, the date 1776, and below the words: "*Novus ordo seclorum*"—"a new series of ages." So the Americans showed their faith in the stability of the structure whose foundations they had laid. Only the side on which the eagle and escutcheon appear has ever been used, and that as a recumbent seal the size of the engraving here given.

With the joyful prospect of returning peace came many shadowing forebodings of evil in the near future for the poor soldiers, when the army



GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

should be disbanded and they be compelled to seek other employment for a livelihood among the desolations caused by war. Many of them were invalids; and for a long time neither officers nor private soldiers had received any pay, for the treasury was empty, and the prospect of a continuance of the poverty of the government had produced widespread discontent in the army. The officers had been promised half-pay for life; but would that promise be fulfilled? was a question that pressed upon the minds of many. Contemplating the evidently inherent weakness of the government, many were inclined to consider it a normal condition of the republican form and to sigh for a stronger one—like that of Great Britain. This feeling became so manifest in the army, that Colonel Nicola, a foreigner by birth and of weighty character, at the head of a Pennsylvania regiment, addressed a well-written letter to Washington in May, 1782, in which, professing to speak for the army, he urged the necessity of a monarchy to secure for the Americans an efficient government and the rights of the people. He proposed to Washington to accept the headship of such a gov-

ernment with the title of king, and assured him that the army would support him. Possibly a budding conspiracy to that end existed in the army, but it was crushed by the stern rebuke administered by the chief in a letter to Nicola. "If I am not deceived," Washington wrote, "in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable."

Many months later discontents in the army assumed a more dangerous form. The headquarters of the army had been, during the autumn of 1782, at Verplanck's Point, on the Hudson, when the troops numbered about ten thousand men. There they formed a promised junction with the French army on their return from Virginia. From that point the latter marched to New England ports and embarked for France, and the Americans went above the Highlands and spent the ensuing winter in huts in the vicinity of Newburgh. At the latter place Washington made his quarters in a house yet standing in the southern portion of that rural city, on the brow of a slope extending to the river.

In the latter part of the winter of 1783, the discontent in the army appeared more formidable than ever. In December (1782), the officers seeing in the continued weakness and poverty of their government no apparent security for a future adjustment of the claims of the army for back-pay or for the promised half-pay for a term of years for themselves, sent a respectful memorial to the Congress by the hands of General McDougall, the head of a committee appointed for the purpose, in which they asked (1) for present pay; (2) a settlement of arrearages of pay and security for what was due; (3) a commutation of the half-pay or an equivalent in gross; and (4) a settlement of the accounts of deficiencies of rations, clothing, and compensation. The Congress adopted a series of resolutions on the subject, late in January, which were not very satisfactory. Feeble in resources, they made no definite promises of present relief or future justice, and the discontents of the army were greater than before. Early in March a well-written address to the army was circulated extensively through the camps. It bore no name of author, but was calculated to stir up the spirit of revolt in the hearts of the soldiers. It advised the army to take matters into their own hands, make demonstrations of power and determination that should arouse the fears of the people and of the Congress, and so obtain justice for themselves. With this address was circulated privately a notification of a meeting of officers at a large building called The Temple, which had been erected for public meetings and a gathering-place for the Freemasons of the army.

These papers were brought to the notice of Washington on the day

when they were issued, and he determined to guide and control the movement. In general orders the next morning he referred to them; expressed his disapprobation of the whole proceedings as disorderly, and requested the general and field officers, with one officer from every company in the army, to meet at the "New Building" (The Temple) on the 15th at noon. General Gates, the senior officer, was requested to preside. On the appearance of this order, the writer of the anonymous addresses issued another,



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT NEWBURGH.

more subdued in tone, in which he tried to give the impression that Washington approved the scheme, the time of meeting being changed. There was a full attendance, and deep solemnity pervaded the assembly, when the commander-in-chief stepped upon the platform to read an address which he had prepared for the occasion. As he put on his spectacles, he remarked: "You see, gentlemen, that I have not only grown *gray*, but *blind* in your service." This simple remark, under the circumstances, had a powerful effect upon the assemblage. When he had read his address, so compact in form and construction, so clear in expression and meaning, so dignified and patriotic, so mild yet so severe, and withal so vitally important in its relations to the well-being of the unfolding republic, the men before him and the army they represented, as well as the best interests of human freedom, he immediately retired and left the officers to discuss the matter unrestrained

by his presence. Their conference was brief; their deliberations, short. They passed resolutions by unanimous vote thanking their chief for the course he had pursued; expressing their unabated attachment to his person and their country; declaring their unshaken confidence in the good faith of Congress, and their determination to bear with patience their grievances until, in due time, they should be redressed. These proceedings were signed by General Gates as president of the meeting; and three days afterward Washington, in general orders, expressed his entire satisfaction. All the papers relating to this affair were forwarded to the Congress and entered at length in their journals; and very soon that body took action that satisfied the army of the wisdom of Washington's proceedings at Newburg. The author of the anonymous addresses was Major John Armstrong, one of General Gates' aids, who afterward held civil offices of distinction in our national government. He was Secretary of War during a portion of the conflict between the United States and Great Britain in 1812-'15. In a letter to Armstrong many years after the events above related, Washington expressed his belief that the motives of the major were patriotic.

Another question now became a serious one. When the ratification of the preliminary treaty of peace was made known, a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed, on the 19th of April, 1783, just eight years to a day since they began at Lexington. Then the soldiers who had enlisted "for the war" claimed the right to go home. Congress decided that the time of their enlistment would not expire until a definitive treaty of peace should be concluded. Much dissatisfaction was felt; but Washington soothed the feelings of the soldiers by allowing a very large portion of them to go home on long furloughs, during the summer of 1783. As the definitive treaty was concluded at the beginning of September, these men never returned to the army; and so was gradually and quietly disbanded a greater portion of the Continental Army in the field.

In April, 1783, a treaty was concluded between the United States and the king of Sweden; and in the same month the British government gave to David Hartley full powers to negotiate a definitive treaty with the American commissioners. It was concluded and signed at Paris on the 3d of September, 1783, by David Hartley on the part of Great Britain, and by Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay on the part of the United States. Then Franklin put on his suit of clothes which he had laid aside after receiving personal abuse before the British Privy Council, with a vow never to wear them again until America was independent and England humbled. Definitive treaties between Great Britain and France and Spain were signed on the same day; one between Great Britain and Holland was signed the

day before. That between the United States and Great Britain was unqualifiedly acknowledged by the king of Great Britain; the Mississippi River was made the western boundary, and Canada and Nova Scotia the northern and eastern boundaries of the territory of the new Republic; the navigation of the River St. Lawrence was abandoned to the English; the navigation of the Mississippi was made free to both parties; mutual rights to the Newfoundland fisheries were adjusted; no impediments were allowed in the way of the recovery of debts by *bona fide* creditors; certain measures of restitution of confiscated property to Loyalists were to be recommended by the Congress to the several States; and there was to be a general cessation of hostilities, withdrawal of troops, and a restoration of public and private property.

While waiting for the arrival of the definitive treaty, Washington made a tour, with Governor George Clinton, to the theatre of military operations in Northern New York. On his return to Newburgh, he found a letter from the President of Congress, asking his attendance upon that body, at Princeton. Leaving the army in charge of General Knox, he complied with their request, and for many weeks he was in conference with committees of that body concerning a peace establishment, etc. Meanwhile the Congress had voted to honor him with an equestrian statue to be placed at the seat of the national government; but that, like similar honors voted to others of the Continental Army, has never been executed.

In October, 1783, the Congress proclaimed the discharge of the soldiers enlisted for the war, and only a few who had been re-enlisted until a peace establishment should be arranged, now formed the remnant of the Continental Army. Soon after this proclamation, Washington put forth a farewell address to the army, which, with one sent to the governors of the several States, from Newburgh, in June, constitute admirable state papers.

The great drama of the war for independence was now drawing to its close. Sir Guy Carleton was ordered to evacuate the city of New York, the only place in our republic then occupied by British troops. He was delayed by waiting for vessels to convey refugee Loyalists to Nova Scotia, who were compelled by a law of their State to leave their country and their confiscated property. Finally, the 25th of November was the day fixed for the evacuation by Carleton. Washington repaired to West Point, where Knox had stationed the remnant of the Continental Army—the remnant of two hundred and thirty thousand regulars and fifty-six thousand militia who bore arms during the war. Of all that glorious band of patriots, not one now remains. The two latest survivors were William Hutchings of Maine and Lemuel Cook of New York, who both died in the month of May, 1866.

the former at the age of one hundred and one years and seven months, and the latter, one hundred and two years. The British had sent to subdue the American "rebels" one hundred and thirteen thousand troops for the land service, and more than twenty-two thousand seamen. Of the former, one of them (John Battin), died in the city of New York at the age of a little more than one hundred years.

Accompanied by Governor George Clinton and other civil officers, and escorted by a detachment of troops from West Point under General Knox, Washington, with his staff, appeared near the city of New York (at the site of the Cooper Institute), on the morning appointed for the evacuation—the city from which he and his troops had been compelled to fly more than seven years before. At one o'clock in the afternoon, when the British had withdrawn to the water's edge for embarkation, the Americans marched into the city, the General and Governor at their head, the civil officers and a cavalcade of citizens following, with the regular troops. In compliment to the governor and the civil authority the procession was escorted by Westchester Light Horsemen, the continental jurisdiction having ceased or was suspended. Before three o'clock General Knox had taken possession of Fort George, at the foot of Broadway, amid the acclamations of thousands of citizens and the roar of artillery; when Clinton formally re-established civil government there, and closed the important transactions of the day by a public dinner.

Before the British left Fort George, they nailed their colors to the top of the flag-staff, knocked off the cleats, and "slushed" the pole from top to bottom to prevent its being climbed. When Knox took possession of the fort, John Van Arsdale, a lively sailor boy sixteen years of age, climbed the flag-staff by nailing on the cleats, tore down the British flag, and in its place unfurled the American banner of Stars and Stripes. The British hoped to leave the harbor with their flag still floating over the spot they had occupied so long, but they did not. The last sail of the British fleet that bore away the army and the Loyalists, did not disappear beyond the Narrows, before the evening twilight.

The late Dr. Alexander Anderson, the pioneer wood-engraver in America, related to me the following amusing incident of that evacuation-day. He was then a boy between eight and nine years of age, having been born three days after the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord. He was living with his parents in Murray street, near the Hudson River, then sparsely settled. Opposite his father's dwelling was a boarding-house kept by a man named Day, whose wife was a large, stout woman and zealous Whig. On the morning of evacuation-day, she ran up the American flag

upon a pole in front of her house. The British claimed possession of the city until twelve o'clock at noon, and this act was offensive to them. Early in the forenoon, when young Anderson was on his father's stoop, he saw a burly red-faced British officer, in full uniform, coming down Murray street in great haste. Mrs.

Day was sweeping in front of her door when the officer came up to her in a blustering manner, and in loud and angry tones ordered her to haul down the flag. She refused, when the officer seized the hal-yards to pull it down himself. Mrs. Day flew at him with her broomstick, and beat him so furiously over his head, that she made the powder fly from his wig. The officer stormed and swore, and tugged in vain at the hal-yards, which were entangled; and Mrs. Day applied her weapon so vigorously that he was soon compelled to retreat, and leave the flag of



MRS. DAY AND THE PROVOST MARSHAL.

the valiant woman floating triumphantly in the keen morning breeze. The British officer was the infamous provost marshal of the army, William Cunningham, who, for seven years, had cruelly treated American prisoners under his charge in New York, and terribly oppressed some of the few Whig families who remained in that city. This inglorious attempt to capture the colors of Day Castle and the result, was the last fight between the British and Americans in the Old War for Independence.

CHAPTER XL.

CLOSING OF THE DRAMA ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC—WASHINGTON PARTS WITH HIS OFFICERS AND RESIGNS HIS COMMISSION—HIS JOURNEY FROM NEW YORK TO MOUNT VERNON—SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI—WEAKNESS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT—THE OPINIONS OF BRITISH STATESMEN—THE PUBLIC DEBT AND CREDIT—THE STATES REFUSE TO VEST SOVEREIGN POWERS IN THE CONGRESS—LORD SHEFFIELD'S PAMPHLET—JOHN ADAMS AS MINISTER IN ENGLAND—INSURRECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES—DESIRE FOR A STRONGER GOVERNMENT MANIFESTED—HAMILTON'S EARLY EFFORTS TO THAT END—A NATIONAL CONVENTION—FRANKLIN'S MOTION FOR PRAYERS—FORMATION AND ADOPTION OF A NATIONAL CONSTITUTION—SIGNING IT AND ITS RATIFICATION—THE NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY—THE NEW GOVERNMENT PUT INTO OPERATION.

THE struggle of the English-American colonies for political independence ended in victory for the patriots. That independence was finally assured when, on the 5th of December, 1783, the king of England said in a speech from the throne: "I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinions of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire, and that America may be free from those calamities which have formerly proved, in the mother country, how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interests, affections may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries; to this end neither attention or disposition shall be wanting on my part."

With that speech the king closed, in Great Britain, the impressive drama which opened at Lexington in 1775, and exhibited its most glorious act in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. With another act, dissimilar but quite as interesting, it had closed in America the day before. The Continental Army had been disbanded and every hostile British soldier had left our shores, when Washington, on the 4th of December (1783), called around him his officers who were near and bade them farewell. That event occurred in the great public-room of the tavern of Samuel Fraunce, at the corner of Broadway and Pearl streets, in the city of New York. The scene is described as one of great tenderness. The officers were assembled in the

room, when Washington entered and taking a glass of wine in his hand said: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having tasted the wine, he continued: "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you if each will come and take me by the hand." General



WASHINGTON TAKING LEAVE OF HIS OFFICERS.

Knox, who stood nearest to the commander-in-chief, turned and grasped his hand, and, while the tears flowed down the cheeks of each, Washington kissed his beloved companion in arms on the forehead. This he did to each of his officers. With these parting tokens of affection Washington left the room, and passing through a corps of light infantry, he walked to White Hall (now the Staten Island Ferry) followed by a vast procession, and at two

o'clock in the afternoon entered a barge to be conveyed to Paulus's Hook, now Jersey City, on his departure for Annapolis, where the Continental Congress was then in session. The last survivor of the participants in that parting scene was Major Robert Burnet of Orange County, New York, who lived until 1854. From his lips I received the account. It was an old story related long before by the historian, but it seemed fresh as it came from the lips of an eye-witness.

Washington proceeded to Philadelphia, where he delivered his public accounts into the hands of the proper officer, and with his wife rode to Annapolis, the capital of Maryland. The Continental Congress was then in session in the State-House there. At noon on the 23d of December, the patriot entered the Senate Chamber (the hall in which the Congress sat) according to previous arrangement, and was led to a chair by Charles Thompson, the Secretary. The President of Congress, General Mifflin, then rose and informed the General that "The United States, in Congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communications." Washington arose, and, with great dignity and much feeling, delivered a brief speech, and then handed to Mifflin the commission which he had received from that body in June, 1775. Mifflin received it, and made an eloquent reply. He closed by saying: "We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers that a life so beloved may be fostered with all His care; that your days may be as happy as they have been illustrious; and that He will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

Washington and his wife set out from Annapolis for Mount Vernon, on the day before Christmas, and arrived home that evening, where they were greeted with great joy by the family and flocks of colored servants. They were accompanied a short distance by the governor of Maryland and his suite, on horseback. All the way from New York to Annapolis and thence to Mount Vernon, Washington's journey was a triumphal march. He was escorted from place to place by cavalcades of citizens and volunteer military corps, and was everywhere greeted with the most emphatic demonstrations of love and respect. For more than eight years he had served his country faithfully and efficiently. Now that its independence was secured, he crowned the glory of his patriotic devotion by resigning into the hands of his country's representatives the instrument of his power; and as a plain, untitled citizen, he sat down in peace in the midst of his family, on the banks of the Potomac.

A few months before the disbanding of the army a tie of friendship had been formed among the officers, at the suggestion of General Knox, by the organization at the cantonment of the troops, near Newburgh, New York, of an association known as *The Society of the Cincinnati*. Its chief objects were to promote a cordial friendship and indissoluble union among themselves, and to extend benevolent aid to such of its members as might need assistance. Washington was made its President-General, and remained so until his death. General Knox was its Secretary-General. To perpetuate the association, it was provided in the constitution of the society, that the eldest masculine descendant of an original member should be entitled to wear the Order and enjoy the privileges of the society. That society is yet in existence. The *Order* or badge consists of a gold eagle, suspended upon a ribbon, on the breast of which is a medallion with a device, representing Cincinnatus receiving the Roman Senator.

The Americans were now *free* but not *independent*. Why not? Because they had not established a nation endowed with the functions of absolute sovereignty. The British statesmen were wise enough to see this, and sagacious enough to take advantage of the situation. They saw that the Americans were without a government sufficiently powerful to command the fulfillment of treaty stipulations, or an untrammelled commerce sufficiently important to attract the cupidity or interested sympathies of other nations. John Adams was received with courtesy as the ambassador of an independent nation at the court of St. James, and King George had said to him: "I was the last man in the kingdom, Sir, to consent to the independence of America; but now it is granted, I will be the last man in the world to sanction a violation of it."

These courtesies and fair words were only the velvet that covered the mailed hand of power. The British ministry, misled by the Loyalists that



ORDER OF THE CINCINNATI.

swarmed in the metropolis, believed that the weak confederacy would soon crumble, and that each part would be suing for restoration to the privileges of subjects to the crown. It was prepared to seize with merciless grasp the inchoate nation and destroy its sovereignty. The trade, commerce, manufactures, arts, literature, science, religion and laws were yet largely subservient to the parent country, without a well-grounded hope for speedy deliverance from the thrall. These facts gave Dr. Franklin good reason for saying to a compatriot who remarked that the war for independence was successfully closed: "Say, rather, the war of the *Revolution*. The war for *Independence* is yet to be fought." That struggle occurred, and that independence was won by the Americans in the war of 1812.

We have already observed that wise men deplored the weakness of the government under the Articles of Confederation ratified in 1781. The powers of that government were soon tested by its efforts to employ the functions of sovereignty. A debt of \$70,000,000 lay upon the shoulders of a wasted people, besides the promises of the dead "Continental money" to pay more than \$200,000,000 more. About \$44,000,000 of this live debt was owing by the general government, \$10,000,000 in Europe, and the remainder by the individual States. The debt had been contracted in carrying on the war, which, for a long time, was sustained only by money borrowed for the purpose. By this means the public credit had sunk very low. The restoration of that credit or the downfall of the infant republic was the alternative presented to the Americans at the close of the war.

With a determination to restore the public credit, the General Congress put forth all their strength, which was only absolute weakness. They asked the several States to vest that body with power to levy, for the term of twenty-five years, duties on certain imported articles, the revenue therefrom to be appropriated to the sole purpose of paying the interest and principal of the public debt. It was also proposed that the States should establish, for the same time and for the same object, substantial revenues for supplying each its proportion of \$1,500,000 annually, exclusive of duties on imports. This financial system, which was approved by the leading men of the country, was not to go into effect without the consent of *every* State in the league. For three years the proposition was before the people. All the States but two were willing to raise the required amount; but they would not consent to vest the Congress with the asked-for power. "It is *money*, not *power*," they said, "that ought to be the object. The former will pay our *debts*, the latter may destroy our *liberties*." So ended in failure the first important effort of the general government to assume the functions of sovereignty. It was the beginning of a series of failures, and was mis-

chievous because it excited the jealousy of the respective States. It also exposed the impotency of a so-called national government, whose very vitality, as well as the right to exercise governing functions, depended upon the will of thirteen distinct legislative bodies, each tenacious of its own peculiar rights and interests, and miserly in its delegation of power. It was perceived that the public credit must inevitably be destroyed by a repudiation of the public debt.

The League were equally unfortunate in their attempts to establish commercial relations with other governments, especially with Great Britain. The British ministry in power when the treaty of peace was ratified were disposed to make liberal commercial arrangements with the Americans, and our commerce began to revive. William Pitt, son of the Earl of Chatham, and then, at the age of twenty-four years, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed a plan by which the British West India Islands and other possessions of the crown, should be thrown open to American commerce. Such a measure would have secured a lasting peace between the two countries. But the unwisdom of British statesmen could not discern it. The shipping interest, then potential in Parliament, opposed it, and the wiser ministry did not survive the proposition a month. The new ministry, listening to the suggestions of bitter American Loyalists in England, assumed a haughty tone toward the Americans, treating them as vassals, and inaugurating a restrictive commercial policy which indicated that they regarded the States of the League as only alienated members of the British realm. Lord Sheffield, in a pamphlet that was widely circulated, declared his belief that utter ruin must soon overtake the League because of the anarchy into which their independence had thrown them. He saw the utter weakness of their form of government, and advised his countrymen to consider them of little account as a *nation*. "If the American States choose to send consuls," he said, "receive them and send a consul to each State. Each State will soon enter into all necessary regulations with the consul, and this is the whole that is necessary." In other words, the United States have no dignity above that of a fifth-rate power; and the States are still, in fact, only dismembered fragments of the British empire.

Impelled by this unfriendly conduct of Great Britain, the Congress, in the spring of 1784, asked the several States to delegate powers to them for fifteen years, by which they might, by countervailing measures, compel the British to be more liberal. The appeal was in vain. The States growing more and more jealous of their own dignity, refused to vest any such powers in the Congress; nor would they make any permanent or uniform arrangement among themselves. Without public credit; their commerce at the

mercy of every adventurer ; without respect at home or abroad, the League exhibited the sad spectacle of the elements of a great nation paralyzed in the formative process. Then came a threatened open rupture with Great Britain on account of the inexecution of the Treaty of Peace, when John Adams was sent to England early in 1785, clothed with the full powers of plenipotentiary, to arrange all matters in dispute. But he could accomplish little. He was courteously received, as we have observed, but was coldly treated afterward. The representative of a weak government, he was compelled to bite his lip in silence ; and he asked and obtained leave to return home.

Meanwhile matters were becoming infinitely worse in the United States. The League appeared to be on the verge of dissolution. The idea of forming two or three distinct confederacies took possession of the public mind. The people of Western North Carolina revolted and a new State called Frankland, formed by the insurgents, lasted several months. A portion of Southwestern Virginia sympathized in the movement. Insurrections against the authorities of Pennsylvania appeared in the Wyoming Valley. A convention at Portland discussed the propriety of making the Territory of Maine an independent State. An armed mob surrounded the New Hampshire Legislature and demanded a remission of taxes. In Massachusetts, Captain Daniel Shays led a formidable insurrection, which caused the calling out of several thousand militia under General Lincoln to suppress it. There was resistance to taxation everywhere. It was caused by the hard necessities of the people. Debt weighed down all classes ; and the burden of the tax-gatherer was often the "feather that would break the camel's back."

Wise and patriotic men now saw clearly that the chief cause of all the trouble was the inherent weakness of the general government. Sagacious men like young Hamilton had perceived it long before. So early as 1780, when he was only twenty-three years of age, Hamilton seems to have formed well-defined, profound and comprehensive opinions on the situation and wants of the States. In a long letter to James Duane, in Congress, dated "At the Liberty-Pole," September 3d, he gave an outline sketch of a national constitution, and suggested the calling of a convention to frame such a system of government. During the following year he published in the *New York Packet*, then printed at Fishkill, in Dutchess County, New York, a series of papers under the title of *The Constitutionalist*, which were devoted chiefly to the discussion of the defects in the *Articles of Confederation*. They excited much local attention. In the summer of 1782, as we have observed, he succeeded in having the subject brought before the Legislature of New York, then in session at Poughkeepsie. It was favorably

received ; and on Sunday, the 21st of July, that body, by resolution, drawn by Hamilton and presented by General Schuyler, his father-in-law, recommended the "assembling of a convention of the United States, specially authorized to revise and amend the Confederation, reserving the right to the respective legislatures to ratify their determination." In the spring of 1783, Hamilton, in Congress, expressed an earnest desire for a convention



GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

charged with that high duty. In the same year, Thomas Paine and Pelatiah Webster wrote on the subject ; and in the spring of 1784, Noah Webster, the author of the Dictionary, published a pamphlet on the great topic, which he took pains to carry in person to General Washington. In that pamphlet he suggested a "new system of government which should act, *not on the States but directly on individuals*, and vest in Congress full power to carry its laws into effect." In the autumn of 1785, Washington, in a letter to James Warren, deplored the weakness of the government and the "illiberality jealousy, and local policy of the States" that was likely to sink the new nation. "in the eyes of Europe, into contempt."

Grave discussions on the subject were held in the Library at Mount Vernon, where Washington, acting upon the suggestion of Hamilton five years before, proposed a convention of the several States to agree upon a plan for unity in a commercial arrangement over which, by the constitution, the Congress had no control. That suggestion beamed out upon the surrounding darkness like a ray of morning light, and was the herald and harbinger of future important action. Coming from such an exalted source, the suggestion was heeded. A convention of the States was called at Annapolis, in Maryland. Only five States (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia) sent deputies. These met on the 11th of September, 1786. There being only a minority of the States represented, action was postponed, and they adjourned after adopting the form of a recommendation for the several States to send deputies to a convention to meet in Philadelphia in May following. A report of their proceedings was sent to the Congress, and that body, in February, 1787, passed a resolution strongly urging the legislatures of the several States to send deputies to meet in the proposed convention for "the sole and express purpose of revising the *Articles of Confederation*, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as should, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the government and the preservation of the Union." Delegates were appointed by all the States excepting Rhode Island. While there was a general feeling that *something* must be done for the preservation of the Union, great caution was manifested in the delegation of powers to those who were to represent the States in the proposed convention.

In May, 1787, delegates from several States assembled in convention in Independence Hall in the State-House at Philadelphia. George Washington, a delegate from Virginia, was chosen to preside over their deliberations, and William Jackson, one of Washington's most intimate personal friends, was appointed secretary. It was the 25th of May before there were delegates enough from the requisite number of States to form a quorum. The business of the convention was opened by Edmund Randolph of Virginia, who, at the request of his colleagues, made a carefully prepared speech, in which he pointed out the serious defects in the *Articles of Confederation*, illustrated their utter inadequacy to secure the dignity, peace, and safety of the republic, and asserted the absolute necessity of a more energetic government. At the close of his speech he offered to the convention fifteen resolutions, in which were embodied the leading principles whereon to construct a new form of government. The chief business of the convention was

suggested by his proposition, "that a *national* government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary."

Upon this broad foundation all future action of the convention was based. The members had scarcely a precedent in history for their guide. The great political maxim established by the Revolution was, *the original residence of all human sovereignty is in the people*. It was left for the founders of the republic to parcel out from the several Commonwealths of which the new nation was composed, so much of their restricted power as the people of the several States should be willing to dismiss from their local political institutions, in making a strong and harmonious government that should be, at the same time, harmless toward reserved State rights. This was the difficult problem to be solved. "At that time," says Mr. Curtis in his History of the Constitution, "the world had witnessed no such spectacle as that of the deputies of a nation, chosen by the free action of great communities, and assembled for the purpose of thoroughly reforming its Constitution, by the exercise and with the authority of the national will. All that had been done, both in ancient and modern times, in forming, moulding or modifying constitutions of government, bore little resemblance to the present undertaking of the States of America. Neither among the Greeks nor the Romans was there a precedent, and scarce an analogy."

The Convention had not proceeded far when it was discovered that the *Articles of Confederation* were too radically defective to afford a basis for a stable government, and therefore, instead of trying to amend them, they went diligently at work to form a new constitution. Slow progress was made, for opinions were very conflicting. At length, when it appeared probable that the result would be a failure to agree upon anything, the venerable Dr. Franklin, then eighty-two years of age, arose in his place and said: "How has it happened, Sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, Sir, were heard; and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten this powerful Friend? or do we imagine we no longer need His assistance? I have lived, Sir, a long time; and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that *God governs in the affairs of men*." At the conclusion of his remarks Franklin moved: "That henceforth prayers, imploring the

assistance of Heaven and its blessings on our deliberations, be held in this Assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in this service." Upon a memorandum of this motion, Franklin wrote: "The convention, except three or four persons, thought prayers unnecessary!"

For many weeks the debates went on, sometimes with courtesy and at others with great acrimony, until the 10th of September (1787), when all



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

GENERAL MIFFLIN.

GEORGE CLINTON.

plans and amendments adopted by the Convention were placed in the hands of a committee for revision and arrangement. That committee, composed of Messrs. Madison, Hamilton, King, Johnson, and Gouverneur Morris, chose the latter to put the document into proper literary form. On the 17th, after the plan reported by the committee had been discussed clause by clause, slightly amended and adopted, and it had been neatly engrossed on

parchment, it was spread before the members for their signatures. In the performance of that act there was some hesitation. A large majority of the delegates wished it to go forth to the people, not only as the act of the Convention, but of the individual members. Some who could not agree to it in all its parts, objected to giving their sanction to the whole, by appending their signatures; but the patriotic action of Hamilton, caused several who held back, to sign the instrument. He desired a much stronger national government than the Constitution would establish, but said: "No man's ideas are more remote from the plan than my own; but is it possible to deliberate between anarchy and confusion on one side, and the chance of good on the other?" His appeals, and those of Franklin, caused every member present to sign, excepting Mason and Randolph of Virginia and Gerry of Massachusetts. Then Franklin, pointing to the chair occupied by Washington, the President of the Convention, at the back of which a Sun was painted, said: "I have often and often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that Sun behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising sun."

The Convention ordered their proceedings to be laid before the Congress, and by a carefully-worded resolution recommended that body to submit the new Constitution to the people (not the States), and ask them, the *source of all sovereignty*, to ratify or reject it. The Congress did so. Conventions of the people were accordingly held in the several States, to consider the instrument. It was violently assailed in these conventions and through the medium of the press, by those who regarded allegiance to a State as paramount to that to the national government; while powerful essays in its favor were written by Hamilton, Madison and Jay, under the title of *The Federalist*. These had a most salutary effect upon the public mind, and were very influential in producing the happy result obtained. Long and able debates upon the subject were had in the conventions; and at public gatherings and at every fireside it was a topic for discussion and earnest conversation. Slowly the people deliberated; and it was nine months after the Constitution was adopted by the Convention before it was ratified by nine States, that number being necessary to make it the organic law of the land. The following are the names of the delegates who signed the Constitution, and the order of their signatures: George Washington, of *Virginia*, President; John Langdon and Nicholas Gilman, of *New Hampshire*; Nathaniel Gorham and Rufus King, of *Massachusetts*; Wm. Samuel Johnson and Roger Sherman, of *Connecticut*; Alexander Hamilton, of *New York*; William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson and Jona-

than Dayton, of *New Jersey*; Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, of *Pennsylvania*; George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett and Jacob Brown, of *Delaware*; James McHenry, Daniel-of-St.-Thomas Jenifer and Daniel Carroll, of *Maryland*; John Blair and James Madison, of *Virginia*; William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson, of *North Carolina*; John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney and Pierce Butler, of *South Carolina*; and William Few and Abraham Baldwin, of *Georgia*.



EMIGRANTS ON THE OHIO RIVER.

While the national Convention was in session at Philadelphia, the Continental Congress, feeble and dying, were sitting at New York, with only eight States represented; but they performed a very important work at midsummer. By treaties with the principal Indian tribes between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, the aboriginal titles to seventeen million acres of land in that region had been extinguished. This act, with that of the cession of Virginia to the United States of all its claims to lands in that region, put the general government in actual possession of a vast country out of which several flourishing States have been formed. The Congress,

by unanimous vote on the 13th of July, 1787, adopted an "Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio." It provided, among other things, that there should be "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory otherwise than in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." The existence of these conditions in the "Northwestern Territory," as the country was now called, created a mighty stream of emigration to flow down the western slopes of the Alleghany Mountains into the Ohio Valley. The first settlement founded there by Europeans (excepting by Moravian missionaries) was seated by General Rufus Putnam and others, at the mouth of the Muskingum River, which he named Marietta, in honor of Marie Antoinette, then queen of Louis the Sixteenth of France. Other immigrants followed; and it has been estimated that during the years 1788 and 1789, full twenty thousand men, women, and children went down the Ohio in boats to settle near its banks. Since then, how wonderful has been the growth of the empire beyond the Alleghany Mountains.

On the 21st of June, 1788, the New Hampshire convention ratified the new Constitution. This completed the sanction of the number of States necessary to make it the organic law of the country. Delaware ratified it on the 7th of December, 1787; Pennsylvania on the 12th, and New Jersey on the 18th of the same month; Georgia on the 2d, and Connecticut on the 9th of January, 1788; Massachusetts on the 6th of February; Maryland on the 28th of April; South Carolina on the 23d of May, and New Hampshire, as we have observed, on the 21st of June, 1788. On the 26th of the same month, Virginia ratified it; New York on the 26th of July, and North Carolina on the 21st of November. Rhode Island held back until the 29th of May, 1789, after the new government had gone into operation. By these acts of ratification, the inhabitants of our country emphatically declared, in the language of the Preamble to the National Constitution: "*We, the People of the United States*, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." In accordance with the provisions of that Constitution, the people of the States wherein it had been ratified chose Presidential electors. These formed the first Electoral College, and on the first Wednesday in February, 1789, they chose George Washington, President, and John Adams, Vice-President of the United States. On the 4th of March following, the first Congress under the new order of things began their first session, when the Continental Congress—the representative of the League—officially expired.

The history of the old Continental Congress is a remarkable one. At first it was a spontaneous gathering of patriotic representatives of thirteen colonies that stretched a thousand miles along the western shores of the Atlantic, who met to act for the common good. With unexampled boldness and faith, they snatched the sceptre of rule from their oppressing sovereign, and assuming imperial functions, created armies, issued bills of credit, declared the provinces to be independent States, made treaties with foreign nations, founded an empire, and compelled their king to acknowledge the States which they represented, to be independent of the British crown. The career of that Congress astonished the world with the brilliancy of the events achieved. A mightier and more stable power took the place of this conqueror, and immediately arrested the profound attention of the civilized nations. It was seen that its commerce, diplomacy, and dignity were no longer exposed to neglect by thirteen clashing legislative bodies, but were guarded and controlled by a central power of wonderful energy. Great Britain no longer thought of sending hither consuls, alone, to represent her, but placed a minister plenipotentiary near the republican court. Other European governments sent hither dignified diplomatic agents. We no longer exhibited the weakness of a *League of States*, but the power of a *Nation*. The prophecy of Bishop Berkeley was on the eve of fulfillment:

“Westward the course of Empire takes its way.”



BOOK V.

THE NATION

FROM 1789 TO 1856.

CHAPTER I.

THE PEOPLE AND THE CONSTITUTION—WASHINGTON INFORMED OF HIS ELECTION—VISITS HIS MOTHER—HIS JOURNEY TO NEW YORK—RECEPTION AT PHILADELPHIA, TRENTON, AND NEW YORK—INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON—OFFICIAL ETIQUETTE—THE POLICY OF TITLES DISCUSSED—MRS. WASHINGTON—THE FIRST WORK OF CONGRESS—A TEMPORARY REVENUE SYSTEM AND ITS EFFECTS—EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS ESTABLISHED—A NATIONAL JUDICIARY—AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION—SEAT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED—CABINET OFFICERS CHOSEN.



WHEN the national government of the United States was established under the new Constitution, the total population of the republic, exclusive of the Indians, was 3,929,827. Of this number, 757,365 persons were of African descent, 697,879 being born slaves. The number of Indians then on our domain, is unknown.

The dominant Caucasian race in our land, about three millions and a quarter in number, had, through long years of political discussion and actual war, been trained to the endurance of personal hardships, the assertion of individual rights, and the maintenance of the political and social franchises incident to the exercise of local self-gov-

ernment. They had been educated for free citizenship in a school of independent thinkers, and by constant attrition had formed habits of self-reliance, mental and physical. The judgment of this people was brought to bear upon the new Constitution before and after its ratification; and when a majority had declared it to be the supreme law of the land, the minority patriotically acquiesced in the momentous decision, not however without most decided manifestations of disapproval at first, especially by the more excitable part of the population.

When, early in the summer of 1788, the ratification of the Constitution was assured, its friends, in some places, prepared to mingle demonstrations of joy on that account with the usual methods of celebrating the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. This was attempted, on the 4th of July, in Providence, R. I., when a thousand men, led by a judge of the supreme court, came in from the country and compelled the citizens to strike from their programme all allusion to the Constitution. In Albany both parties celebrated "Independence day" together, but after dinner the friends of the Constitution formed a procession that was escorted by several military companies. The opposite party interfered with them, and a sharp fight ensued, in which stones and clubs, swords and bayonets, were used, and a few persons were seriously wounded. There were also some riotous demonstrations in New York, after the great "Federal procession," in which, as in Philadelphia, many industries were practically exhibited as the line moved through the streets—mechanics of all kinds with tools at work and banners flying—followed by a great banquet and illuminations. But there were temporary ebullitions of feeling that suddenly assumed the features of a mob spirit.

When, in the spring of 1789, the new government went into operation in the City of New York, after the inauguration of Washington as the first President of the republic, there was a general readiness manifested by thinking men of all creeds in politics and religion to try the "experiment," as the new order of things was deemed to be, fairly and fully. They saw clearly that it was a momentous experiment to attempt, without a precedent, to adjust the machinery of a government, political and social, that was the embodiment of the ideas of local self-rule and of national union, so as to secure perfect harmony, and to avoid all friction. They saw that it required the highest type of statesmanship to accomplish that delicate and difficult task; therefore, in the elections of their executive and legislative representatives, the people put forth their honest efforts to secure the best men for the respective offices. So judicious was their choice, that when Washington stood before their representatives face to face, in the old Federal Hall in

New York, to deliver his inaugural address, he was constrained to say that in them he saw the surest pledges that the foundations of "the national policy would be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world." He continued: "I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love of my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public propriety and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

Washington was making the usual tour of his fields on the 14th of March, 1789, when Charles Thomson, the Secretary of the Continental Congress, arrived at Mount Vernon with a letter from John Langdon, the *pro-tempore* president of the United States Senate, announcing the election of the illustrious farmer to the Presidency of the republic. Washington accepted the office, and made immediate preparations for the journey to the seat of government. Toward evening, accompanied by his favorite body-servant, Billy, he left Mount Vernon and rode rapidly toward Fredericksburg, to visit his mother, then past eighty years of age and suffering from an incurable disease. The interview was a touching one. When he was about to leave, the son promised the mother, that so soon as public business would allow, he would hasten to Virginia to see her. "You will see me no more," said the aged matron; "my great age and the disease which is rapidly approaching my vitals, warn me that I shall not be long in this world." The dutiful son stooped and kissed her, as she sat in her arm-chair, when she took his brawny hands in her attenuated ones and said: "Go, George; fulfill the high destinies which Heaven appears to assign to you; go, my son, and may that Heaven's and your mother's blessing be with you always." They never met again on the earth. When Washington returned to Virginia, his mother's body was in the grave. She died in August, 1789, at the age of eighty-two years.

On the morning of the 6th of April, Washington left Mount Vernon for New York, accompanied by Mr. Thomson and Colonel Humphreys. He

was met at his porter's lodge by a cavalcade of his neighbors and friends, who escorted him to Alexandria, where he partook of a public dinner. Everywhere on his journey he was greeted by demonstrations of the most profound respect and reverence. At Georgetown he was received with honors, and at Baltimore he was feasted. At Gray's Ferry on the Schuyl-



WASHINGTON PARTING WITH HIS MOTHER.

kill, near Philadelphia, a triumphal arch had been erected and covered with laurel branches. As Washington passed through it, Angelica Peale, a daughter of the artist, Charles Wilson Peale—a child of rare beauty, concealed among the foliage—let down an ornamented civic crown of laurel which rested on the head of the Patriot. This incident drew from the multitude loud huzzas, and shouts of "Long live George Washington! long live the Father of his Country!" filled the air. When he crossed the Dela-



ANGELICA PEALE CROWNING WASHINGTON

ware at Trenton, the scene of one of his earliest victories in the war for independence, he was led through a triumphal arch erected upon a bridge that spanned a small stream over which he had retreated before Cornwallis more than twenty years before. The arch was supported by thirteen pillars trimmed with evergreens and flowers. It had been erected and adorned by the women of New Jersey, and bore the words: "*The Defender of the Mothers, will be the Protector of the Daughters.*" Many mothers, with their daughters, appeared on each side of the structure, all dressed in white. As the President-elect passed through, thirteen young girls in white dresses, their heads adorned with flowers, and holding baskets of flowers in their hands, scattered some of them in his way, while they sang an ode of welcome.

At Elizabethtown Point, Washington was met by a committee from each house of Congress, and civil and military officers. They had prepared a magnificent barge for his reception, manned by thirteen pilots in white uniforms. In this the President-elect was conveyed to New York. The shipping in New York harbor was decorated with flags, and the waters swarmed with gaily-dressed small boats filled with ladies and gentlemen. There was an exception to the general display of honors. The Spanish ship-of-war *Galveston*, lying not far from the present Castle Garden, was not decorated, and was silent. This neglect—this seeming churlishness—was so marked, that it called forth severe comments, when suddenly, as the barge came abreast of her, she displayed, as if by magic, the flags of all nations, and fired a salute of thirteen guns. These were answered by guns from the battery on the shore; and in the midst of the roar of artillery and the shouts of a vast multitude of citizens, the Beloved Patriot landed at Whitehall and was conducted to a house prepared for his residence on Franklin Square. Such was the reception of the first President-elect, at the seat of the new national government. There was general joy and good feeling, but satire and caricature appeared like ravens among beves of white doves. Political parties were already beginning to take distinct shape. The friends of the Constitution, represented by Washington, were called *Federalists*, and those opposed to it were called *Anti-Federalists*. On the day after Washington's arrival a caricature appeared—silly enough, but charged with bitter feeling—in which the President was seen mounted on an ass, in the arms of Billy, Colonel David Humphreys leading the Jack and chanting hosannahs and birthday odes. The picture was full of disloyal and profane allusions. The Devil appeared prominent, and from his mouth issued the words:

"The glorious time has come to pass,
When David shall conduct an ass."

On the 30th of April Washington was inaugurated President of the republic. The ceremony took place in the open gallery of the old City Hall (afterward called Federal Hall), on the site of the present Custom-House, in the presence of a vast multitude. Washington was dressed in a suit of dark brown cloth and white silk stockings, all of American manufacture. His hair was powdered and dressed in the fashion of the day, clubbed and ribboned. The oath of office was administered by Robert R. Livingston, then chancellor of the State of New York. The open Bible (then and now the property of St. John's Lodge of Freemasons of the City of New York), on which the President laid his hand, was held on a rich crimson velvet cushion by Mr. Otis, Secretary of the Senate. Near them were John Adams, who had been chosen Vice-President; George Clinton, Governor of New York; Philip Schuyler, John Jay, General Knox, Ebenezer Hazard, Samuel Osgood and other distinguished men. After taking the oath and kissing the sacred book reverently, Washington closed his eyes and in an attitude of devotion said: "So help me God!" The Chancellor exclaimed, "It is done!" and then turning to the people he shouted, "Long live George Washington, the first President of the United States." That shout was echoed and re-echoed by the multitude, when the President and the members of Congress retired to the Senate Chamber, where Washington pronounced a most impressive inaugural address. At the conclusion, he and the members went in procession to St. Paul's Church (which, with the other churches, had been opened for prayers at nine o'clock that morning), and there they invoked the blessing of Almighty God upon the new government. The first person who grasped Washington's hand in congratulation, after the ceremony, was Richard Henry Lee, his friend from childhood, to whom he had written when they were boys nine years of age—"I am going to get a whip-top soon, and you may see it and whip it." How many human whip-tops had these staunch patriots managed since they wrote their childish epistles!

The new government entered upon its duties under the keen scrutiny of a jealous opposition, and an ever-watchful democracy which regarded with alarm every aspect of aristocracy to be found in the new order of things. Even the saluting of Mrs. Washington with cannon-peals on her arrival in New York a month after her husband's inauguration, and the escorting her to the President's house by military, was commented upon as "opening monarchical ceremonies." These suspicions were manifested, in a large degree, in the Congress, where the propriety of bestowing dignified titles upon the President and Vice-President was discussed. Warm debates were had. "Will not the people say," exclaimed a member from South Carolina, "that they have been deceived by the Convention that framed the Constitution,

and that it has been continued with a view to lead them on by degrees to that kind of government which they have thrown off with abhorrence? Does the dignity of a nation consist in the distance between the first magistrate and the citizens! in the exaltation of one man and the humiliation of the rest?" No positive conclusion was arrived at. The House of Representatives had already addressed Washington simply as "President of the United States;" but before long it became common to prefix the words "His Excellency," which has been done ever since. It was known that Washington had no special desire for a title; but the Vice-President was decidedly in favor of marks of distinction, and had adopted in his equipage and manner a style that offended many of the members of Congress.

Washington was anxious to so regulate his intercourse with the public at large, that he might secure dignity for the office and order for his own comfort and the public good. Wishing to give his time to public affairs, he resolved at the outset not to return any visits. To prevent being overrun with mere callers, he appointed the hour between three and four o'clock each Tuesday for the reception of gentlemen. He met ladies at the receptions given by Mrs. Washington, who also had stated times for the ceremony. At receptions by the latter, in which the company consisted only of persons connected with the government and their families, foreign ministers and their families, and persons moving in the best circles of refined society, all were expected to appear in full dress. On these occasions Washington generally stood by the side of his wife, dressed in a plain suit of brown cloth with bright buttons, without hat or dress-sword. At his own *levees* he wore a suit of black velvet, black silk stockings, silver knee and shoe buckles, and yellow gloves. He held in his hand a cocked-hat with a black cockade. His hat was trimmed with a feather around the edge about one inch deep. He also wore an elegant dress-sword upon his hip in such a manner that only the point of the scabbard might be seen below the skirt of his coat. As visitors came in, they were introduced to him by Colonel Humphreys, who was master of ceremonies, when they were arranged in a circle around the room. At a quarter-past three o'clock the door was closed, when the company for the day was completed. The President then began on the right, and spoke to each visitor, calling him by name, and addressing a few words to him. When he had completed the circuit, he resumed his first position, when the visitors approached him, bowed and retired. By four o'clock this ceremony was over.

This "court-life" was very distasteful to Mrs. Washington. She wrote to a friend: "I live a very dull life here, and know nothing that passes in the town. I never go to any public place—indeed I think I am more like a

state-prisoner than anything else. There are certain bounds set for me which I must not depart from ; and as I cannot do as I like, I am obstinate and stay at home a great deal." She was a careful, bustling, industrious little housewife, more fond of her home than promiscuous society, and a noble exemplar for American women. "Let us repair to the old lady's



DOMESTIC LIFE AT MOUNT VERNON.

room," wrote the wife of a revolutionary officer from Mount Vernon, just after Washington retired from the Presidency. "It is nicely fixed for all sorts of work. On one side sits the chambermaid, with her knitting; on the other, a little colored pet learning to sew. An old, decent woman is there, with her table and shears, cutting out the negroes' winter-clothing, while the good old lady directs them all, incessantly knitting herself. She points out to me several pair of nice colored stockings and gloves she had just

finished, and presents me with a pair, half done, which she begs me to finish and wear for her sake. It is wonderful, after a life spent as these good people have necessarily spent theirs, to see them in retirement assume those domestic habits that prevail in our country."

Even before the inauguration of the President, Congress began in earnest the great work of putting the machinery of the new government into harmonious and vigorous action. The first and most important duties to which they were called were the devising of a revenue system—for the public treasury was empty—and establishing a national judiciary as a co-ordinate branch of the national government. Two days after the votes of the Presidential electors were counted, Mr. Madison, to whom the leadership in the House of Representatives was conceded, brought forward a plan for a temporary system of imports, to be based upon one proposed by the Continental Congress. He was decidedly favorable to free trade; but the wants of the public treasury and the impossibility to obtain reciprocal action on the part of other governments, made him consent to and propose a tariff upon spirituous liquors, wines, tea, coffee, sugar, molasses and pepper, as subjects for special duties; also an *ad valorem* duty upon all other articles imported, and a tonnage duty upon all vessels, with a discrimination in favor of vessels owned wholly in the United States, and an additional discrimination between foreign vessels, favorable to those belonging to countries having commercial treaties with the United States. The debates that arose on these propositions took a scope so wide and general that nearly every principle of tariff regulations, which have occupied the attention of our national legislature since, was fully discussed. It was finally agreed to lay duties upon certain specified articles that were imported into the United States until the year 1796; also to impose higher duties on foreign than on American bottoms; and goods imported in vessels belonging to citizens of the United States were to pay ten per cent. less duty than the same goods brought in those owned by foreigners. These discriminating duties were intended to counteract the commercial regulations of foreign nations, and especially those of Great Britain, and encourage American shipping.

These discussions and measures startled the powerful and selfish shipping interest of Great Britain, which had persistently opposed fair commercial relations with the Americans during the existence of the old Confederation. British merchants and British statesmen now perceived that American commerce was no longer regulated by thirteen separate legislatures representing clashing interests, nor subject to the control of the king and council, but that its interests were guarded by a central power of great energy. The British government hastened to secure commercial advantages, and it be-

came a supplicant instead of a haughty master. Soon after the passage of the revenue laws, a committee of Parliament proposed to ask the United States to consent to an arrangement precisely like the one proposed by Mr. Adams in 1785, but then rejected with scorn by the British ministry. The proposition was made to our government, and was met by generous courtesy on the part of the United States; but it was not until 1816, when the second war for independence—the war of 1812-'15—had been some time closed, that reciprocity treaties fairly regulated the commerce between the two countries.

Soon after the inauguration of Washington, the House having made provisions for raising a revenue, turned their attention to a reorganization of the Executive Departments. Those of the old Congress were still in operation, and were filled by the incumbents appointed by that body. The Department of Foreign Affairs, established in 1781, was incorporated with one for Home Affairs, and was called the Department of State, having charge not only of all foreign negotiations, and all papers connected therewith, but also the custody of all papers and documents of the old Congress, and all engrossed acts and resolutions of the new government which had become laws; also the issuing of all commissions for civil officers. The Treasury Department was continued substantially on the plan established in 1781. It was the duty of its chief officer to digest and propose plans for the improvement and management of the public revenue; to superintend the collection of the same; to execute services connected with the sale of public lands; to grant warrants on the treasury for all appropriations made by law; and to report to either House of Congress as to matters referred to him or appertaining to his office. Under him were subordinate officers—a controller, an auditor, a register, and a treasurer. The chief of the Department of State was called Secretary of State, and of the Treasury Department, Secretary of the Treasury.

The Department of War was organized very much upon the plan adopted in 1781, and its head was called Secretary of War. He was also intrusted with the superintendence of naval as well as military affairs, the material of the united service then being very limited. Not a single vessel of the Continental navy remained; and the military establishment consisted of only a single regiment of foot, a battalion of artillery, and the militia which the President might call out for the defence of the frontiers. There was a wholesome dread of a standing army. The Post-office Department was continued on the plan of Dr. Franklin, the first Postmaster-General appointed by the Continental Congress. Franklin had been succeeded by his son-in-law, Richard Bache, and he, in turn, by Ebenezer Hazard, who

then held the office. A Secretary of the Navy was not appointed until 1798. The Postmaster-General did not become a cabinet officer until 1829, the first year of President Jackson's administration.

While the House of Representatives were engaged with the subject of revenue and the Executive Departments, the Senate was busy in perfecting a plan for a national judiciary. A bill drawn by Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, chairman of a committee appointed for the purpose, was, after considerable discussion and some alteration, passed, and was concurred in by the other House. By its provisions, the judiciary was to consist of a Supreme Court having one Chief Justice and five Associate Justices, who were to hold two sessions annually at the seat of the national government. Circuit and district courts were also established which had jurisdiction over certain specified cases. Each State in the Union was made a district, as were also the Territories of Kentucky and Maine. With the exception of these two, the districts were grouped into three circuits. An appeal from these lower courts to the Supreme Court was allowed, as to points of law, in all civil cases when the matter in dispute amounted to two thousand dollars. The President was authorized to appoint a marshal for each district, having the general powers of a sheriff, who was to attend all courts and was authorized to serve all processes. Provision was also made for a district attorney in each district to act for the United States in all cases in which the national government might be interested. That organization, with slight modifications, is still in force.

The next important business that engaged the attention of Congress during its first session was the consideration of amendments to the national Constitution. The subject was brought forward by Mr. Madison, in conformity to pledges given to his State (Virginia), which was opposed to the Constitution without certain amendments. The number of amendments proposed by the minorities of the several conventions that ratified the Constitution, exceeded one hundred. These were referred to a committee which consisted of one member from each State. That committee finally reported, and after long debate and various alterations, twelve articles were agreed to and submitted to the people of the several States for ratification or rejection. The first two related to the number and pay of the House of Representatives; the other ten, a member said, were "of no more value than a pinch of snuff, since they went to secure rights never in danger." Only these ten were ratified in the course of the next two years. Two other amendments were afterward made, and these were the only ones adopted until the period of the late Civil War.

The national debt was a subject that demanded the earnest attention of

Congress; but that body, having put the machinery of government in motion, deferred the consideration of its operations in detail until their next session. They contented themselves with directing the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare and report a plan for the liquidation of that debt, at the next session. The subject of the public lands was also an important one, but Congress did nothing more than to recognize and confirm the ordinance of



HENRY KNOX.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

1787 for the establishment of the Northwestern Territory. They fixed the salaries of the several officers of the government at a very low rate of compensation as compared with other nations; and toward the close of the session, which ended in September, the question respecting the permanent seat of the national government was called up and produced much excitement in and out of Congress. New York and Philadelphia were the chief aspirants for the honor. Maryland and Virginia resolved to fix the site on the Potomac. After much debate and the passage back and forth of amended bills between the two Houses, the subject was postponed until the next session.

Congress adjourned for three months on the 29th of September. The President, who had been confined to his bed six weeks in the summer with a severe malady which, at one time, put his life in peril, resolved to make a journey into New England during the recess, in search of renewed strength and to become better acquainted with the country and the inhabitants. Before his departure he selected the cabinet ministers who were to be his advisers and made other appointments, all subject to the approval or disapproval of the Senate. He chose Thomas Jefferson for the important post of Secretary of State.

Washington knew his worth as a patriot and statesman. He had succeeded Dr. Franklin as minister to the French court, and was about to return home. The President had ample opportunities for knowing the transcendent abilities, practical common sense, and sterling patriotism of Alexander Hamilton, and he chose him to fill the really most important office in the cabinet at that time, that of Secretary of the Treasury. General Henry Knox was then the Secretary of War, and he was continued in the office; for his tried patriotism, steady principles and his public services, had endeared him to Washington, and secured the public confidence. Edmund Randolph of Virginia, who was a

distinguished member of the bar, and a leading spirit in the convention that framed the Constitution, was chosen to be attorney-general. Washington regarded the national judiciary as the strong right-arm of the Constitution to enable it to perform its functions with justice, and he selected John Jay of New York for the office of Chief Justice of the United States, as the most fitting man for the place to be found in the country. Consulting alike, in this nomination, the public good and the dignity of the Court, he expressed his own feelings in a letter to Mr. Jay, in this wise: "I have a full confidence that the love you bear to our country and a desire to promote the general happiness, will not suffer you to hesitate a moment to bring into



JOHN JAY.

action the talents, knowledge, and integrity which are so necessary to be exercised at the head of that department, which must be considered the keystone of our political fabric."

So it was that with great wisdom, prudence and foresight, the sagacious founders of our republic organized and set in motion the machinery of government. The tests of more than eighty years' experience have elucidated the practical philosophy evinced by these men, individually and collectively, in the performance of their delicate and very difficult task. At the very outset, the new system of government encountered enormous strains, and the tests amounted almost to positive demonstrations of the unconquerable strength of our republic which it derived from the sap of free institutions. The wisdom and sagacity of the first President were also manifested in his choice of his aids in the management of the new government. He chose men of tried patriotism, intelligence and virtue, on whom he could rely for judicious counsel and courageous action—two very important qualities at that juncture in our national life.



CHAPTER II.

THANKSGIVING DAY APPOINTED—THE PRESIDENT'S JOURNEY INTO NEW ENGLAND—OFFICIAL ETIQUETTE—CEREMONIES AT THE OPENING OF CONGRESS—HAMILTON'S REPORT ON THE FINANCES—FINANCIAL MEASURES ADOPTED—FIRST DEBATES IN CONGRESS ON SLAVERY—SEAT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CHOSEN—PATENTS AND COPYRIGHTS—TREATY WITH SOUTHERN INDIANS—A NATIONAL CURRENCY, BANK, COINAGE AND MINT ESTABLISHED—VERMONT AND KENTUCKY ENTER THE UNION—FIRST CENSUS—WARS WITH THE INDIANS IN THE NORTHWEST, AND THEIR FINAL SUBJUGATION.

A FEW days before Congress adjourned in September, that body, by resolution, requested the President to recommend a day of public thanksgiving and prayer to be observed by the people of the whole nation, in acknowledgment of the signal favor of the Almighty in permitting them to establish in peace a free government. Washington issued a proclamation to that effect. It was the first call for a national thanksgiving since the establishment of the new government. On the same day (October 3, 1790) he wrote in his diary: "Sat for Mr. Rammage [an Irish artist] near two hours to-day, who was drawing a miniature picture of me for Mrs. Washington. Walked in the afternoon, and sat at two o'clock for Madame de Brehan [or Brienne, sister of the French minister Moustier], to complete a miniature profile of me which she had begun from memory, and which she had made exceedingly like the original."

The President appointed Thursday, the 26th of November, as the day for the national thanksgiving, and on the 15th of October, he set out on his journey to New England. Rhode Island, not having yet adopted the new Constitution, was not in the Union, and he did not tread upon its soil, but went to Boston by way of Hartford, Springfield and Worcester, arriving there on Saturday, the 24th. There he had an official tilt with John Hancock, who was then governor of Massachusetts. Hancock had invited Washington to lodge at his house in Boston. The invitation was declined. After the arrival of the President, the governor sent him an invitation to dine with him and his family, informally, that day, at the conclusion of the public reception ceremonies. It was accepted by Washington, with a full persuasion that the governor would call upon him before the dinner hour. But

Hancock had conceived the proud notion that the governor of a State within his own domain was officially superior to the President of the United States when he came into it. He had laid his plans for asserting this superiority by having Washington visit him *first*, and to this end he had sent him the invitations to lodge and dine with him. At near the time for dinner, as Washington did not appear, Hancock evidently felt some misgivings, for he sent his secretary to the President with an excuse that he was



WASHINGTON SITTING TO MADAME BRIENNE.

too ill to call upon his Excellency in person. The latter divined the nature of the "indisposition," and dined at his own lodgings at "the widow Ingersolls," with a single guest. That evening the governor, feeling uneasy, sent his lieutenant and two of his council to express his regret that his illness had not allowed him to call upon the President. "I informed them explicitly," Washington wrote in his diary, "that I should not see the governor except at my lodgings." This took the conceit entirely out of Hancock,

who was well enough the next day (Sunday) to call upon Washington and repeat, in person, the insufficient excuse for his own folly.

The President extended his visit eastward as far as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he sat to a persistent portrait painter named Gulligher, who had followed him from Boston. From that point he took a more northerly route back to Hartford, and arrived at New York on the 13th of November.

There, on the 8th of January, 1790, the second session of the first Congress was begun in the old Federal Hall. The proceedings were opened by a message or speech from Washington, which he delivered in person. At eleven o'clock that day he left his house in his coach drawn by four bay horses, preceded by Colonel Humphreys and Major Jackson in military uniform, riding two of his white horses, and followed by his private secretaries, Messrs. Lear and Nelson, in his chariot. His own coach was followed by carriages bearing Chief-Justice Jay and the Secretaries of the Treasury and War, Secretary Jefferson not having arrived at the seat of government. At the outer door of the Hall the President was met by the door-keepers of the Senate and House of Representatives, and conducted by them to the door of the Senate Chamber, from which the President was led through the assembled members of Congress, the Senate on one side and the House on the other, to the chair, where he was seated. The members all rose as the President entered, and the gentlemen who had accompanied him took their stand behind the Senators. In the course of a few minutes the President rose (and with him the members of both houses) and made his speech, after which he handed copies to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and then retired, bowing to the members (who stood) as he passed out. In the same manner as he came, and with the same attendants, he returned to his house. "On this occasion," Washington wrote in his diary, "I was dressed in a suit of clothes made at the woolen manufactory at Hartford, as the buttons also were." At an appointed hour on the 14th the members of the houses of Congress proceeded in carriages to the mansion of the President (those of the House of Representatives with the mace, preceded by their Speaker), and there presented their respective addresses in response to his speech. These stately ceremonies at the opening of the sessions of Congress were in vogue until Jefferson took his seat as Chief Magistrate, when they were all omitted and the President sent to the assembled Congress his annual and other messages in writing, by his private secretary, as is now done.

The public credit was a topic that demanded and received the earliest and most earnest attention of Congress at the second session. The report

of the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Hamilton) had been waited for with great solicitude, not only by the public creditors, but by every thoughtful patriot. It was presented in writing to the House of Representatives on the 15th of January, 1790, and embodied a financial scheme which was generally adopted and remained the line of policy of the national government, with very slight modifications, for more than twenty years. On the recommendation of the Secretary, the national government assumed not only the foreign and domestic debts incurred for carrying on the late war, as its own, but also the debts contracted by the several States during that period, for the general welfare. The foreign debt, amounting with accrued interest to almost \$12,000,000, was due chiefly to France and private lenders in Holland. The domestic debt, including outstanding continental money and interest, amounted to over \$42,000,000, nearly one-third of which was accumulated accrued interest. The State debts assumed amounted to \$21,000,000, distributed as follows: New Hampshire, \$300,000; Massachusetts, \$4,000,000; Rhode Island (which came into the Union by adopting the Constitution in May, 1790), \$200,000; Connecticut, \$1,600,000; New York, \$1,200,000; New Jersey, \$800,000; Pennsylvania, \$2,200,000; Delaware, \$200,000; Maryland, \$800,000; Virginia, \$3,000,000; North Carolina, \$2,400,000; South Carolina, \$4,000,000; Georgia, \$300,000.

The report called forth long, earnest, and able debates in and out of Congress. Concerning the foreign debt, there was but one opinion, and that was it must be paid in full according to the terms on which it was contracted; and the President was authorized to borrow \$12,000,000, if necessary, for its liquidation. With respect to the domestic debt, there was a wide difference of opinion. As the government certificates, continental bills of credit, and other evidences of debt were then held chiefly by speculators who had purchased them at greatly reduced rates, the idea had been put forth by prominent men that it would be proper and expedient to apply a scale of depreciation, as in the case of the paper-money toward the close of the war, in liquidating those claims. Hamilton warmly opposed this proposition as not only dishonest but impolitic, arguing that public credit, which might be blasted by such a proceeding, was essential to the very existence of the new government. He therefore urged that all the debts should be met according to the terms of the contract. He proposed the funding of the public debt in a fair and economical way, by which the public creditors should receive their promised interest of six per cent. until the government should be able to pay the principal, and for the latter purpose he proposed to devote the proceeds of the General Post-office as a sinking fund. The Secretary assumed that, in five years, by an honorable course in its financial

operations, the government would be able to effect loans at five and even at four per cent. with which the claims might be met. Hamilton's propositions, in general, were agreed to in March. A new loan was authorized, payable in certificates of the domestic debt, at their par value and in continental bills of credit at the rate of one hundred for one. Congress also authorized an additional loan, payable in certificates of the State debts, to the amount of \$21,000,000. A new board of commissioners was appointed, with full power to settle all claims on general principles of equity. A system of revenue from imports and internal excise, proposed by Hamilton, was also adopted.

While the financial question was under debate, another subject, more exciting, was presented to the House, in the form of a petition or memorial from the Yearly Meetings of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, of Pennsylvania and Delaware, and also of New York, on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade. Slavery then existed in all the States but Massachusetts, whose constitution contained a clause that had silently abolished it. In other States benevolent and patriotic persons had made attempts to have the system of slave-labor abolished; and these memorials proposed action of the national Congress on the subject. They were seconded by another from the Pennsylvania Society for the abolition of slavery, signed by Dr. Franklin, its president. This was the last public act of that great and good man, for he died a few weeks afterward.

These were the first debates in the national legislature on the subject of slavery, which, from time to time, afterward shook the foundations of the Union and finally culminated in the Civil War whose fires consumed the institution. They were ended on the occasion here mentioned, in March, 1790, by the adoption of a report which declared substantially (1) that Congress had no constitutional power to interfere with the African Slave-trade before the year 1808; (2) that they had no power to interfere with slavery in the States wherein it existed; (3) that they might restrain citizens of the United States from carrying on the African Slave-trade to supply foreigners with slaves, and (4) that they had power to prohibit foreigners fitting out vessels in our ports for transporting persons from Africa to any foreign port. It was when the debates on the financial scheme and the slavery question were at their height, that Jefferson arrived in New York and took his seat in Washington's cabinet as Secretary of State.

During this session the question of the permanent location of the seat of the national government was discussed, and it was finally decided that it should be at the head of sloop navigation on the Potomac River, within a territory ten miles square lying on each side of the river, ceded by Maryland

and Virginia, and named, in honor of the discoverer of America, The District of Columbia. It was to become the seat of government after the lapse of ten years. Acts for the issuing of patents for improvements, and copyrights on books, were also passed; and after a laborious and quite an exciting session, Congress adjourned in August to meet again in December.

The third session was a most important one, for measures were then adopted which laid the foundations of public credit and national prosperity deep and abiding. The relations with the Indians on the frontiers of the republic had received the earnest attention of the new government; and by prudent management Washington had induced McGillivray, a half-breed leader of the Creek Indians, near the Gulf of Mexico, to come to New York with a large delegation of Creek chiefs to negotiate a treaty. They were received by the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, then recently established, whose ideal patrons were Columbus and a legendary Indian chief named Tammany who had once been lord of Manhattan Island, and was adopted by them as the patron saint of America. The members, dressed in Indian costume, escorted the deputation into the City of New York, and entertained them at a public dinner. A treaty was concluded by which all the territory south and west of the Oconee River (in portions of which some Georgians had settled) was secured to the Indians, and all east of that stream was relinquished by them to the white people. There was also a mutual agreement of friendship; and by a secret article it was stipulated that presents to the amount of \$1,500 were to be annually distributed among the nation. This was calculated to secure the fidelity of the savages. Arrangements with the Indians in the Northwest were not so easily made, as we shall observe presently.

The subject of a national currency had early engaged the attention of Congress. Hamilton, in his masterly report on the finances, proposed the establishment of a national bank. The whole banking capital in the United States was then only \$2,000,000, invested in the Bank of North America, established by Morris, in Philadelphia, in 1781; the Bank of New York, in New York city, and the Bank of Massachusetts, in Boston. A bill for the establishment of such a bank in the City of Philadelphia became a law early in 1791, when a corporation with the title of "President, Directors and Company of the Bank of the United States" was created, to be governed by twenty-five directors, to have a capital of \$15,000,000, and to exist for twenty years. This bank went into operation in February, 1794, with a capital of \$10,000,000, and branches were established at various commercial centres.

A national coinage had occupied the attention of the public mind for

some time. So early as 1782, the subject was presented to the Continental Congress in an able report by Gouverneur Morris, written at the request of Robert Morris, the Superintendent of Finance. In 1784, Mr. Jefferson, chairman of the committee appointed for the purpose, submitted a report on the subject, agreeing with Morris in regard to a *decima* system, but disagreeing with him as to the details. Morris tried to harmonize the moneys of all the States. Starting with an ascertained fraction as an unit, for a divisor, he proposed the following table of moneys: Ten units to be equal to one penny; ten pence to one bill; ten bills one dollar (about seventy-five cents of our currency), and ten dollars one crown. Jefferson proposed to strike four coins—a golden piece of the value of ten dollars; a dollar, in silver; a tenth of a dollar in silver, and a hundredth of a dollar in copper. In 1785, Congress adopted Mr. Jefferson's recommendation, and made legal provision for the coinage. This was the origin of our *cent*, *dime*, *dollar*, and *eagle*. The establishment of a mint was delayed, however, and no special action was taken in that direction until 1790, when Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, urged the matter upon the attention of Congress. It was not until April, 1792, when laws were proposed for the establishment of a mint. It was not put into regular operation until 1795. During the three preceding years there were experimental operations, and long debates were had in Congress concerning the device for the new coins. The Senate proposed the head of the President at the time of the coinage; the House of Representatives proposed an imaginary head of Liberty, as less imitative of royalty. The latter was adopted. The first mint was established in Philadelphia, then the temporary seat of the national government, and remained the sole coiner until 1835, when branches were authorized in North Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana. It was at about the time when the law passed authorizing the establishment of a mint (1792), when a postal system, substantially the same as now exists, was put into operation.

Vermont, originally known as the New Hampshire Grants, had a long controversy with New York about territorial jurisdiction, which was not settled when the war for independence broke out. In 1777, the people of the province, in convention, declared it to be an independent State. In 1781, the Congress offered to admit it into the Confederacy then formed, but with a considerable curtailment of its area. The people refused the terms, and it remained an independent State ten years longer. Then New York agreed to relinquish all claim to the territory and political jurisdiction on the payment by Vermont of the sum of \$30,000. This was done; and on the 4th of March, 1791, that State entered our Union as the fourteenth. The same year the first census or enumeration of the inhabitants was com-

pleted, with the result mentioned at the beginning of this Book. On the first of June the following year, Kentucky, with the consent of Virginia of which it formed a part, entered the Union as the fifteenth State.

We have seen with what an affluent stream emigration flowed into the Ohio region after the organization of the Northwestern Territory in 1787. General Arthur St. Clair, a worthy officer of the Continental Army, was appointed its governor. He soon found serious trouble brewing there. The British, in violation of the treaty of 1783, still held Detroit and other Western posts, and British traders were jealous of the hardy settlers who were gathering in communities north of the Ohio. British agents, instigated by Sir John Johnson, the former Indian agent in the Mohawk Valley, and Guy Carleton (then Lord Dorchester), again governor of Canada, were inciting the savages to make war on the settlers. These well-established facts gave reasons for a prevalent belief that the British government yet hoped for an opportunity to bring back the young republic to a state of colonial dependence. The fostered discontents of the Indians were developed into open hostilities, in the spring of 1790, and attempts at pacific arrangements were fruitless.

In September, 1790, General Harmer led more than a thousand troops, regulars and volunteers, from Fort Washington (now Cincinnati) into the Indian country around the headwaters of the Maumee River, to chastise the savages as Sullivan had scourged the Senecas in 1779. Instead of humbling them by spreading desolation over their fair land, Harmer, in two battles near the present village of Fort Wayne, Indiana, was defeated with considerable loss, and abandoned the enterprise. In May the following year, General Scott of Kentucky, with eight hundred men, penetrated the Wabash country almost to the site of the present town of Lafayette, Indiana, and destroyed several villages. At the beginning of August, General Wilkinson, with more than five hundred men, pushed into the same region, and pressing on to the Tippecanoe and the prairies, destroyed some Kickapoo villages, and then made his way to the Falls of the Ohio, near Louisville. But the Indians, instead of being humbled by these scourges, were urged thereby, and the false representations of British emissaries, to fight desperately for their country and lives.

Congress now prepared to plant fortifications in the heart of the Indian country; and in September, 1791, two thousand troops were gathered at Fort Washington and marched northward under the immediate command of General Butler, accompanied by General St. Clair as chief. Twenty miles from Fort Washington, they built Fort Hamilton, on the Miami River. Forty-two miles further on they built Fort Jefferson; and when they moved

from there, late in October, there were evidences that dusky scouts were hovering on their flanks.

At length the little army of invaders halted and encamped on the borders of a tributary of the Upper Wabash, in Darke County, Ohio, near the Indiana line, a hundred miles from Cincinnati. The wearied soldiers went to rest early, unsuspecting of much danger near. All night long the sentinels fired upon prowling Indians; and before sunrise on the morning of the



DESTROYING INDIAN VILLAGES.

4th of November, 1791, while the army were preparing for breakfast, they were surprised by the horrid yells of a body of savages, who fell upon them with great fury. The troops made a gallant defence, but the slaughter among them was dreadful. General Butler was killed, and most of his officers were slain or wounded. The smitten army fled in confusion. It was with great difficulty that St. Clair, who was tortured with gout, after having three horses killed under him, escaped on a pack-horse. That evening Adjutant-General Winthrop Sargent wrote in his diary: "The troops have all been defeated; and though it is impossible, at this time, to ascertain our loss, yet there can be no manner of doubt that more than half the army are either killed or wounded." Among the fugitives were more than a

hundred feminine camp-followers—wives of the soldiers. One of them was so fleet of foot that she kept ahead of the flying army. Her long, red hair streaming behind her, was the *oriflamme* that the soldiers followed in their flight back to Fort Washington.

This defeat spread dismay over the frontiers, and hot indignation throughout the land. Washington was powerfully moved by wrath, for his last words to St. Clair were, "Beware of a surprise." He lost his usual control of his emotions, and for a few minutes he was swayed by a tempest of anger. He paced the room in a rage. "It was awful," wrote Mr. Lear, his private secretary, who was present. "More than once he threw his hands up as he hurled imprecations upon St. Clair. 'O God! O God!' he exclaimed, 'he is worse than a murderer! How can he answer it to his country? The blood of the slain is upon him—the curses of widows and orphans—the curse of Heaven!'" His wrath soon subsided. "This must not go beyond this room," he said; and in a low tone, as if speaking to himself, he continued—"St. Clair shall have justice. I will hear him without prejudice—he shall have full justice." And when, awhile afterward, the veteran soldier, bowed with infirmities and the burden of public obloquy, sought the presence of his old commander, Washington extended his hand and gave him a gracious reception. "Poor old St. Clair," said Custis, who was present, "hobbled up to his chief, seized the offered hand in both of his, and gave vent to his feelings in copious sobs and tears."

Fortunately for the frontier settlers, the Indians did not follow up the advantage they had gained, and hostilities ceased for awhile. Commissioners were appointed to treat with hostile tribes, but through the interference of British officials, the negotiations were fruitless. In the meantime General Anthony Wayne, the bold soldier of the war for independence, had been appointed St. Clair's successor in military command. Apprehending that the failure of the negotiations would be immediately followed by hostilities against the frontier settlements, Wayne marched into the Indian country with a competent force in the autumn of 1793. He spent the winter at Greenville, not far from the place of St. Clair's defeat, where he built a stockade and gave it the significant name of Fort Recovery. The following summer he pushed forward to the Maumee River, and at its junction with the Au Glaize, he built Fort Defiance. On the St. Mary's he had erected Fort Adams as an intermediate post; and in August he pushed down the Maumee with about three thousand men, and encamped within a short distance of a British military post at the foot of the Maumee Rapids called Fort Miami.

With ample force to destroy the savage power in spite of their British

allies, and to desolate their country, Wayne offered the Indians peace and tranquillity if they would lay down the hatchet and musket. They madly refused, and sought to gain time by craftiness. "Stay where you are ten days," they said, "and we will treat with you; if you advance, we will give you battle." Wayne did advance to the head of the Maumee Rapids; and at a place called The Fallen Timbers, not far above the present Maumee city, he attacked and defeated the savages on the 20th of August, 1794. By the side of almost every dead warrior of the forest, lay a musket and



FIRING ON PROWLING INDIANS.

bayonet from British armories. Wayne then laid waste the country, and at the middle of September he moved up the Maumee to the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's that form that stream, and built a strong fortification there which was named Fort Wayne. The little army went into winter-quarters at Greenville. The next summer the sachems and warriors of the Western tribes, about eleven hundred in all (representing twelve cantons), met (August 3, 1795) commissioners of the United States there, formed a treaty of peace and ceded to our government about twenty-five thousand square miles of territory in the present States of Michigan and Indiana, besides sixteen separate tracts, including lands and forts. In consideration of these cessions, the Indians received goods from the United States of the value of \$20,000, as presents, and were promised an annual allowance valued at nearly \$10,000, to be equally distributed among all the tribes who were parties to the treaty. These were the Chippewas, Ottawas,

Pottawatomies, Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnoese, Miamis and Kickapoos, who then occupied the ceded lands.

At the close of the council, on the 20th, Wayne said to the Indians: "Brothers, I now fervently pray to the Great Spirit that the peace now established may be permanent, and that it will hold us together in the bonds of friendship until time shall be no more. I also pray that the Great Spirit above may enlighten your minds, and open your eyes to your true happiness, that your children may learn to cultivate the earth and enjoy the fruits of peace and industry."

By a special treaty made with Great Britain at about that time (which will be noticed presently), the Western military posts were soon afterward evacuated by the British. The security which this action and the treaty with the Indians at Greenville gave, there was very little more trouble with the savages in the Northwest until just before the breaking out of the war of 1812-15; and an immense impetus was given to emigration into that region. The country northwest of the Ohio was now rapidly filled with a hardy population.



INDIANS ARMED BY THE BRITISH.

CHAPTER III.

FORMATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES—REVOLUTION IN FRANCE—JEFFERSON'S SYMPATHIES WITH THE REVOLUTIONISTS—HIS SUSPICIONS—JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON AT VARIANCE—"CITIZEN GENET" AND THE REPUBLICANS—PROCLAMATION OF NEUTRALITY—THE WHISKY INSURRECTION—JAY'S TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN—THE AFRICAN CORSAIRS—TREATY WITH ALGIERS—BRITISH AND FRENCH DEPREDACTIONS—BEGINNING OF OUR NATIONAL NAVY—WASHINGTON RETIRES FROM THE PRESIDENCY—HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS—STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL ASCENDENCY—WASHINGTON ABUSED.

THE discussions concerning the national Constitution had, as we have observed, engendered party spirit in the new republic which speedily assumed definite forms and titles, first as *Federalist* and *Anti-Federalist*, and then as *Federalist* and *Republican*. The Federalist party was composed of those who favored much concentration of power in the national government; the Republican or Democratic party favored State sovereignty and the diffusion of power among the people. Mr. Jefferson, the Secretary of State, was the recognized leader of the Republicans, and Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, was regarded as the head of the Federalists. The lines between these two parties were distinctly drawn, during the second session of the second Congress, and the spirit of each became rampant among the people.

Events then occurring in France had much to do in intensifying party spirit in this country. The British government had sent George Hammond here as full minister, and he had arrived in August, 1791. In December following, our government sent Thomas Pinckney as American ambassador to England; and so a good understanding between the lately belligerent governments was established. With the French government, their ancient ally, the United States held the most friendly relations.

Meanwhile a revolution, violent in its nature and far-reaching in its consequences, had broken out in France. It was the immediate consequence of the teachings of our own revolution. The people of France had long endured almost irresponsible despotism, and were yearning for freedom when the French officers and soldiers, who had served in America during the latter years of our struggle for independence, returned to their country

full of republican ideas and aspirations. They began to question the right of a few to oppress the many. The public heart was soon stirred by new ideas, and in the movement that followed, Lafayette was conspicuous for awhile. The rumblings of the pent volcano of passion in the bosom of society were heard on every hand. Legislators assumed to be responsible to the people; and the Parliament of Paris, which for hundreds of years had been a mere court for registering royal edicts, now (1787) refused to do so, and in consequence the new and grievous taxes which the war had rendered necessary, could not be levied. The puzzled king called the States-General together. It was a body which had not met for nearly two hundred years. Like the Long Parliament of England, it soon took all power into its own hands, and very shortly the king was, in effect, a prisoner in his palace, and the representatives of the people proceeded to make society as level as possible. The Bastile, whose history represented royal despotism, was assailed by the citizens of Paris and pulled down. The privileges of the nobility and clergy were abolished, and the church property was seized. The king's brothers and many of the nobles fled in affright across the frontier, and tried to induce other sovereigns to take up the cause of royalty in France and restore the former order of things. The Emperor of Austria (brother of the French queen), and the King of Prussia, entered into a treaty to that effect, at Pilnitz, in 1791.

When this treaty became known, matters were brought to a crisis in France. War followed. English troops were sent to Flanders to watch the movements on the continent. Robespierre and other self-constituted leaders in Paris, held sway for awhile, and the most frightful massacres of nobles and priests ensued. Eighteen hundred were slain in one night. The weak and unfortunate king, who had in vain accepted constitution after constitution as it was offered to him, was now deposed and a republic was established. Lafayette and other moderate men had disappeared from the arena, which had become an awfully bloody one. The king was tried on a charge of inviting foreigners to invade France, was found guilty and beheaded in Jan., 1793. His beautiful queen soon shared his fate. The English troops sent to Flanders were called to fight the French, for the rulers of France had declared war against Great Britain, Spain, and Holland, in February.

When Mr. Jefferson came into the cabinet of Washington, he had just returned from France, where he had witnessed the uprising of the people against their oppressors. Regarding the movement as kindred to the late uprising of his own countrymen against Great Britain, it enlisted his warmest sympathies, and he expected to find the bosoms of the people of the United States glowing with feelings like his own. He was sadly disappointed.

The conservatism of Washington and the tone of society in New York, in which some of the leaven of Toryism yet lingered, chilled him. He became suspicious of all around him, for he regarded the indifference of the people to the struggles of the French, their old allies, as an evil omen. He had scarcely taken his seat in the cabinet before he declared that some of his colleagues held decidedly monarchical views; and the belief became fixed in his mind that there was a party in the United States continually at work, secretly and sometimes openly, for the overthrow of republicanism here. This idea became a sort of monomania, and haunted him untill his death more than thirty years afterward.

Jefferson soon rallied under his standard a large party of sympathizers with the French revolutionists. Regarding Hamilton as the head and front of the monarchical party, he professed to believe that the financial plans of that statesman were designed to enslave the people, and that the rights and liberties of the States and of individuals were in danger. Hamilton, on the other hand, regarded the national Constitution as inadequate in strength to perform its required functions, and believed weakness to be its greatest defect. With this idea Jefferson took issue. He charged his political opponents, and especially Hamilton, with corrupt and anti-republican designs, selfish motives, and treacherous intentions; and so was inaugurated that system of personal abuse and vituperation which has ever been a disgrace to the press and political leaders of this country. Bitter partisan quarrels now prevailed, in which Jefferson and Hamilton were the chief actors. The people were greatly excited. The Republicans, who hated the British intensely, called the Federalists the "British party," and the Federalists called their opponents the "French party." The latter hailed with joy the news of the death of the French king, and applauded the declaration of war against England and Holland, forgetting the substantial sympathy which the latter had shown for the Americans during their struggle for independence. Only Washington appeared calm in the midst of the uproar that proceeded from antagonists in his cabinet.

In the midst of this excitement "Citizen Genet," as he was called, an ambassador sent to our government by the French Republic, arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, where he was cordially received, in April, 1793. Washington had anxiously watched the rising tide of popular sentiment in favor of giving material aid to the French in their warfare on monarchies, and on the 22d of April he issued a proclamation of neutrality, in which he warned all citizens of the United States not to engage in the kindling war in Europe. This gave great offence to the Republicans, or Democrats, and Washington was abused without stint.

Genet's zeal outran his prudence. Without waiting to present his credentials, or even to visit the seat of our national government, he proceeded to act upon instructions of his own so-called government. He had been furnished with blank naval and military commissions, and was empowered to constitute every French consul in the United States a court of admiralty, authorized to sell prizes. Then he proceeded to fit out privateers to depredate upon the commerce of England, Holland, and Spain. One of them went prowling up our coast, and reached Philadelphia (to which city the national government had been removed) with a prize before Genet arrived there. He was received with enthusiasm on his arrival; and so anxious were his admirers to do homage to their idol, that they invited him to a public dinner before he had presented his credentials.

Genet was deeply impressed with Washington's dignity, but felt uneasy in his calm presence; so, after the ceremony of his first presentation was over, he hastened to the dinner to which he was invited, where he might easily have imagined himself to be in a Jacobin Church in Paris—songs, toasts, decorations, were all to his taste. On the table was a roasted pig, to which they gave the name of the lately murdered king. Its head, severed from its body, was carried around the table to each guest, who, after putting the *bonnet rouge* on his own head, pronounced the word "tyrant" and proceeded with a knife to mangle that of the animal to be served to so unworthy a company. Strange as it may seem to us, it is nevertheless true, that so infatuated were the partisans of the French, that leading citizens of Philadelphia, with General Mifflin, then governor of Pennsylvania, at their head, participated in the disgraceful orgies at that dinner. A Democratic tavern in Philadelphia had a revolting sign, on which was painted the headless corpse of the murdered queen. "Democratic clubs" were formed in imitation of the Jacobin clubs of Paris; and, encouraged by these and newspapers in their interest, Genet persisted in his defiant course, and tried to excite hostility between our people and their government. His acts finally disgusted Jefferson and all patriotic men. The atrocities of the French revolutionists, when known, produced a revulsion of feeling in the United States, and Washington finally requested and obtained Genet's recall. Fouchet, who succeeded him, was instructed to assure the President that Genet's course was not approved. The latter dared not return to France at that time, for he feared the sanguinary men whom he had represented. He married a daughter of Governor Clinton, settled in this country, and became a useful citizen. Our government had passed through great peril, but the helm of the ship of state was in the hand of a wise and expert pilot. No doubt the firmness and prudence of Washington, at that time, saved the republic from utter ruin.

The government was now subjected to another severe strain. There was a popular outbreak in Western Pennsylvania known in our history as the Whisky Insurrection, which gave the government much uneasiness in 1794. The rye crop west of the Alleghany Mountains around the forks of the Ohio, was largely converted into whisky by Scotch-Irish distillers. Excise laws which imposed duties on domestic distilled liquors were passed by Congress, but these western distillers despised them. When, in the spring of 1794, after the adjournment of Congress, officers were sent to enforce the laws, they were resisted by the people in arms. The insurrection became general throughout all the Pittsburgh region, and many outrages were committed. The old mob-remedy for a human nuisance was resorted to—tarring and feathering. One officer was stripped of all his clothing, smeared with warm tar, and the contents of a feather bolster was emptied upon him, giving him a most ludicrous appearance. He did not answer the philosopher's definition of a man—"a two-legged animal without feathers." Buildings occupied by friends of the government were burned; mails were robbed, and government officers were everywhere insulted and abused. At one time there were between six and seven thousand insurgents under arms. The local militia formed a part of the mob. The insurgent spirit spread into the border counties of Virginia; and the President and his cabinet, perceiving with alarm this imitation of French politics which had been inculcated by the Democrats, took immediate steps to crush the growing monster. The President first issued two proclamations (August 7 and September 25), but without effect. A convention of insurgents, held at Pittsburgh (of which young Albert Gallatin, afterward Secretary of the Treasury, was secretary), had declared the excise law to be "unjust, dangerous to liberty, oppressive to the poor, and particularly oppressive to the Western country, where grain could only be disposed of by distilling it," and had resolved to treat all excisemen with contempt. A committee of correspondence was appointed, and rebellion was fairly organized. The mob violence was, in a manner, personified, under the name of *Tom the Tinker*, and the perpetrators called these performances "mending the still." They were cheered on by "Democratic societies" which were secret associations.

It was estimated that the insurgent counties could raise sixteen thousand fighting men; and Judge Brackenridge of that region intimated that, should coercion be attempted by the national government, the insurgents might make application to Great Britain for aid, and even march on Philadelphia, then the national capital. Washington was not to be trifled with. He would listen to no temporizing policy proposed by Democratic leaders. After exhausting peaceable means he ordered out a large body of militia of

Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and sent them under the command of General Henry Lee, toward the insurgent district. The leaders of the "rebels" were alarmed, and hesitated. The argument of force was effectual, and again the wisdom and firmness of Washington averted a great peril to the young nation.

Another cloud of difficulty had gathered, dark and threatening, in the political firmament of our country. For some time a bitter feeling had been growing between the governments of the United States and Great Britain, because of the inexecution of the treaty of 1783. There were mutual accusations of infractions of that treaty. Disputes constantly arising, the bitterness of resentment, daily increased, was largely fostered by the "French party," or Republicans; and in the spring of 1794, war between the two nations seemed probable. The Americans complained that no indemnification had been made for negroes carried away at the close of the Revolution; that the British held military posts on their frontiers, contrary to the treaty; that British emissaries had excited the hostility of the Indian tribes, and that, to retaliate on France, the English had captured our neutral vessels, and impressed our seamen into the British service. The British government and people complained that stipulations concerning the property of loyalists, and also in relation to debts contracted in England before the Revolution, had not been complied with. The property of the Tories who had fled from the country was confiscated, and not much of it was regained. The British government finally paid to these sufferers an aggregate sum of more than fifteen million dollars.

Again the wisdom and prudence of Washington averted the national calamity of war. He proposed to send a special envoy to the British court to negotiate for an amicable settlement of existing disputes. Congress approved the measure, and on the 19th of April, 1794, John Jay was appointed to fulfill that delicate mission. He arrived in London in June, and was very courteously received by the British government. On the 19th of November following, a treaty was concluded which provided for the collection of debts here, by British creditors, contracted before the Revolution, but it did not procure indemnity for those who lost slaves. It secured indemnity for unlawful captures on the high seas, and also the evacuation of military posts on the frontiers yet held by the British. In order to secure some important points, Mr. Jay was compelled to yield others. The treaty was defective in some things, and objectionable in others, but it was the best that could be obtained at that time, and it averted war with Great Britain. It created intense hostility to Washington's administration, and to Jay personally, at home. The proposition to send an envoy to treat with

Great Britain had been denounced by the Democratic societies and newspapers as pusillanimous. Now these societies and newspapers which had resolved to oppose it whatever might be its provisions, attacked the treaty, the President and Mr. Jay, with vehemence, on the strength of mere rumor as to its character.

The treaty reached the President in March, 1795, but the Senate was not convened until June to consider it. Meanwhile an unfaithful member of



POLITICAL MOB IN CHARLESTON.

the cabinet (Mr. Randolph of Virginia) revealed enough of its character to warrant attacks upon it. A mad, seditious cry went over the land from the Opposition. In several cities mobs threatened personal violence to the supporters of the treaty. Mr. Hamilton was stoned at a public meeting in New York, while speaking in the open air. "These are hard arguments," he said, when a stone grazed his forehead. The British minister at Philadelphia was insulted; and in Charleston, the British flag was trailed in the dust of the streets. Jay was denounced as a traitor; and in Virginia, disunion was recommended as a cure for existing political evils. "France is our national ally," shouted Democratic societies. "She has a government congenial to our own. . . . Citizens, your security depends on France. . . . Let us unite with France, and stand or fall together," cried factious orators at public meetings held throughout the country; and the Democrats adorned their hats with the French cockade, Jay was burned in effigy in many places, and longings for a guillotine were freely expressed.

But the Senate ratified the treaty on the 24th of June, 1795, and removed the seal of secrecy, at the same time forbade the publication of the treaty for prudential reasons, for there were rumors of an important order having been issued by Great Britain. Thomson Mason, a senator from Virginia, in violation of the rules of the Senate, of official decorum, and of personal honor, sent a copy of it to a Democratic newspaper. A rhymist of the day addressed Mr. Mason on the subject, in the following manner :

“ Ah, Thomson Mason ! long thy fame shall rise,
With Democratic incense to the skies !
Long shall the world admire thy manly soul,
Which scorned the naughty Senate's base control ;
Come boldly forward with thy mighty name
And gave the treaty up for public game ! ”

The ratification of this treaty was followed in October by the conclusion of one with Spain, by which the boundaries between the Spanish Territories of Louisiana and Florida were defined. This treaty also secured to the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi River, and the use of the port of New Orleans for ten years. Louisiana had been ceded to Spain by the French, in 1762.

As soon as one excitement was allayed in our country, another appeared, and during the whole of Washington's administration of eight years, when the foreign and domestic policy of our government was fashioned and its machinery put in operation, the greatest wisdom, circumspection and conservative action, on the part of government officers, was continually demanded. Difficulties were constantly appearing on the horizon, sometimes like mere specks of clouds in the far distance, and at others near and in alarming shapes. These were chiefly in relation to trade, especially in foreign lands. American commerce had begun to rapidly expand, and had found its way through the open gate at the Pillars of Hercules, into the Mediterranean Sea. There it was met by Moslem corsairs of the Barbary Powers on the northern coast of Africa, who had long and successfully depredated upon commerce in those waters. They seized our merchandise and held our seamen in captivity in order to obtain ransom-money for them. President Washington had called the attention of Congress to these piracies as early as 1790, and at the same time Secretary Jefferson submitted an able report on the subject, in which he gave many interesting details touching the position of American commerce in the Mediterranean Sea. Little, however, could then be done for the protection of our commerce there, for the Americans were without a navy; and for that protection we were dependent, for some time, on the fleets of Portugal, with which nation Algiers, the

chief piratical power, was at war. Even this barrier was broken in 1793, secretly, by the British, for the avowed purpose of damaging France. The agent of that government at Algiers concluded a treaty with the Dey, or ruler, in which was a stipulation that the Portuguese government should not for one year afford protection to the commerce of any nation against



JOHN JAY BURNED IN EFFIGY.

Algerine cruisers. So these North African pirates were immediately released from all restraint, and roamed the Mediterranean Sea without interruption. The Americans were indignant, but could do nothing. They had already been compelled to endure insults, without the power of resenting them. When Colonel David Humphreys, who was sent by the United States as a commissioner to the Dey of Algiers, that haughty ruler, seated on a divan covered with rich cushions, and his turbaned officers of state standing near, said: "If I were to make peace with everybody, what should I do with my corsairs? what should I do with my soldiers? They would take off my head for the want of other prizes, not being able to live on their miserable allow-

ance." This argument was unanswerable, and Humphreys wrote to his government: "If we mean to have a commerce, we must have a navy to defend it."

These depredations of the pirates and the delicate relations of our rising republic to the monarchies of the Old World caused Washington, in his annual message to Congress in December, 1793, to say: "If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war." Acting upon this hint Congress passed an act in the spring of 1794, authorizing the creation of a small navy, and appropriating about \$700,000. There was strong and determined opposition to the measure, and delay was the consequence. Meanwhile the Algerine pirate fleet, released by the British treaty withdrawing Portuguese protection, had left the bounds of the Mediterranean and were out upon the Atlantic. Within a month after that treaty was made, ten American merchant vessels and over a hundred seamen were captured by the Algerine corsairs. Humphreys tried to make terms with the Dey, but the elated ruler refused to listen. The United States paid about a million dollars as a ransom for American captives, and in the autumn of 1795, our government was compelled to agree, by treaty, to pay an annual tribute to the Dey for the relief of captured seamen, according to long usage among European nations. This was humiliating, but nothing better could then be done. Humanity demanded it. Between the years 1785 and 1793, the Algerine pirates captured fifteen American vessels and made one hundred and eighty officers and seamen slaves of the most revolting kind. To redeem the survivors of these captives and others taken more recently, the United States paid the large sum just mentioned.

Congress, by the act of 1794, had authorized the President to cause the construction of six frigates; but it was provided that work on them should cease, in the event of peace with Algiers being secured. They also provided for the erection of harbor fortifications and the purchase of cannon and artillery munitions for them. Provision was also made for the establishment of arsenals and armories. Very small sums were appropriated for these purposes. These were the first beginnings of our army, navy, and system of fortifications. Washington immediately ordered the keels of the six frigates to be laid at as many ports, namely: Portsmouth, N. H., Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Norfolk. The work was going on vigorously, when the treaty with the Dey of Algiers put a stop to it, and the mercantile marine of the United States lost all hope of protection in the event of a war with any foreign government.

The folly of not completing the naval vessels was soon made manifest, when British cruisers began the practice of taking seamen from American vessels, without leave, under the pretence that they were British deserters. The French, too, were becoming aggressive on the seas. Their government was offended by Washington's proclamation of neutrality, and especially with Jay's treaty with Great Britain. It wanted the Americans to show an active participation with the French, in their hatred of the English. It was offended with the Americans because of their treaty with Algiers independently of French intervention; and the success of our negotiations with Spain for the free navigation of the Mississippi River, excited the jealousy of the French rulers. In a word, because the United States, having the strength, assumed to stand alone, the French were offended and threatened the grown-up child with personal chastisement. In 1796, cruisers of the French republic began depredations upon American commerce, under the authority of a secret order issued by the French *Directory*, as the existing government was called. That government had declared the alliance with the Americans at an end. Under the authority of the secret order numerous American vessels were seized in the West Indies. When, in the next year (1797), war with France seemed inevitable, Congress, on the urgent recommendation of the new President (John Adams), caused the frigates *Constitution*, *Constellation*, and *United States* to be completed, equipped, and sent to sea. This was the real beginning of the American navy which, only a few years afterward, though weak in numbers, performed many gallant exploits. From that time the navy became the cherished arm of the national defence; and chiefly through its instrumentality, the name and power of the United States began to be properly appreciated in Europe, at the beginning of the present century.



JOHN ADAMS.

The second term of Washington's administration was now drawing to a close. He had been elected for the second time, in the fall of 1792, much against his wishes, for he felt, then, that his health was giving way, and his private affairs needed his attention. He was inaugurated in the presence of the Senate, when he made a short speech; and he served his country four years longer. His career as President was a most trying and important one, and must ever be remembered with gratitude by the American people. During that time the government was put in motion with great sagacity on the part of the President and his cabinet; its financial, domestic, and foreign policy was established, and its strength was so fully tested by immoderate strains, that even Hamilton began to think its powers sufficient to perform its required functions. It was the wish of a majority of the people that Washington should serve a third term, but he positively refused; and in the fall of 1796, that majority gave their votes for electors known to be favorable to John Adams for President of the republic. In September of that year Washington issued his admirable Farewell Address to the people of the United States. It was an earnest appeal to them to preserve the Union as the only sure hope for the continuance of their liberties and of the national life and prosperity.

The Presidential election in 1796 was a vehement struggle by the Federalists and Republicans for political ascendancy and the control of the government. The candidates were John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, the latter having left the cabinet at the close of 1793. Every appeal to the passions that party rancor could invent, was employed. Adet, the French minister, who had succeeded Fouchet, imprudently issued an inflammatory address to the American people, in which he charged the administration of Washington with violations of the friendship that had existed between the United States and France; and other partisans of Jefferson, in their zeal to injure the Federal party, made gross personal attacks upon Washington. A newspaper writer said: "If ever a nation has been debauched by a man, the American nation has been debauched by Washington. If ever a nation has been deceived by a man, the American nation has been deceived by Washington. Let his conduct, then, be an example to future ages. Let it serve to be a warning that no man may be an idol. Let the history of the Federal government instruct mankind that the mark of patriotism may be worn to conceal the foulest designs against the liberties of the people." And on the day when Washington retired from office in March, 1797, and was succeeded by John Adams as President, the same Philadelphia newspaper (*The Aurora*) contained another gross personal attack upon the beloved patriot. After declaring that he was no longer possessed of

"power to multiply evils upon the United States," the writer said: "When a retrospect is taken of the Washingtonian administration for eight years, it is a subject of the greatest astonishment that a single individual should have cankered the principles of republicanism in an enlightened people just emerged from the gulf of despotism, and should have carried his designs against the public liberty so far as to put in jeopardy its very existence. Such, however, are the facts, and with them staring us in the face, this day ought to be a *jubilee* in the United States."

The virulence of partisanship in those days was not only as intense, but its methods were as dishonest as they are now. Among other means employed at about the time of Washington's retirement to private life, to injure his character, was the republication of a series of forged letters, purporting to have been written by him to members of his family, in the summer of 1776, and which appeared in print in 1777. These letters, if genuine, ought to have blasted Washington's reputation for patriotism, integrity, and honor. It was pretended that they were found in a small portmanteau which was in possession of his favorite body-servant, Billy, when the latter, as was falsely alleged, was captured at Fort Lee. Washington, conscious of his integrity and trustful of his countrymen, paid no attention to the publication at the time. There were ample proofs of their forgery, and they had been forgotten, when, before he left the chair of state in the spring of 1797, they were republished. The object then was the same as that twenty years before, namely to destroy public confidence in the great Leader.

Washington now thought it necessary to notice the forgery. He did so in a letter to the then Secretary of War, written on the 3d of March, 1797, in which, after giving an account of the original publication of the letters, and his silence concerning them, hitherto, he said: "As I cannot know how soon a more serious event may succeed to that which will this day take place, I have thought it a duty that I owe to myself, to my country, and to truth, now to detail the circumstances above recited; and to add my solemn declaration that the letters herein described are a base forgery, and that I never saw or heard of them until they appeared in print."



CHAPTER IV.

JOHN ADAMS, PRESIDENT—PRIDE OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT—RECEPTION OF MONROE IN FRANCE—REFUSAL TO RECEIVE AN AMERICAN MINISTER—A SAVAGE DECREE—DOINGS OF CONGRESS—AFFAIRS IN EUROPE—TREATMENT OF AMERICAN ENVOYS BY THE FRENCH DIRECTORY—GERRY AND TALLEYRAND—WAR-SPIRIT IN THE UNITED STATES—BONAPARTE IN THE EAST—NEW ENVOYS TO FRANCE—A CONSPIRACY—BONAPARTE MADE FIRST CONSUL—SETTLEMENT OF DIFFICULTIES—WAR ON THE OCEAN—OUTRAGE BY A BRITISH NAVAL COMMANDER—AMERICAN VICTORIES ON THE SEA—DOWNFALL OF THE FEDERAL PARTY—DEATH OF WASHINGTON.

JOHN ADAMS took the chair as chief magistrate of the republic, in the spring of 1797, with a powerful, energetic, and disappointed political party in opposition. They lacked only two votes in the electoral college of giving the office to Adams's democratic rival, Thomas Jefferson, who became Vice-President. It was well for Jefferson's peace of mind and his public reputation that he was not elected President at that time, for he could not have satisfied the expectations of the ultra French faction which had gathered around him, and been true to his moral and patriotic convictions of duty to his country.

The French Directory, composed of five persons who had been installed executive rulers of France late in 1795, and who were supported by two legislative chambers known respectively as the *Council of Ancients* (the Senate) and *Council of Five Hundred* (the popular Assembly), were then feeling strong and proud, and were treating other governments with great insolence. The victories of the French armies, led by the rising young Napoleon Bonaparte, had given them Northern Italy. They were preparing for an invasion of Ireland with a fair prospect of success (for Irishmen were waiting to join the invaders against the English), and their corsairs were depredating with impunity upon American commerce. In the plenitude of their pride, when they heard that the people of the United States, refusing to bow to their dictation, had probably elected the opponent of their friend, Mr. Jefferson, they declared that until our government had redressed some alleged grievances of which they complained, no minister of our republic should be received by them.

James Monroe, a senator from Virginia, who had been sent to France

as minister, in 1794, remained as such after the installation of the Directory. He had been received in a most theatrical manner, as he was properly regarded as the representative of the ultra sympathizers with the French revolutionists, in America. At a public reception in the French National Convention, he read an address written in the style of the missives issued by the American Democratic Societies, to which an enthusiastic member of the Convention replied in a grandiloquent manner, and closed his oration with the following words: "To-day, the sovereign people themselves, by the organ of their faithful representatives, receive you; and you see the tenderness, the effusion of soul, that accompanies this simple and touching ceremony; I am impatient to give you the fraternal embrace, which I am ordered to give in the name of the French people. Come and receive it in the name of the American people, and let this spectacle complete the annihilation of an impious coalition of tyrants." Then Monroe, according to precedent, stepped forward and received and returned the fraternal and national embrace and kiss of the representative of the French people.

Having opposed Jay's treaty at the French republican court, Monroe was recalled by his government in 1796, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina was appointed to fill his place. On Pinckney's arrival in France late in the year with the letter of recall and his own credentials as minister, the Directory refused to receive him. Not only so, but after treating him with great discourtesy, the Directory peremptorily ordered him to leave France. He withdrew to Holland in February, 1797, and there awaited further orders from home. When Mr. Adams took the Presidential chair, the United States were without a diplomatic agent in France.

Disappointed by the failure of the "French party" to elect Mr. Jefferson President of our republic, the insolent Directory, after hearing of the result in the electoral colleges, determined to punish a people who dared to thwart their plans. In May, 1797, they issued a decree which was tantamount to a declaration of war against the United States. It not only authorized the capture of American vessels under certain conditions, but declared that any American found on board of a hostile ship, though placed there without his consent, by impressment, should be hanged as a pirate. The poor American seaman was then continually exposed to impressment into the British service, and by this decree, if found there, he would be subjected to a pirate's fate, by the French! Strangely as it seems, Joel Barlow, an American Democrat who had actively sympathized with the French Jacobins, wrote concerning this savage decree to a relative in this country: "The government here is determined to fleece you to a sufficient degree to bring you to your feeling in the only nerve in which your sensibility lies,

which is your pecuniary interest." At a Jacobin festival at Hamburg, in 1793, Barlow had presented a song that was sung with great glee, written by Thelwall, an Englishman, to the air of *God Save the King*, the first stanza of which reads:

"God save the guillotine !
Till England's king and queen
Her power shall prove ;
Till each anointed knob,
Affords a clipping job,
Let no rude halter rob
The guillotine."

Almost simultaneously with the issuing of the French decree, an extraordinary session of Congress, called by President Adams to consider the foreign relations of our government, met at Philadelphia. The conduct of the Directory had produced a great revulsion in public feeling in our country. The reaction strengthened the Executive arm and the administration party, and patriotic Democrats began to talk complacently of war with France, which then seemed inevitable. But a majority of the cabinet favored further attempts at negotiations; and the President, with the concurrence of the Senate, appointed John Marshall, a Federalist and afterward Chief Justice of the United States, and Elbridge Gerry, a Democrat and afterward Vice-President of the republic, envoys extraordinary to join Mr. Pinckney and attempt to settle all matters in dispute between the two governments, by diplomacy. After a session of little more than six weeks, Congress adjourned. They had provided for calling out eighty thousand militia, creating a small naval force, and acts for preventing privateering.

In the meantime success had waited on French arms and French diplomacy almost everywhere. Bonaparte, who was making his victorious marches toward the Danube and the Carpathian Mountains, had compelled Austria to make peace with his government; and England, the most powerful of the enemies of France, seemed to be tottering to its fall, for the suspension of specie payment by the Bank of England had rudely shaken and weakened her financial power. It was at this flood-tide of the military and diplomatic conquests of France in October, 1797, that the American envoys reached that country and sought an audience with the French Directory. Their request was met by a haughty refusal, unless the envoys would agree to the humiliating terms of first paying into the exhausted French treasury a large sum of money in the form of a loan; by the purchase of Dutch bonds wrung from that nation by the French, and a bribe to the amount of \$240,000 for the private use of the five members of the French

Directory! This proposition came semi-officially from Talleyrand, one of the most expert and unscrupulous political trimmers that ever lived. It was accompanied by a covert threat, that if the proposition was not complied with, the envoys might be ordered to leave France in twenty-four hours, and the coasts of the United States be ravaged by French frigates sent from St. Domingo. The envoys refused compliance, and the occasion gave Pinckney the opportunity to utter in substance the noble words: "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute." Finding their mission to be useless, the envoys asked for their passports. They were given to the two Federal envoys under circumstances which amounted to their virtual expulsion from the country, while Gerry was induced to remain. He, too, was soon treated with so much insolence and contempt by Talleyrand and his associates, that he returned home in disgust to meet the indignation of his countrymen for consenting to remain. Gerry had held interviews with Talleyrand without the knowledge of his associates, and it was believed that his representation of the strength of the "French party" in the United States encouraged that minister to pursue the course he did.

Meanwhile the Directory had issued another decree, which effectually annihilated American commerce in European waters. This act, the indecent treatment of the envoys and the continued depredations of the French cruisers, aroused a vehement war-spirit in the United States. President Adams, in his first annual message to Congress (November 23, 1797), recommended preparations for war. Some of the more radical of the opposition leaders advised the payment of the money demanded, rather than risk a war with France—better to purchase peace by paying tribute than to contend for the right and for national independence! But the great body of the nation acted patriotically. In March, 1798, the President, in a special message, asked Congress to provide means for war. The request was promptly complied with. A provisional army of twenty thousand regular soldiers was voted, and provision was made for the employment of volunteers as well as militia; and then were made those provisions for a national navy already alluded to. The office of Secretary of the Navy was created, and Benjamin Stodert of the District of Columbia was the first to enter the cabinet as the head of the Navy Department, which he did at the close of April, 1798. Party-spirit disappeared in the National Legislature to a great degree, and the popular excitement against the opposition leaders in Congress became so intense, that some of the most obnoxious of them from Virginia sought personal safety in flight, under the pretence of needed attention to their private affairs. The younger republicans wore black cockades upon their hats, in imitation of the patriots of the Revolution. The stirring songs

Hail Columbia and *Adams and Liberty*, the former written by Joseph Hopkinson and the latter by Robert Treat Paine, were now first published, and were sung all over the land with unbounded applause.

Washington approved the war-measures of the government, and in July he was appointed by the President commander-in-chief of all the forces raised and to be raised, with the commission of lieutenant-general. That



WASHINGTON RECEIVING HIS COMMISSION.

commission was borne to Mount Vernon by the Secretary of War (Mr. McHenry) in person. When he arrived, Washington was in the fields not far from the mansion where his people were gathering his grain-harvest. The Secretary, without doffing his thin traveling cloak (for the day was cool), went out to meet him and presented the document to Washington in the open field. The Beloved Patriot, then sixty-six years of age, obeyed the

call of his countrymen with alacrity. "You may command me without reserve," he wrote to the President, qualifying his remark with an expressed desire that he should not be called into active service until the public need should demand it, and requesting the appointment of his friend Alexander Hamilton, then forty-one years of age, as acting general-in-chief. For this purpose, Hamilton was commissioned the first major-general. Washington held a conference with all the general officers of the army at Philadelphia, in November (1798), when arrangements were made for a complete organization of the regular forces on a war-footing. But from the beginning he believed that the gathering clouds, portending a fearful tempest, would pass away and leave his country unscathed by the lightning and the hail of war.

Events soon justified Washington's faith. Circumstances speedily allayed the fear of England, to whom the Americans looked as a possible friend in the event of a war with France. The victorious Bonaparte, who had threatened England with invasion, had gone off to Egypt with a fleet and army with the avowed object of conquering that country, invading Palestine, taking possession of Jerusalem, restoring the Jews to their ancient heritage, and rebuilding the Temple. This was only a cover to his ambitious designs for accomplishing his personal advancement. But his fleet was utterly vanquished by Nelson in the battle of the Nile; and another French fleet, that hovered off the coast of Ireland to encourage an insurrection there, was scattered by English ships-of-war under Admiral Warren. These and minor victories by the English humbled the pride of the Directory; and when there appeared omens of other disasters to their cause in Europe, and they heard of the prevailing war-spirit in the United States and the appointment of Washington to the command of a provisional army, the Directory paused in their mad career. The wily Talleyrand, ever ready to change his political coat, caused information to reach the United States government that the Directory were ready to receive advances from the former for entering into negotiations.

Without consulting his cabinet or the national dignity, President Adams nominated William Vance Murray, then the representative of the United States at the Hague, as minister plenipotentiary to France. Congress and the people were amazed, and the Senate determined not to confirm the nomination. No direct communication had been received from the Directory, and this advance after unatoned insults, seemed like cowardly cringing before a half-relenting tyrant. The President stoutly persisted for awhile, when he consented to the appointment of three envoys extraordinary, of which Mr. Murray should be one, to settle all disputes between the two governments. For this purpose Oliver Ellsworth and William R. Davie were

appointed to join Mr. Murray, but they were not to proceed to Europe until assurances should be received from France of their courteous reception there. Such assurances came from Talleyrand, and in November, 1799, the two envoys sailed for France.

Fortunately for all parties concerned, a change occurred in the government of France in the month when the envoys departed from our shores. For a long time the quarrels of factions had threatened France with anarchy. The Directory had become unpopular, and the excitable people were ripe for revolution. The brothers of Bonaparte informed him of this state of affairs at home, and he hastened from the East, with a few followers, and suddenly appeared in Paris. His brilliant exploits in the Orient had so fascinated the French, that they hailed him as the good genius of the republic. With his brother Lucien, who was then president of the *Council of Five Hundred*, and Seyes, one of the Directory and of great influence in the *Council of the Ancients*, he conspired for the overthrow of the government and the establishment of a new one.

On the morning of the 9th of November (1799), Seyes induced the *Council of Ancients* to place Bonaparte in command of the military of Paris. Then Seyes and two other members of the Directory resigned, leaving France without an Executive authority, and Bonaparte, with its strong arm—the military—firmly in his grasp. The Councils immediately perceived how they had been deceived by a trick, and assembled at St. Cloud the next morning. Bonaparte appeared at the bar of the *Ancients* to justify his conduct. Perceiving their enmity, he threatened them with military violence if they should decide against him. Meanwhile Lucien Bonaparte had read to the *Council of Five Hundred* the letter of resignation of the three Directors amid shouts from the members of “No Cromwell! no Dictator! the Constitution forever!” Bonaparte now entered that Chamber with four grenadiers and attempted to speak, but was interrupted by cries and execrations. The members appeared to be on the point of proceeding to personal violence against him, when a body of soldiers rushed in and bore him off. He was then a small, spare man, of light weight. A motion was made for his outlawry, which Lucien refused to put, but leaving the chair, he went out and made an inflammatory speech to the soldiers. At its close Murat, at the head of a body of grenadiers, entered the hall and commanded the Assembly to disperse. The members replied with shouts and execrations. The drums were ordered to be beaten, the soldiers levelled their muskets, when all but about fifty of the Council escaped by the windows. These, with the *Ancients*, passed a decree making Seyes, Bonaparte, and Ducos provisional consuls; and in December, Bonaparte was made First Consul or supreme ruler of France for life.

It was at this crisis in the political affairs of France when the American envoys reached Paris. They were cordially received by Talleyrand, by order of the First Consul, and an amicable settlement of all difficulties was soon made. A convention was signed at Paris on the 30th of September, 1800, by the American envoys and Joseph Bonaparte, C. P. E. Fluvien, and Pierre L. Rœderer, in behalf of France, which was satisfactory to both parties. The convention also made the important decision, in the face of the contrary



BONAPARTE RESCUED BY HIS SOLDIERS.

doctrine avowed and practiced by the British government, that *free ships should make free goods*. This affirmed the doctrine of Frederick the Great, enunciated fifty years before, and denied that of England in her famous "Rule" of 1756, revived in 1793. Peace was established, the envoys returned home, and the provisional army of the United States was disbanded.

While the political events just recorded were in progress, war between

the two nations actually began upon the ocean, although neither party had proclaimed hostilities. In July, 1798, the American Congress had declared the treaties between the United States and France at an end, and authorized American vessels-of-war to capture French cruisers. A marine corps was organized, and a total of thirty cruisers were provided for. Under the law for the creation of a navy, several frigates had been put in commission in 1797, but they were not ready for sea in the spring of 1798; but it was not long in the presence of impending war, before the *United States*, the *Constitution* (yet afloat), the *Constellation* and other war-vessels were out upon the ocean under such commanders as Dale, Barry, Decatur the elder, Truxton, Nicholson, and Phillips. Decatur soon captured a French corsair (April, 1798); and the British and French authorities in the West Indies were greatly surprised by the appearance of so many American cruisers in those waters in the summer and autumn of 1798. At the close of the year the American navy consisted of twenty-three vessels, with an aggregate armament of four hundred and forty-six guns.

It was at this time that the first of a series of outrages upon the flag of the republic was committed by a British naval commander, that finally aroused the people of the United States to a vindication of their honor and independence by an appeal to arms. The American cruiser *Baltimore*, Captain Phillips, in charge of a convoy of merchant vessels from Havana to Charleston, when in sight of Moro Castle fell in with a British squadron. The United States and Great Britain were then at peace, and Phillips did not expect anything from the commander of the squadron but friendship, when, to his surprise, three of the convoy were captured by the British cruisers. Phillips bore up alongside the British flag-ship to ask for an explanation, when he was informed by her commander that every man on board the *Baltimore*, who could not show a regular American protection paper, should be transferred to the British vessel. Phillips protested against the outrage; and when fifty-five of his crew were taken to the British flag-ship, he, under legal advice, surrendered his vessel with the intention of referring the matter to his government. Only five of the crew were detained by the British commander. These were impressed into the service of the royal navy, and the remainder were sent back. The *Baltimore* was released, and the British squadron sailed away with the three merchant-vessels as prizes.

This outrage—this practical application of the claims of the British government to the right of searching American vessels without leave and taking seamen from them without redress—lighted a flame of hot indignation throughout our republic. But, at that time, the American government, like

that of England, was strongly influenced, if not controlled, by the mercantile interest which had become very potential. The trade between the United States and Great Britain was rapidly increasing, and was very profitable; and the American merchants, as a body, were willing to submit to almost any insult from the "Mistress of the Seas," rather than to endanger the foundations of their prosperity by provoking hostilities with Great Britain. The American cabinet in their obsequious deference to Great Britain had actually instructed the naval commanders not to molest the



THE "CONSTITUTION" AND "L'INSURGENTE."

cruisers of any nation (the French excepted) on any account—not even to save a vessel of their own nation. The pusillanimity of this policy was now aggravated by an act of flagrant injustice and cowardice on the part of our government, that made the cheeks of true patriots crimson with shame. Captain Phillips was dismissed from the navy, without trial, because he had surrendered his vessel without making a show of resistance, and no notice was taken of the outrage by the British commander!

During the year 1799, the American navy was much strengthened by the launching and putting into commission of several new vessels. In February, the frigate *Constellation*, Commodore Truxton commanding, fell in with and captured the famous French frigate *L'Insurgente*, of 44 guns and 409 men, off the Island of Nevis, in the West Indies. The American and English press teemed with eulogies of Truxton. Many congratulatory addresses were sent to him; and the merchants of London gave him a service of silver-plate worth more than three thousand dollars, on which was

engraved a picture of the battle. For a long time a popular song called "Truxton's Victory" was sung everywhere at private and public gatherings.

Very little of importance occurred on the ocean during the remainder of that year; but at the beginning of February, 1800, Truxton, in the *Constellation*, gained a victory over the French frigate *La Vengeance*, of 54 guns and 500 men. The battle was fought on the 1st of February, off Guadeloupe. In consequence of the falling of the mainmast of the *Constellation*, the supporting shrouds of which had been cut away, the *Vengeance* escaped. For this exploit Congress gave Truxton a gold medal. *La Vengeance* would have been a rich prize. She had on board a large amount of merchandise and specie, and the governor of Guadeloupe and his family returning to France. The convention at Paris brought peace, and the navy of the United States was soon called into another field of service.

The action of President Adams in the nomination of envoys to France before official intimations from the Directory that negotiations were desirable had been received, caused very serious divisions in the Federal party. Hostile feelings, already existing, were thereby intensified, and the speedy downfall of the Federal party, as a controlling power in the government, was charged to the errors of judgment and temper on the part of Mr. Adams. He had already become unpopular because of his obstinacy and personal strictures. Very vain and egotistical, he was sensitive and jealous. His judgment was often swayed by his vivid imagination. His prejudices were violent and implacable, and his honesty and frankness, which made him almost a stranger to policy and expediency, made him very indiscreet in his expressions of opinions concerning men and measures. These characteristics made him an unfit leader of a great party. Persons who disagreed with him concerning measures of public policy, he regarded as personal enemies, and for this reason his feelings toward Hamilton were as bitter as ever were those of Jefferson. The consequence was that he was at variance with many of the leaders of the Federal party, who, regarding him as a Jonah, laid a plan to defeat his re-election to the Presidency—an event which they knew he earnestly desired should take place. The cunning Democrats fanned the flame of separation in the Federal party. Mr. Adams's political partisans succeeded in the scheme for his defeat; but they did more. They defeated the Federal party. The Democratic candidate for President, Mr. Jefferson, was elected, with Aaron Burr as Vice-President. The controlling power of that party, in the government, was then lost forever, after a most useful existence of about ten years. The odium in which Adams's administration was held was in consequence of the passage of the *Alien* and *Sedition* Laws

which he favored—laws which authorized the President to expel aliens from our country under certain conditions, and by which citizens might be punished by fine and imprisonment who might combine in opposing government measures, or who might resist the government in words, in a “false and scandalous manner.” Hamilton deprecated the laws and wrote: “Let us not establish a tyranny. Energy is a very different thing from violence.” He saw the danger, and wrote prophetically: “If we push things to the extreme, we shall then give to faction *body* and *solidity*.” A rhymist of the day wrote exultantly:

“The *Federalists* are down at last !
The *Monarchists* completely cast !
The *Aristocrats* are stripped of power—
Storms o’er the *British faction* lower.
Soon we Republicans shall see
Columbia’s sons from bondage free.
Lord ! how the *Federalists* will stare
At *Jefferson* in Adams’s chair.

In the closing month of the 18th century the inhabitants of the young republic were bereaved by the death of Washington. At his grave the hoarser croakings of the ravens of detraction were silenced, and were never heard afterward. He had led his fellow-citizens safely through the perils of war to political independence, and the equal perils of faction to the dignity of a righteous and prosperous nation.

On the 13th of December, 1799, Washington was exposed to a storm of sleet, and took cold. At three o’clock in the morning of the 14th he awoke, and found himself the victim of a severe attack of membranous croup. At daybreak, himself and Mrs. Washington being alarmed, the family physician, Dr. Craik, was sent for. In the course of the day, two other physicians were called and came. All that medical skill and affectionate devotion could do to relieve the sufferer was done, but without effect. The malady increased in intensity, and before midnight the spirit of the Beloved Patriot took its flight.

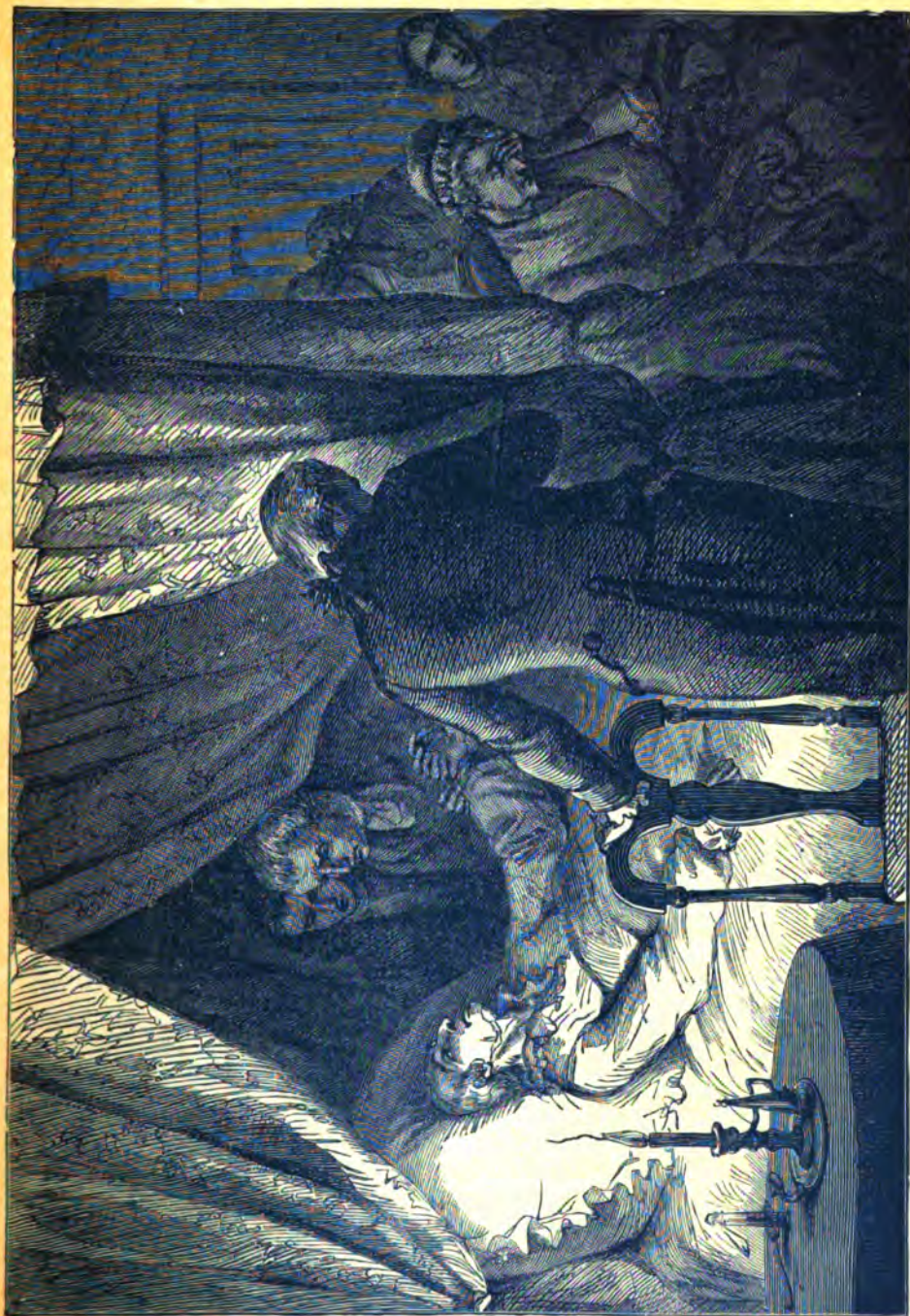
Toward evening Washington said to his friend and physician: “Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. I believed, from my first attack, that I should not survive it. My breath cannot last long.” Relatives of the family were sent for, but did not arrive in time to hear his last words. At six o’clock he said to Mr. Lear, his secretary, as the latter raised him up in bed: “I feel myself going; I thank you for your attentions; but I pray you take no more trouble about me. Let me go off quietly. I cannot last long.” At about ten o’clock he attempted to speak to Mr. Lear, but failed

several times. At length he audibly murmured: "I am just going. Have me decently buried; and don't let my body be put into the vault in less than three days after I am dead." Mr. Lear could not speak, but bowed his assent. Washington whispered: "Do you understand?" Mr. Lear replied, "Yes." "'Tis well," said the dying Patriot; and these were the last words that he spoke—"'*Tis well!*'"

"About ten minutes before he expired," Mr. Lear afterward wrote (which was between ten and eleven o'clock), "his breathing became easier. He lay quietly; he withdrew his hand from mine and felt his own pulse. I saw his countenance change. I spoke to Dr. Craik, who sat by the fire. He came to the bedside. The General's hand fell from his wrist. I took it in mine and pressed it to my bosom. Dr. Craik put his hand over his eyes, and he expired without a struggle or a sigh. While we were fixed in silent grief, Mrs. Washington, who was sitting at the foot of the bed, asked with a firm and collected voice, 'Is he gone?' I could not speak, but held up my hand as a signal that he was no more. 'Tis well,' she said, in the same voice; 'all's now over; I shall soon follow him; I have no more trials to pass through.'"

So departed the spirit of this great and good man whose body, thirty hours before, was in robust health, and which gave promise of a vigorous and serene old age. His attendants at that solemn hour were his wife, with whom he had lived forty-one years; his secretary, Mr. Lear; the three physicians, and his faithful colored body-servant Christopher, and equally faithful old colored woman, who was the nurse of the family. The style of the room in which he died (an upper chamber) and the bedstead of uncommon width on which rested his dying couch, are both delineated in the accompanying illustration copied from drawings from the originals by the author.

The news of Washington's death reached President Adams at Philadelphia by a special courier, on the morning of the 15th of December. John Marshall announced it to the assembled Congress that day, when a public funeral was decreed; and as the tidings went over the land, bells tolled funeral knells in solemn monotones. When, forty days afterward, the news reached England, the flags of the great English fleet of sixty vessels lying in Torbay were lowered to half-mast; and Bonaparte, just made First Consul, ordered a funeral oration to be pronounced before himself and the civil and military authorities of France. On an appointed day, Congress went in procession to the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, where an eloquent funeral oration was delivered by General Henry Lee, a son of the "Lowland Beauty," who was the object of Washington's first love in his youth. Con-



THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON.

gress also decreed the erection of a monument to his memory at the site of the new national capital on the banks of the Potomac, and asked the privilege (which was granted) of depositing his remains at the seat of the national government. That monument has not been erected, and the remains are in a vault at Mount Vernon. A cenotaph, constructed upon a plan unworthy of the subject, the nation, and the principles of taste, has been a-building many years; and Congress at its session in 1875-'76, made an appropriation for the purpose of completing it. It is in the form of a huge obelisk of white marble; and the original design called for an unsightly structure to surround its base. The obelisk has been carried up many feet already. It stands near the shore of the Potomac River within the limits of Washington city, and when completed will be conspicuous at a great distance; but it is simply a following of the barbarian custom of perpetuating the memory of their patriots and heroes by a *pile of stones*—an artistic improvement of the ancient cairn. How much more appropriate, artistic and useful, would have been the erection of a building at the National Capital, in the simple Doric style of architecture, into which might be gathered for all time the portraits, by painting or sculpture, of the men and women of the nation whom the whole people delight to honor for their great, and generous, and patriotic deeds. Such portraits, when looked upon by our young citizens, would tend to inspire them to imitate the lives of their great exemplars. Sallust says: "I have often heard that Quintus Maximus, Publius Scipio, and other reverend persons of the Roman Commonwealth, used to say that, whenever they beheld the images of their ancestors, they felt their minds vehemently excited to virtue. It could not be the wax, nor the marble, that possessed this power; but the recollections of their great actions kindled a generous flame in their breasts, which could not be quelled till they also, by virtue, had acquired equal fame and glory."



CHAPTER V.

SEAT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT—PRESIDENT JEFFERSON, HIS POLICY AND HIS CABINET—
CONDITION OF THE GOVERNMENT—AFFAIRS ABROAD—DIFFICULTIES WITH THE BARBARY
POWERS—OUR NAVY—WAR WITH THE BARBARY POWERS—GROWTH OF THE REPUBLIC—PUR-
CHASE OF LOUISIANA—EXPEDITION TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN ACROSS THE CONTINENT—BURR'S
SCHEMES—BLENNERHASSETT—GENERAL JACKSON—BURR'S TRIAL FOR TREASON—A POWERFUL
OPPOSITION—UNPATRIOTIC MOVEMENTS—TROUBLES WITH SPAIN AMICABLY SETTLED.

IN the summer and autumn of the year 1800, the seat of the national government was transferred from Philadelphia to the embryo city of Washington, on the banks of the Potomac and at the verge of a Maryland forest. "Woods," wrote Mrs. Adams (the wife of the President) in November, "are all you see from Baltimore until you reach the *city*, which is only so in name. Here and there is a small cot, without a glass window, interspersed among the forests, through which you travel miles without seeing a human being." Only the north wing of the capital was then finished, and the President's house was only completed externally. Mrs. Adams wrote of that as being "upon a grand and superb scale, requiring about thirty servants to attend and keep the apartments in proper order, and perform the ordinary business of the house and stables." "If they will put me up some bells," she wrote,— "for there is not one hung through the whole house, and promises are all you can obtain—and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design to be pleased. I could content myself almost anywhere for three months; but, surrounded with forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people cannot be found to cut and cart it! Briesler entered into a contract with a man to supply him with wood; a small part—a few cords only—has he been able to get. Most of that was expended to dry the walls of the house before we came in, and yesterday the man told him it was impossible to procure it to be cut and carted. He has had recourse to coals, but we cannot get grates made and set. We have, indeed, come into a *new country*."

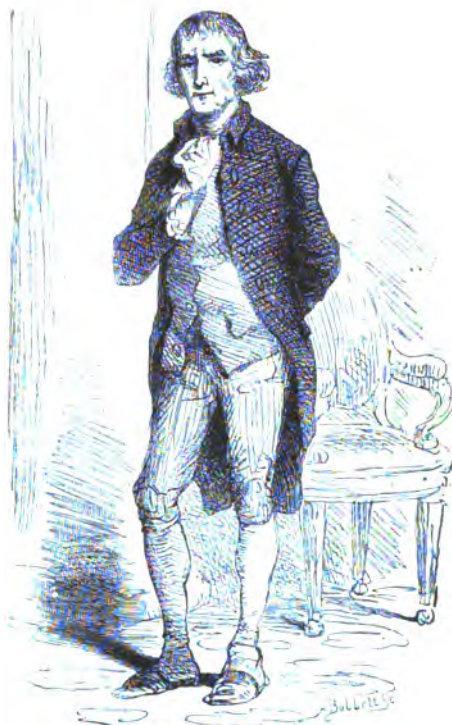
The City of Washington was laid out on a magnificent scale, in 1791, with broad avenues bearing the names of the several States of the Union radiating from the hill on which the Capitol was built, with streets intersect-

ing them in such a peculiar way, that they have ever been a puzzle to strangers. The corner-stone of the Capitol was laid by Washington, in April, 1793, with masonic ceremonies. Only the two wings were first built, and these were not completed until 1808.

The site for the city was a dreary one. At the time when the government was first seated there, only a path, leading through an alder swamp on the line of the present Pennsylvania Avenue, was the way of communication between the President's house and the Capitol. For awhile the executive and legislative officers of the government were compelled to suffer many privations there. Oliver Wolcott wrote to a friend in the fall of 1800: "There is one good tavern about forty rods from the Capitol, and several houses are built or erecting; but I don't see how the members of Congress can possibly secure lodgings unless they will consent to live like scholars in a college or monks in a monastery, crowded ten or twenty in one house. The only resource for such as wish to live comfortably will be found in Georgetown, three miles distant, over as bad a road in winter as the clay grounds near Hartford. . . . There are, in fact, but few houses in any one

place, and most of them small, miserable huts, which present an awful contrast to the public buildings. The people are poor, and, as far as I can judge, they live like fishes, by eating each other. . . . You may look in any direction over an extent of ground nearly as large as the City of New York, without seeing a fence or any object except brick-kilns and temporary huts for laborers. . . . There is no industry, society, or business."

Mr. Jefferson began his administration on the 4th of March, 1801, under favorable auspices. He was then in the fifty-eighth year of his age—a tall, bony man, with grizzled sandy hair, and rather sloven in dress. He affected



JEFFERSON'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

republican simplicity in all things, and sometimes carried this notion to extremes. Senator William Plummer, writing in 1802, said: "The next day after my arrival I visited the President, accompanied by some Democratic members. In a few moments after our arrival a tall, high-boned man came into the room. He was dressed, or rather undressed, in an old brown coat, red waistcoat, old corduroy small clothes much soiled, woolen hose, and slippers without heels. I thought him a servant, when General Varnum surprised me by announcing it was the President."

Mr. Jefferson indicated his policy, as follows, in a letter to Nathaniel Macon: "1. Levees are done away with. 2. The first communication to the next Congress will be, like all subsequent ones, by message, to which no answer will be expected. 3. The diplomatic establishment in Europe will be reduced to three ministers. 4. The compensation of collectors depends on you [Congress], and not on me. 5. The army is undergoing a chaste reformation. 6. The navy will be reduced to the legal establishment by the last of this month [May, 1801]. 7. Agencies in every department will be revised. 8. We shall push you to the uttermost in economizing. 9. A very early recommendation has been given to the Postmaster-General to employ no printer, foreigner, or Revolutionary Tory in any of his offices." Mr. Jefferson appointed James Madison Secretary of State; Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War; and Levi Lincoln, Attorney-General. He retained Mr. Adams's Secretaries of the Treasury and Navy, until the following autumn, when Albert Gallatin, a naturalized foreigner, was appointed to the first-named office, and Robert Smith, to the second. The President early resolved to reward his political friends, when he came to "revise" the "agencies in every department." Three days after his inauguration, he wrote to Colonel Monroe: "I have firmly refused to follow the counsels of those who have desired the giving of offices to some of the Federalist leaders in order to reconcile. I have given, and will give, only to Republicans, under existing circumstances." The doctrine, ever since acted upon, that "to the victor belongs the spoils," was then practically promulgated from the fountain-head of government patronage; and with a Cabinet wholly Democratic when Congress met in December, 1800, and with the minor offices filled with his political friends, Mr. Jefferson began his Presidential career of eight years' duration. In his inaugural address, he had said: "Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Federalists—we are all Republicans." Vigor and enlightened views marked his course; and even his political opponents were compelled to confess his forecast and sound judgment in regard to the national policy.

The machinery of the government was now adjusted to an easy-working condition. The treasury was never so full nor the revenue so abundant; and Jefferson was enabled to signalize his accession to office by the repeal of the Excise Law and other obnoxious acts. There were omens of peace abroad, and these promised calmness and prosperity at home. Bonaparte had, in the space of about ten years, as First Consul, brought nearly all Europe trembling at his feet. The old thrones shook in his presence, and when he whispered peace, the nations listened eagerly. The geographical lines of dominions, on the map of Europe, had been changed by his conquests. Only England now remained an armed opponent of the Corsican ruler of France, for by treaties and otherwise, he had conciliated the others; and because of her mischievous doctrines, practically enforced, concerning the freedom of neutrals, the Armed Neutrality of 1780 was revived. Bonaparte threatened her island domain with invasion, and the tramp of a conquering army on the soil of her East India possessions; England arose in her might and defied Europe, and her ships continued to be seen

"Riding without a rival on the sea."

The insolence of the North African pirates now became unbearable, and the United States resolved to cease paying tribute to the Barbary Powers. Captain Bainbridge had been sent, in 1800, in the frigate *George Washington*, to pay the usual tribute to the Dey of Algiers, and had been treated with cruel insolence by that ruler. After performing the errand courteously, and when he was about to leave, the Dey commanded Bainbridge to carry an Algerian ambassador to the Court of the Sultan at Constantinople. Bainbridge politely refused compliance, when the haughty governor said: "You pay me tribute, by which you become my slave, and therefore I have a right to order you as I think proper." Bainbridge could not sail out of the harbor of Algiers without the permission of the vigilant guns of the castle, and was compelled to yield. He bore the swarthy ambassador to the Golden Horn, when the Sultan saw our starry-flag for the first time. He had never heard of the United States of America. His own flag was garnished with a *crescent*, and he considered it a favorable omen for a flag bearing the *stars* of heaven to enter the waters of the seat of the Moslem Empire.

Bainbridge was granted a *firman* to protect him from further insolence from the Barbary rulers, and he used it efficiently. When he returned to Algiers, he was ordered by the Dey to go on another errand to Constantinople, when the captain peremptorily refused. The African, enraged, sprang from his seat, and threatening Bainbridge with personal injury, ordered his attendants to seize him. Bainbridge quietly produced the *fir-*

man, when the lion became like a lamb. The Dey obsequiously offered the man whom he had just regarded as his slave, his friendship and service. Bainbridge, assuming the air of a dictator, demanded the instant release of the French consul and fifty or sixty of his own countrymen, whom the Dey had imprisoned, and they were borne away in the *Washington* in triumph. Then he wrote to the Secretary of the Navy: "I hope I shall never again be sent to Algiers with tribute, unless I am authorized to deliver it from the mouth of our Cannon."

When news of these proceedings reached the United States, it excited much indignation. The navy, the strong right-arm of the government, which had enabled commerce, under its protection, to sell to foreign nations during the difficulties with France, the surplus products of our republic to the amount of \$200,000,000, and to import sufficient to yield a revenue to the government of more than \$23,000,000, was then paralyzed by the exercise of unwise economy on the part of the government, which had authorized the sale of all the naval vessels excepting thirteen frigates. Yet these were decreed sufficient to meet the immediate demands for the protection of American commerce in the Mediterranean Sea.

In the spring of 1801, President Jefferson, in anticipation of trouble with the Barbary powers, ordered Commodore Dale to go with a squadron, composed of the frigates *President*, *Philadelphia*, *Essex* and *Enterprise*, to cruise off the North African coasts. Dale reached Gibraltar on the first of July, and found that Tripoli had lately declared war against the United States, and its corsairs were out upon the sea. His presence effectually restrained the pirates, and made them quite circumspect. The next year a larger squadron, composed of the frigates *Chesapeake*, *Constitution*, *New York*, *John Adams*, *Adams*, and *Enterprise*, commanded by Commodore Richard V. Morris, were sent to the same waters, one after another, from February to September. The harbor of Tripoli was blockaded in May, and not long afterward the *Chesapeake*, Lieutenant Chauncey acting-captain, had a severe fight with a flotilla of Tripolitan gun-boats. These, as well as some cavalry on shore, were severely handled by this frigate. Finally, in 1803, the whole squadron appeared off the coasts of the Barbary powers, and effectually protected American commerce from the corsairs, for awhile. But Morris's cruise was not regarded as an efficient one. A court of inquiry decided that he had not "discovered due diligence and activity in annoying the enemy," and the President dismissed him from the service, without trial.

In August, 1803, Commodore Preble, in command of a squadron, sailed for the Mediterranean in the frigate *Constitution*. After settling some difficulties with the Emperor of Morocco, whose corsairs were on the sea, he

appeared with his vessels before the harbor of Tripoli, where a serious disaster occurred. The frigate *Philadelphia*, commanded by Captain Bainbridge, while reconnoitering the harbor, struck a rock and was captured by the Tripolitans. Her officers were made prisoners-of-war, and her crew were made slaves. When the news reached Preble at Malta, a plan was devised



DECATUR BOARDING THE "PHILADELPHIA."

for the destruction of the *Philadelphia* before her captors could make her ready for sea. Lieutenant Decatur, with seventy-four volunteers—ardent and gallant young men like himself—sailed from Syracuse in a small vessel called a "ketch," named the *Intrepid*. She entered the harbor of Tripoli on the evening of the 3d of February, 1804, in the disguise of a vessel in distress, and was moored alongside the *Philadelphia*. Decatur and his men were concealed below, when suddenly they burst from the hatches like a destructive flame, leaped on board the *Philadelphia*, and after a desperate fight, killed or drove into the sea her turbaned occupants. Then they set her on fire and escaped by the light, under cover of a heavy cannonade from the

American squadron, and followed by shots from the castle, vessels at anchor in the harbor, and batteries on shore. Yet not one of Decatur's men was harmed. Before a favoring breeze they sailed to Syracuse, where they were greeted with joy by the American squadron there. The scene of the burning vessel was magnificent. As the guns of the *Philadelphia* were heated, they were discharged, giving a grand *feu de joie* for the victory.

This bold act alarmed the Bashaw, and subsequent events made him very discreet. In August following, Preble, with his squadron, opened a heavy bombardment upon his town, castle, shore-batteries, and flotilla of gun-boats, no less than four times, between the 3d and the 28th. In one of these engagements Decatur again distinguished himself. In command of a gun-boat, he laid her alongside one of the largest of the Tripolitan vessels, boarded her, and made her a prize. Then he boarded another, when he had a desperate personal encounter with her powerful captain. The struggle was brief but fearful. Decatur killed his antagonist, and the vessel was captured. Finally, on the 28th of August, Preble, with his flag-ship, the *Constitution*, entered the harbor, when her great guns opened a heavy fire upon the town, the castle, the batteries on shore and the camps of twenty-five thousand land troops, and the flotilla in the harbor. She silenced the Tripolitan guns, sunk a Tunisian vessel-of-war, damaged a Spanish one, severely bruised the enemy's galleys and gun-boats, and then withdrew without a man hurt.

Another attack was made on the 2d of September. On that night—a very dark one—the *Intrepid*, which had been converted into a floating mine—an immense torpedo—with one hundred barrels of gunpowder below her deck, and a large quantity of shot, shell, and irregular pieces of iron lying over them, went into the harbor under the general direction of Captain Somers, to scatter destruction among the vessels of the enemy. She was towed in by two boats, with brave crews, in which it was expected all would escape, after firing combustibles on board of her. All hearts in the American squadron followed the *Intrepid* as she disappeared in the gloom. Suddenly a lurid flame, like that from a volcano, shot up from the bosom of the harbor, and lighted with its horrid glare the town, castle, batteries, ships, camps, and surrounding hills. It was followed by an explosion that shook the earth and sea, and flaming masts and sails and fiery bombs rained upon the waters for a moment, when darkness more profound settled upon the scene. The safety-boats were anxiously watched for until the dawn. They never returned, and no man of that perilous expedition was heard of afterward. Their names are inscribed upon a monument erected to the memory of these brave men, and the event, that stands at the western front of the Capitol at Washington city. Hostilities on the Barbary coast now ceased

for the season. Preble was relieved by Commodore Samuel Barron, and early in 1805 he returned home, and received the homage of the nation's gratitude.

While Barron's ships blockaded Tripoli, an important land movement against that province was undertaken, under the general management of William Eaton, American consul at Tunis. The reigning Bashaw of Tripoli was an usurper, who had murdered his father and taken the seat of power from his brother, Hamet Caramalli. The latter had fled to Egypt. A plan was concerted between him and General Eaton for the restoration of his rights. The latter acted under the sanction of his government. Eaton went to Egypt, and at the beginning of March he left Alexandria, accompanied by Hamet and his followers, some Egyptian soldiers, and seventy United States seamen. They made a march of a thousand miles across the borders of the Libyan desert; and at near the close of April, in conjunction with two American vessels, they captured the Tripolitan city of Derne, on the borders of the Mediterranean Sea. They had defeated the Tripolitan forces in two battles, and were about to march on the capital when news came that the American consul-general (Tobias Lear) had made a treaty of peace with the terrified Bashaw. So ended the hopes of Hamet, and also the four years' war with Tripoli. But the ruler of Tunis was yet insolent. He was speedily humbled by Commodore Rodgers, Barron's successor, and the power of the United States was respected and feared by the half-barbarians of the north of Africa. Pope Pius the Seventh declared that the Americans had done more for Christendom against the pirates than all the powers of Europe united.

While these events were occurring on the Mediterranean and its borders, our Republic had been growing rapidly in political and moral strength, and by the expansion of its domain. During Mr. Jefferson's first term, one State (Ohio) and two Territories (Indiana and Illinois) had been formed out of the free Northwestern Territory. Ohio was organized as an independent territory in the year 1800, and in the fall of 1802, it was admitted into the Union as a State. At that time there was great excitement in the country west of the Alleghany Mountains, in consequence of a violation of the treaty made with Spain in 1795, by the governor of Louisiana, in closing the port of New Orleans against the commerce of our Republic. There was a proposition before Congress for taking forcible possession of that region, when it was ascertained that by a secret treaty Spain had retroceded Louisiana to France. Negotiations were immediately begun for the purchase of that domain from France, by the United States. Robert R. Livingston, the American minister at the court of the First Consul, found very little diffi-

culty in making a bargain with Bonaparte, for the latter wanted money and desired to injure England by strengthening her rivals. He sold that magnificent domain, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico northward to the present State of Minnesota, and from the Mississippi westward toward the Pacific Ocean, for the sum of fifteen million dollars. The bargain was made in the spring of 1803, and in the fall the country, which added nine hundred thousand square miles to our territory, was taken possession of by the United States. When the bargain was closed, Bonaparte said, prophetically: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." Out of that domain have been carved some of our most opulent States and Territories.

The same year when Louisiana was bought, President Jefferson, by a confidential message to Congress, proposed the first of those peaceable conquests which have opened, and are still opening, to civilization and human industry, the vast inland regions of our continent, then unknown. He recommended an appropriation to defray the expenses of an exploring expedition across the continent from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean. The appropriation was made, and an expedition was afterward organized under the control of Captains Lewis and Clarke, consisting of a little less than thirty persons. They left the western shore of the Mississippi on the 14th of May, 1804, traversed the continent between the great river and the "South Sea" of the earlier explorers, and in the course of twenty-seven months, completed their labors, by which the first reliable information was obtained respecting the vast country which they had penetrated and passed through.

The Spaniards did not like the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States. The Spanish minister at Washington protested against the bargain. Questions concerning the true boundaries of the territory were raised. The Spaniards were disposed to hold all the country east of the Mississippi, and so retain New Orleans. This disposition aroused the resentment of the people of the West against the occupants of the Lower Mississippi Valley, and our government was disposed to assert its rights by force of arms, if necessary. Regular troops under General Wilkinson, and militia from Tennessee, assembled at Natchez as a sort of army of observation. But a peaceful transfer of the domain was made. The boundaries were defined, and the Spaniards were left in possession of the country along the Gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic Ocean, east of a line nearly corresponding with the present boundary between Louisiana and Mississippi, on the Pearl River, and south of the thirty-first degree of latitude. It was known as the Floridas.

The country was agitated by stirring events in the region beyond the



EMIGRATION TO THE WESTERN COUNTRY.

Alleghanies in 1805, and for a year or two afterward. The fertile valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi were rapidly filling with adventurers and settlers, and materials for new States, sufficient to make an empire, were rapidly gathering. The stream of navigation was flowing full from the east, down the western slopes of the great hills. Michigan was erected into a Territory that year (1805); and all along the Mississippi, settlements were taking deep



EMIGRATION TO THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

root and flourishing. These were generally composed of hardy and venturesome men and women ready for any honorable enterprise that promised gain.

At that time there was a prevailing opinion in our country that the Spanish inhabitants in Louisiana would not quietly submit to the rule of our government. Taking advantage of this belief, and the restless spirits of the inhabitants who were forming States in the Great Valley, Aaron Burr, an ardent politician and expert and unscrupulous intriguer, who had been Vice-President of the United States during Jefferson's first term, thought he saw an opportunity to make circumstances subservient to his own ambitious

views. In the summer of 1804, he had murdered General Hamilton in a duel, and became an outcast from society. He was tolerated only by his political party, and was not renominated with Mr. Jefferson. Smarting under the stings of neglect and the "good man's contumely," he was ready to attempt the execution of any scheme that promised a retrieval of his fame and fortune. He seems to have contemplated one in which the fortunes of the inhabitants west of the mountains were involved, but what it was exactly will never be made known, for the chief actors are dead and have "left no sign." It was thought that he intended to dis sever the Union, and set up an independent republic in the West with himself at the head. Others have believed that his scheme was to organize a strong military force in the West, and with it to invade Mexico, wrest that country from Spain, and set up an independent government there with himself at the head, either as president or monarch. It is certain that General Wilkinson, who was in command of United States troops in the West at that time, was associated with Burr for awhile in his schemes, whatever they may have been.

In the spring of 1805, Burr departed for the West, giving deceptive reasons for his journey. He went down the Ohio River in an open boat, and on a pleasant morning in May he appeared at the charming island home of Herman Blennerhassett, an Irish gentleman possessed of a fine education, scientific tastes, an ample fortune, and a beautiful and accomplished wife. He was seated upon an island in the Ohio River, near the mouth of the Muskingum River; not far from Marietta, where he had a beautiful and happy home, enriched with books, adorned with pictures, enlivened with music from the lips and by the skillful fingers of Mrs. Blennerhassett as she touched the harp and guitar and sang sweet airs, and made attractive to the man of science and taste by conservatories of rare plants and fine pleasure-grounds. It was the resort of persons of the best minds beyond the mountains.

Into that paradise the wily serpent crept, and repeated the story of the fall. Mrs. Blennerhassett, an ambitious woman with an enthusiastic nature, was tempted by the apple of Burr's seductive promises of wealth, power, and immortal honors, and she persuaded her husband to eat of the fruit. He placed his fortune and reputation at the disposal of that heartless demagogue, and lost both. He was driven by necessity from his lost paradise, and died in comparative poverty.

Burr, at first, gained the confidence of that stern patriot, Andrew Jackson, whom he visited at his log-dwelling at the "Hermitage," near Nashville. They corresponded for a time after Burr returned to the East in the fall of 1805, and so active were the schemer and his few partisans in the West in

1806, that a military organization was partly effected. He had overcome General Wilkinson with his wiles; and so strong was the confidence of Jackson in the integrity of Burr, that when the latter again visited the Hermitage early in the autumn of 1806, the former procured for him a public ball at Nashville, at which the tall hero, in military dress, led the little adventurer in his suit of black into the room, and introduced him to the ladies and gentlemen present. Circumstances soon afterward caused Jackson to suspect Burr's fidelity to his country, and he communicated his suspicions to Governor Claiborne at New Orleans. The national government



AARON BURR ON THE OHIO.

received similar warnings, and took measures to crush the viper in its egg. Burr's arrest was ordered, and this was accomplished in February, 1807, near Fort Stoddart, in Alabama, by Lieutenant (afterward Major-General) E. P. Gaines. Burr was taken to Richmond, in Virginia, and there tried for treason. The evidence seemed to show that his probable design was an invasion of the Mexican provinces and not a dismemberment of the Union, and he was acquitted.

With the acquisition of Louisiana, there grew up a powerful opposition to the administration, on the North and East. The idea was disseminated that the transaction was a scheme to strengthen the South, and with it the Southern Democracy, into whose hands the control of the government had fallen. In past times the prescription of disunion as a remedy for political evils had been a favorite one with that Democracy. The Opposition now approved it, or rather the very radical men of that party did. In the years

1803 and 1804, desires for a disseverance from the South were freely expressed in the States east and north of the Potomac and Susquehanna. A convention of leading Federalists to consult upon the measure, was called at Boston in 1804, to which Alexander Hamilton was invited; but his emphatic condemnation of such an unpatriotic course, only a short time before his death, disconcerted the leaders and dissipated their schemes. In the New York State Senate, in 1809, DeWitt Clinton, alluding to this act of Hamilton, said: "To his honor be it spoken, it was rejected by him with abhorrence and disdain."

At about the time when Burr conceived his schemes, trouble between Spain and the United States had occurred, and, for awhile, threatened to kindle a flame of war between the two governments. The United States had preferred a claim against Spain for indemnity for spoliations committed against the commerce of our country by Spanish cruisers under their own and the French flags. The liability on the part of those under the Spanish flag was admitted, and by an agreement negotiated in 1802, a commission to adjust the claims was authorized; but the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, and questions growing out of that act, and claims to a portion of Florida, seemed to indicate a determination on the part of our government to take that portion of the Spanish domain by force of arms, if necessary. Spain, highly offended, refused to carry out the agreement concerning indemnity, and, for awhile, the political firmament appeared very lowering. But, as we have observed, the boundaries were amicably settled by satisfactory definitions, and the clouds passed away.

We must now look to events in Europe as the beginning of serious difficulties between our country and Great Britain, which finally led to war between them.



CHAPTER VI.

NAPOLEON EMPEROR—ENGLAND AND FRANCE—BRITISH JEALOUSY—THE RULE OF 1756—DEPRE-
DATIONS ON AMERICAN COMMERCE—NON-IMPORTATION—ORDERS IN COUNCIL AND DECREES
—THE "CHESAPEAKE" AND "LEOPARD"—ACTION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—
FURTHER ORDERS AND DECREES—DESTRUCTION OF COMMERCE—EMBARGO ACT—TRIBUTE
TO GREAT BRITAIN DEMANDED—OPPOSITION TO THE EMBARGO—A DUEL—PRESIDENT MAD-
ISON—THE AMERICANS DECEIVED—PERFIDY OF NAPOLEON—"PRESIDENT" AND "LITTLE
BELT"—THE TWO NAVYS—TROUBLE WITH THE INDIANS—BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.

THE First Consul of France had procured his election to a seat on an imperial throne, in the spring of 1804; and on the 2d of December following, he appeared before the altar of the Church of Notre Dame, in Paris, where he was consecrated "The High and Mighty Napoleon the First, Emperor of the French." In 1806 he was monarch of Italy, and his three brothers were made ruling sovereigns. Then he was upon the full tide of successful domination, and a large part of continental Europe was prostrate at his feet. England had joined the continental powers against him in 1803, in order to crush out the Democratic revolution which had occurred in France, and threatened the peace of the United Kingdom; and the British navy had almost destroyed the French power on the sea. At the same time American shipping enjoyed the privilege of free intercourse between the ports of England and France, and pursued a very profitable carrying trade which unforeseen circumstances soon destroyed.

The envious shipping-merchants of Great Britain, and her navy officers and privateersmen who could then obtain very few prizes lawfully, represented to their government that the Americans, under the guise of neutrality, were secretly aiding the French. This hint caused that government to revive in full force the "rule of 1756" concerning neutrals; and orders were secretly issued authorizing British cruisers to seize and British admiralty courts to condemn as prizes American vessels and their cargoes that might be captured by British cruisers.

The depredations by these cruisers upon American commerce were commenced under the most frivolous and absurd pretexts, and the most intense indignation was aroused throughout the United States. Memorials from merchants in all the seaboard towns and cities were presented to Congress,

in which the Democrats, with Mr. Jefferson (just re-elected) at their head, had an overwhelming majority. This and other grievances inflicted by the British government were discussed. Among them the alleged right of search which the British put forth, was paramount; and on the recommendation of the President, Congress, in the spring of 1806, passed an act prohibiting the importation into the United States of many of the more important manufactures of Great Britain, after the first of November following. In May William Pinckney was sent to London to join Mr. Monroe, the American minister there, in negotiating a treaty with the British government concerning the rights of neutrals, the impressment of seamen, and the right of search. A treaty was finally signed, but as it did not offer security to American vessels against the aggressions of British cruisers in searching for and carrying off seamen, the President would not lay it before the Senate.

A new difficulty now arose. In their anxiety to injure each other, the British and French governments ceased to respect the rights of other nations, and dealt heavy blows at the life of the commerce of the world. In this business Great Britain took the lead. On the 16th of May (1806) that government, by an order in council, declared the whole coast of Europe from the Elbe to Brest to be in a state of blockade. Napoleon retaliated by issuing a decree from Berlin on the 21st of November, in which he declared all the British islands to be in a state of blockade. This was intended as a blow against Britain's maritime supremacy, and was the beginning of the Emperor's "Continental System," designed to ruin Great Britain. The latter, by another order in council issued January, 1807, prohibited all coast trade with France. So these desperate powers played with the world's commerce in their mad efforts to injure each other. American vessels were seized by both English and French cruisers, and American commerce dwindled to a merely coast trade. Our republic lacked a competent navy to protect our commerce on the high seas; and the swarm of gun-boats (small sailing-vessels having each a cannon in the bow and stern), which Congress had authorized from time to time, were insufficient for a coast-guard.

Early in 1807, American commerce was almost swept from the sea by the operations of the "orders" and "decrees." The French had withheld the operation of the decrees for full a year, but the British cruisers had been let loose at once. This produced bitter feelings toward the government of Great Britain on the part of the Americans, and this was intensified by the haughty assertion and offensive practice of the British doctrine of the right of search for suspected deserters from the royal navy, and to carry away the suspected without hindrance. This right was claimed on the ground that a

British-born subject could never expatriate himself, and that his government might take him, wherever found, and place him in the army or navy, although, by legal process, he may have been made a citizen of another nation. This right of search and seizure had been strenuously denied and its policy strongly condemned, because American seamen might be thus forced into the British service under the false pretext that they were deserters. This had already happened. It had been proven, after thorough investigation, that since the promulgation of the British rule of 1756, a dozen years before, nearly three hundred seamen, a greater portion of them Americans, had been taken from vessels and pressed into the British service.

A crisis now approached. A small British squadron lay in American waters near the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, watching some French frigates blockaded at Annapolis, in the spring of 1807. Three of the crew of one of the vessels, and one of another had deserted, and enlisted on board the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, lying at the Washington Navy Yard. The British minister made a formal demand for their surrender. Our government refused compliance, because it was ascertained that two of the men (one colored) were natives of the United States, and there was strong presumptive evidence that a third was, likewise. No more was said, but the commander of the British squadron took the matter into his own hands. The *Chesapeake*, on going to sea on the morning of the 22d of June (1807), bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Barron, was intercepted by the British frigate *Leopard*, whose commander hailed the commodore and informed him that he had a despatch for him. Unsuspicious of unfriendliness, the *Chesapeake* was laid to, when a British boat bearing a lieutenant came alongside. That officer was politely received by Barron, in his cabin, when the former presented a demand from the commander of the *Leopard* to allow the bearer to muster the crew of the *Chesapeake*, that he might select and carry away the alleged deserters. The demand was authorized by instructions received from Vice-Admiral Berkeley, at Halifax. Barron told the lieutenant that his crew should not be mustered, excepting by his own officers, when the latter withdrew and the *Chesapeake* moved on.

Barron, suspecting mischief, had caused his vessel to be prepared for action as far as possible. The *Leopard* followed, and her commander called out to the commodore through his trumpet: "Commodore Barron must be aware that the vice-admiral's commands must be obeyed." This was repeated. The *Chesapeake* kept on her way, when the *Leopard* sent two shots athwart her bows. These were followed by the remainder of the broadside that poured shot into the hull of the *Chesapeake*. The latter was unable to return the fire, for her guns had no priming-powder. Not a shot

could be returned; and after being severely bruised by repeated broadsides, she was surrendered to the assailant. Her crew was mustered by British officers; the deserters were carried away, and the *Chesapeake* was left to pursue her voyage or return. The "vice-admiral's command" had been obeyed. One of the deserters, who was a British subject, was hung at Halifax, and the three Americans were spared from the gallows only on the condition that they should re-enter the British service.

The indignation of the American people was hot because of this outrage. The President issued a proclamation at the beginning of July, ordering all British armed vessels to leave the waters of the United States, and forbidding any to enter them until ample satisfaction should be given. A demand for redress was made upon the British government, when an envoy extraordinary was sent to Washington city to settle the difficulty. He was instructed to do nothing until the President's proclamation should be withdrawn. So the matter stood for more than four years, when, in 1811, the British government disavowed the act. Meanwhile Commodore Barron had been tried on a charge of neglect of duty in not being prepared for action, found guilty, and suspended from service for five years without pay or emolument.

During the year 1807, American genius and enterprise achieved a great triumph in science and art, by the successful and permanent establishment of navigation by the power of steam. This was accomplished by Robert Fulton and Chancellor Livingston. At the beginning of September, 1807, the *Clermont*, the first steamboat built by these gentlemen, made a voyage from New York to Albany, one hundred and sixty miles, in thirty-six hours, against wind and tide; and from that time until now navigation by steam, for travel and commerce, has been steadily increasing in volume and perfection, until such vessels may now be seen on every ocean and in almost every harbor of the globe, even among the ice-pack of polar seas. This was the second of the great and beneficent achievements which have distinguished American inventors during the last eighty years. The cotton-gin, invented by Eli Whitney, was the first; an implement that can do the work of a thousand persons in cleaning cotton-wool of the seeds. That machine has been one of the most important aids in the accumulation of our national wealth.

Another heavy blow was struck at American commerce late in 1807. A British order in council issued on the 11th of November, forbade all neutral nations to trade with France or her allies, except upon the payment of a tribute to Great Britain. Napoleon retaliated by issuing a decree at Milan, in Italy, on the 17th of December, forbidding all trade with England and

her colonies; and authorizing the confiscation of any vessel found in his ports which had submitted to English search, or paid the tribute exacted. These edicts almost stopped the commercial operations of the civilized world. American foreign commerce was annihilated. The President had called Congress together at an earlier day (October 25) than usual, to consider the critical state of public affairs; and in a confidential message, he recommended that body to pass an act levying a commercial embargo. Such an



AARON BURR.

ROBERT FULTON.

R. R. LIVINGSTON.

act was passed on the 22d of December, 1807, by which all American and foreign vessels in our ports were detained and all American vessels abroad were ordered home *immediately*, that the seamen might be trained for the impending war in defence of sacred rights.

This act caused widespread distress in commercial communities, and the firmness of the government and the patriotism of the people were severely tried for more than a year, under aggravated insults by the British government which exacted tribute in a form more odious than that of the North

African robbers. In the spring of 1808, the British Parliament, with an air of condescension, passed an act permitting Americans to trade with France and her dependencies, on the condition that vessels engaged in such trade should first enter some British port, pay a transit duty, and take out a license. In other words, Great Britain said to the United States, with as much insolence as the Dey of Algiers, "Pay me tribute, and my cruisers (or corsairs) will be instructed not to plunder you."

The embargo was denounced by the opposition with great vehemence as an unwise provocative of war. Josiah Quincy, the leader of the Federalists in Congress, said in debate: "Let us once declare to the world that, before our embargo policy be abandoned, the French decrees and the British orders in council must be revoked, and we league against us whatever spirit of honor and pride exists in both those nations. . . . No nation will be easily brought to acknowledge such a dependence on another as to be made to abandon, by a withholding of intercourse, a settled line of policy." It drew from William Cullen Bryant the poet, then a lad only thirteen years of age, a sharp, satirical poem. It was called a "Terrapin policy"—the policy that would shut up the nation in its own shell—and it was caricatured as such by the pencil of Jarvis and the burin of Dr. Anderson. The wise words of Quincy were justified when he said: "A nation mistakes its relative importance and consequence in thinking that its countenance, or its intercourse, or its existence, is all important to the rest of mankind." The embargo failed to obtain from France or Great Britain the slightest acknowledgment of American rights, and it was repealed on the first day of March, 1809—three days before Mr. Jefferson left the Presidential chair to make room for James Madison, who had been elected to succeed him as chief magistrate of the republic. On the same day Congress passed an act forbidding all commercial intercourse with France and Great Britain until the "orders in council" and the "decrees" should be repealed.

In the debates on the embargo, the most violent attacks upon the administration and its supporters were sometimes indulged in, upon the floor of Congress. In this course, Barent Gardinier, of New York, was most conspicuous, making sweeping charges of corruption. His violence and abuse was such that severe personal allusion to Gardinier was elicited from Campbell of Tennessee. Gardinier challenged him to mortal combat. They met at Bladensburg, when Gardinier was severely wounded in the side, and was borne, fainting, from the field. He soon recovered; and when he reappeared in the House, he was as violent as ever.

It was at this troublous period in our history that Mr. Madison of Virginia began his administration of eight years as President of the republic,

with George Clinton of New York as Vice-President. The general aspect of national affairs then was fairly drawn (though somewhat highly-colored) in a report of a committee of the Massachusetts legislature in January, 1809, which said: "Our agriculture is discouraged; the fisheries abandoned; navigation forbidden; our commerce at home restrained, if not annihilated; our commerce abroad cut off; our navy sold, dismantled, or degraded to the service of cutters or gun-boats; the revenue extinguished; the course of justice interrupted; and the nation weakened by internal animosities and divisions, at the moment when it is unnecessarily and improvidently exposed to war with Great Britain, France, and Spain." It was believed that the new President would perpetuate the policy of Jefferson; but when, dressed in a suit of plain black cloth, he modestly pronounced his inaugural address before a multitude of eager spectators, on the 4th of March, 1809, the tone and temper of that speech fell like oil upon troubled waters. His most placable political enemies who heard him, and those who read the address, could not refrain from uttering words of approbation; and the whole nation entertained hopes that his measures might change the gloomy aspect of public affairs. He had able constitutional advisers in Robert Smith as Secretary of State; Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury; William Eustis, Secretary of War; Paul Hamilton, Secretary of the Navy, and Cæsar Rodney, Attorney-General. There was a powerful party in the nation hostile to his political creed and opposed to war with Great Britain, which then seemed to be an event in the near future.

At the beginning of his administration, Madison was assured by the British minister at Washington (Mr. Erskine) that such portions of the orders in council as affected the United States would be repealed by the 10th of June; and that a special envoy would be sent by his government to adjust all matters in dispute. Regarding these assurances as official, the event seemed like a ray of sunlight among the tempestuous clouds. The



JAMES MADISON.

President issued a proclamation on the 19th of April (1809) permitting a renewal of commercial intercourse with Great Britain from that day; but the British government disavowed Erskine's act, and in August the President, by proclamation, renewed the restrictions. This event produced intense excitement throughout our country; and had the President then proclaimed war against Great Britain, it would undoubtedly have been a popular measure.

In the spring of 1810 (March 23) Bonaparte issued a decree at Rambouillet more destructive in its consequences to American commerce than any measure yet employed. It declared forfeit every American vessel which had entered French ports since March 1, or that might thereafter enter; and authorized the sale of the same together with their cargoes, and the proceeds to be placed in the French treasury. Under this decree many American vessels were lost, for which even partial remuneration was not obtained until almost thirty years afterward. It was justified by Bonaparte by the plea that it was made in retaliation for the American decree of non-intercourse. In May following, Congress offered to resume commercial intercourse with either France or England, or both, on condition that they should repeal their obnoxious "orders" and "decrees" before the 3d of March, 1811. Napoleon, a man of expediency and not of principle, feigned compliance. He assured our government that the repeal of the decrees should take effect in November following. On this assurance the President proclaimed a resumption of commercial intercourse with France. The monarch intended to break the solemn promise at any moment when policy should so dictate. American vessels were seized by French cruisers and confiscated as freely as ever. In March, 1811, Napoleon declared the decrees of Berlin and Milan to be a part of the fundamental laws of the empire; and a new envoy sent from France gave official notice to our government, that no remuneration would be allowed for property seized and confiscated.

Great Britain not only continued her hostile orders, but sent ships-of-war to cruise off the principal ports of the United States to intercept American merchant-vessels and send them to England as lawful prizes. In this business the *Little Belt*, Captain Bingham, a British sloop-of-war, was engaged in the spring of 1811 off the coast of Virginia, where she was met on the 16th of April by the American frigate *President*, Captain Ludlow, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Rodgers. The latter hailed the commander of the sloop, asking—"What ship is that?" and received a cannon-shot in reply. "Equally determined," said Rodgers in his report, "not to be the aggressor, or suffer the flag of my country to be insulted with impunity, I gave a general order to fire." After a very brief action. Captain

Bingham, having eleven men killed and twenty-one wounded, gave a satisfactory answer. The vessels parted company, the *Little Belt* sailing for Halifax.

The conduct of both officers, in this affair, was approved by their respective governments. That of the United States and the people regarded the conduct of Captain Bingham as an outrage without palliation; and the Americans were willing to take up arms in defence of what they regarded as right, justice, and honor. They knew the strength of the British navy and the weakness of their own, yet they were willing to accept war as an alternative for submission, and to measure strength on the ocean. At that time the British navy consisted of almost *nine hundred* vessels, with an aggregate of one hundred and forty-four thousand men. The American vessels-of-war, of large size, numbered only *twelve*, with about three hundred guns. There was a large number of gun-boats, but these, as we have observed, were scarcely sufficient for a coast-guard. For a navy so weak to defy a navy so strong, seemed like madness. We must remember, however, that the royal navy was much scattered, for that government had interests to protect in various parts of the world. It was the boast of Britons that the sun never set on the dominions of their monarch.

The administration was now sustained by a larger majority of the American people than that of Jefferson had ever been, and the Federalists, or the Opposition, were in a hopeless minority. The continued acts of aggression by the British were increasing the Democratic strength every day; and in 1811, circumstances seemed to make war with Great Britain an imperative necessity for the vindication of the honor, rights, and independence of the United States.

Circumstances had made the Indian tribes on the northwestern frontiers of the United States very uneasy, and the machinations of British traders and government emissaries had stimulated the growth of that discontent into a decided hostile feeling toward the nation of Republicans, then pressing upon the dominion of the savages. The suspension of the world's commerce had diminished the amount of their traffic in furs, and the rapid extension of American settlements northward of the Ohio was narrowing their hunting-grounds and producing a rapid diminution of game. The introduction of intoxicating liquors among them by the white people had spread demoralization widely, with consequent disease and death. These savages were made to believe that all these evils had been brought upon them by the encroachments of the Americans; and in the spring of 1811, it became evident that a league was forming among the tribes for the extermination of the frontier settlers. Tecumtha, a Shawnoese chief, crafty,

intrepid, unscrupulous and cruel, and who possessed the qualities of a great leader, endeavored to emulate Pontiac, the great Ottawa chief, in the formation of an Indian confederacy in the Northwest, for making war upon the United States. He had a shrewd twin-brother, called The Prophet, whose mysterious incantations and predictions, and pretended visions and spiritual intercourse, had inspired the savage mind with great veneration for him, as a wonderful "medicine-man." He and Tecumtha possessed almost unbounded influence over the Delawares, Shawnoese, Wyandots, Miamis, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes, and Chippewas.

So hostile had the Indians appeared in the spring of 1810, under the influence of these leaders, that General W. H. Harrison, then governor of the Territory of Indiana, invited the brothers to a council at Vincennes, in August. Tecumtha appeared with four hundred full-armed followers. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed by this demonstration of savage military power. Harrison was cool and cautious. The bearing of the chief was bold and haughty. He refused to enter the place wherein the council was to be held, saying: "Houses were built for you to hold councils in; Indians hold theirs in the open air." He then took a position under some trees in front of the house, and, unabashed by the large concourse of white people before him, he opened the business with a speech marked by great dignity and native eloquence. When he had concluded, one of the governor's aids said to him through an interpreter, as he pointed to a chair: "Your father [General Harrison] requests you to take a seat by his side." The chief drew his blanket around him, and, standing erect, said, with scornful tone: "My father! The sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; on her bosom I will recline;" and then seated himself upon the ground.

The chief had declared it to be his intention to form a confederacy for the purpose of preventing any further cession of lands to the white people, and to recover what had been ceded. "Return those lands," he said, "and Tecumtha will be the friend of the Americans. He likes not the English, who are continually setting the Indians on the Americans." The governor, in reply, told him plainly that the lands had been received from other tribes, and that the Shawnoese, his people, had no business to interfere. Tecumtha sprang to his feet, cast off his blanket, and, with violent gestures, pronounced the governor's words false. He accused the United States of cheating and imposing upon the Indians; and then giving a sign to his warriors near him, they sprang to their feet, seized their war-clubs, and brandished their tomahawks. The governor started from his chair and drew his sword, while the citizens seized any weapon or missile they could find. It was a moment of great peril to the white people. A military guard of twelve men,

under some trees a short distance off, were ordered up. A friendly Indian cocked his pistol which he had loaded secretly while Tecumtha was speaking, and would have shot the chief dead. The guard were about to fire, when Harrison, perfectly cool, restrained them, and a bloody encounter was prevented. The interpreter, whom the Indians all respected, told Tecumtha



TECUMTHA AND GENERAL HARRISON.

that he was a bad man. The council was broken up. Tecumtha expressed his regret because of the violence into which his anger had betrayed him; but Harrison perceived that war with the followers of the chief and his brother was probable, and took precautions accordingly.

In the spring of 1811 the hostile savages began to roam over the Wabash region, in small parties, plundering the white settlers and friendly Indians. Harrison sent word to Tecumtha and The Prophet that these outrages must

cease, and that he was fully prepared to defend the settlers against any number of warriors which they might assemble. Tecumtha, alarmed, went to Vincennes, where he saw seven hundred well-armed militia. He made solemn assurances of friendly feelings and intentions; and then went to the tribes of the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Creeks, in the South, and tried to get them to join him in a league against the white people. Meanwhile Governor Harrison, exercising discretion given him by his government, gathered a large force from Kentucky and elsewhere, at Vincennes, and late in September (1811) marched up the Wabash Valley toward the town of The Prophet near the junction of Tippecanoe Creek and the Wabash River. On the way he built a fort near the present town of Terre Haute, which was called Fort Harrison.

At the beginning of November, the governor and his troops encamped upon a dry oak elevation, that rises about ten feet above a surrounding wet prairie, near the junction of the Tippecanoe and Wabash, and there he was visited by The Prophet, who proposed a conference. Harrison suspected treachery, and arranged his camp with care on the afternoon of the 6th of November, to meet any sudden emergency. He ordered that each corps forming the extreme line of the camp should hold its ground, in case of an attack, until relieved. In the event of a night attack, the cavalry were to parade, dismounted, with their pistols in their belts, and act as a reserve corps. Two captains' guards of forty-two men each were detailed to defend the camp. So prepared, the whole camp excepting the sentinels and guards, were soundly sleeping at an early hour. At the same time there had been preparations made by The Prophet for treachery and murder, when the camp of the white people should be filled with sleepers. Surrounded by his dupes, The Prophet brought out his Magic Bowl. In one hand he held a torch, in the other a string of holy beans which his followers were required to touch in token of an oath, and so he made invulnerable in battle. Then he went through a long series of incantations and mystical movements, his solitary eye (for he had lost one) rolling wildly. These ended, he turned to his seven hundred warriors, told them that the time for attacking the white man had come, and holding up the string of beans reminded them of their oath which the touch of them implied. "The white men are in your power," he said. "They sleep now, and will never wake. The Great Spirit will give light to us, and darkness to the white men. Their bullets shall not harm us; your weapons shall be always fatal." Then followed war-songs and dances, until the savages, wrought up to a perfect frenzy, rushed out to attack Harrison's camp.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 7th, Harrison was just pulling on

his boots, when a single gun was fired by a sentinel. This was followed by horrid yells. The whole camp was soon aroused, to receive a murderous fire from the savages, who had crept up stealthily to the verge of the camp before they were discovered. A very sharp battle ensued, which lasted until daylight, when the Indians were driven away at the point of the bayonet and



THE PROPHET'S INCANTATIONS.

pursued into the wet prairie. In that battle of Tippecanoe, Harrison lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and eighty-eight men.

Tecumtha, who was really a great man, while his brother was a demagogue and a cheat, was absent in the South, at that time. On his return, he found all his plans frustrated by the folly of The Prophet. Vexed and mortified, he was compelled to abandon his schemes for a confederacy, but

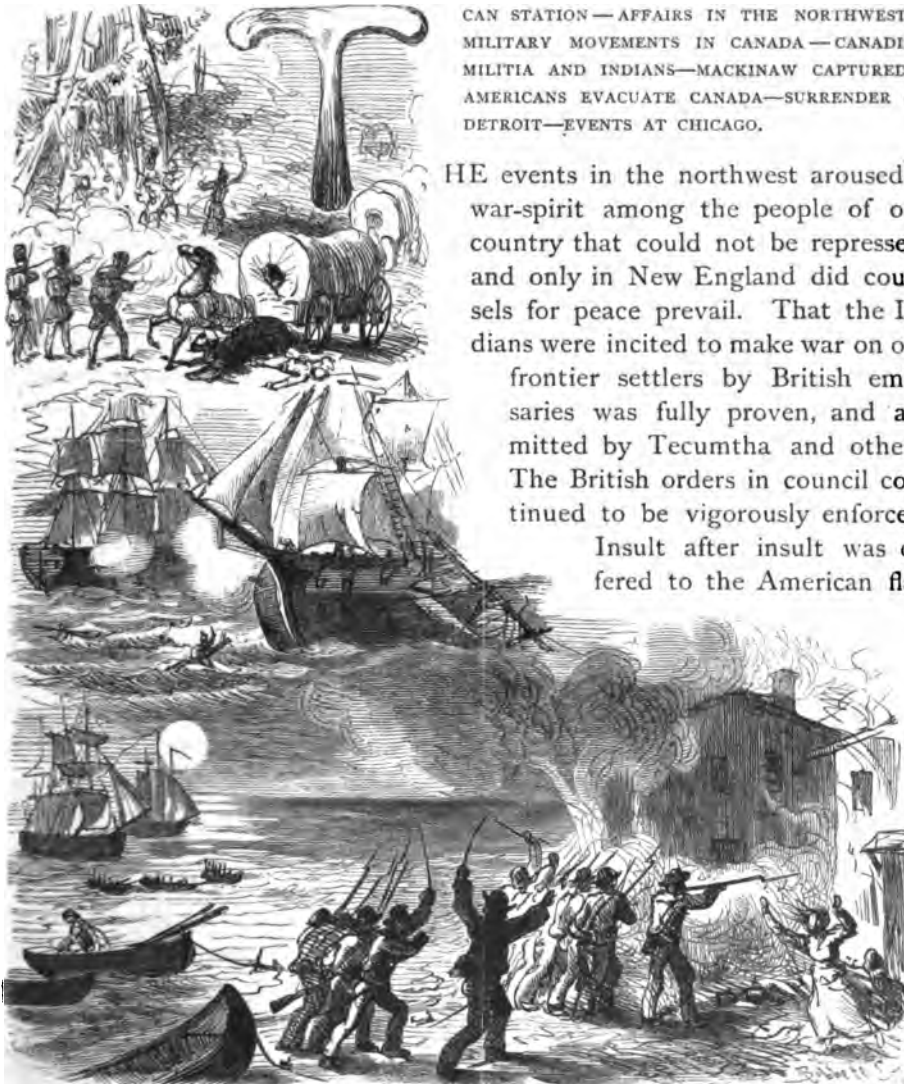
became a firm and active friend of the British in the war that speedily ensued. His brother, The Prophet, lost caste with his people. Upon a gentle hill toward the Wabash, this demagogue stood on that dark and gloomy November morning, at a safe distance from danger, singing a war-song and performing some protracted religious mummeries. When he was told that his followers were falling before the bullets of the white men, he said, "Fight on ; it will soon be as I told you." When at last the warriors of many tribes—Shawnoese, Wyandots, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, Sacs, and a few Miamis—fugitives from the battle-field, lost their faith and covered The Prophet with reproaches, he cunningly devised a lying excuse for his failure. He told them that his predictions had failed of fulfillment because, during his incantations, his wife touched the sacred vessels and broke the charm ! His followers, though superstitious in the extreme, would not accept this explanation as an excuse, and they deserted him in such large numbers, that he was compelled to take refuge with a small band of Wyandots, his town having been set on fire. The foe scattered in all directions, and hid themselves where the white man could not easily follow. A poet of the time wrote :

"Sound, sound the charge ! spur, spur the steed,
And swift the fugitives pursue !
'Tis vain ; rein in—your utmost speed
Could not o'ertake the recreant crew.
In lowland marsh, in dell or cave,
Each Indian sought his life to save ;
Whence, peering forth, with fear and ire,
He saw his Prophet's town on fire."

These events, so evidently the work of British interference, aroused the spirit of the nation, and out of New England there was a general desire for war with Great Britain. The administration, impressed with the great responsibility of such a measure, and having the entire body of the New England people in opposition, hesitated.

CHAPTER VII.

ACTION OF COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—WAR DECLARED—
APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL OFFICERS—PROVISIONS FOR WAR—A FACTIOUS PEACE-PARTY—A
FATAL MISTAKE—BRITISH FORCE ON THE AMERI-
CAN STATION—AFFAIRS IN THE NORTHWEST—
MILITARY MOVEMENTS IN CANADA—CANADIAN
MILITIA AND INDIANS—MACKINAW CAPTURED—
AMERICANS EVACUATE CANADA—SURRENDER OF
DETROIT—EVENTS AT CHICAGO.



THE events in the northwest aroused a war-spirit among the people of our country that could not be repressed, and only in New England did counsels for peace prevail. That the Indians were incited to make war on our frontier settlers by British emissaries was fully proven, and admitted by Tecumtha and others. The British orders in council continued to be vigorously enforced.

Insult after insult was offered to the American flag

by British cruisers; and the press of Great Britain insolently declared that the Americans "could not be kicked into a war."

Forbearance became no longer a virtue. It seemed like cowardice. The timid President Madison, finding himself the standard-bearer of his party, and like a cautious sachem surrounded by irrepressible young warriors eager for fight, felt compelled to sound a war-trumpet, though a feeble one, in his annual message at the beginning of November, 1811. The young and ardent members of the House of Representatives, who had elected Henry Clay, then thirty-four years of age, Speaker, determined that indecision should no longer mark the councils of the nation. The Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Peter B. Porter was chairman, intensified that feeling by an energetic report submitted on the 29th of November, in which, in glowing sentences, the British government was arraigned on charges of injustice, cruelty, and wrong. They said: "To sum up, in a word, the great cause of complaint against Great Britain, your committee need only say, that the United States, as a sovereign and independent power, claims the right to use the ocean, which is the common and acknowledged highway of nations, for the purposes of transporting, in their own vessels, the products of their own soils and the acquisitions of their own industry to a market in the ports of friendly nations, and to bring home, in return, such articles as their necessities or convenience may require, always regarding the rights of belligerents as defined by the established laws of nations. Great Britain, in defiance of this incontestable right, captures every American vessel bound to or returning from a port where her commerce is not favored; enslaves our seamen, and, in spite of our remonstrances, perseveres in these aggressions. To wrongs so daring in character and disgraceful in their execution, it is impossible that the people of the United States should remain indifferent. We must now tamely and quietly submit, or we must resist by those means which God has placed within our reach. . . . The sovereignty and independence of these States, purchased and sanctified by the blood of our fathers, from whom we received them, not for ourselves only, but as the inheritance of our posterity are deliberately and systematically violated. And the period has arrived when, in the opinion of your committee, it is the sacred duty of Congress to call forth the patriotism and the resources of the country. By the aid of these, and with the blessing of God, we confidently trust we shall be able to procure that redress which has been sought for by justice, by remonstrance and forbearance, in vain."

The report went over the land as rapidly as the mails of that day, in the absence of railroads, could then carry it, and made a profound impression upon the public mind. Resolutions, drawn in accordance with the spirit

of the report, were appended to it, and these elicited earnest debates. In these debates, John C. Calhoun, then less than thirty years of age, warmly engaged. It was the beginning of his long and remarkable public career. He made his maiden speech in favor of war, and charmed his listeners. John Randolph, always happy when in opposition to everybody, spoke vehemently against them. The Federalists, whose policy had always been to be prepared for war, said very little, for the resolutions recommended only such preparation. They were adopted, and bills were speedily prepared and passed for augmenting the military force of the country. Additional regulars, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, were authorized; also two major-generals and five brigadier-generals, in addition to those then in office. A million of dollars were appropriated for the purchase of arms, ammunition and stores for the army, and four hundred thousand dollars for powder, cannon, and small-arms for the navy. There was also provision made for volunteers; the whole number of the latter, with the regulars, swelling the army, in prospective, from about three thousand men of the peace establishment, to more than seventy thousand. The President was authorized to call upon the governors of States to furnish each his respective quota of one hundred thousand militia, to be held in readiness for instant service when called upon. The navy was neglected, and very little was done to increase its efficiency. It, however, weak and scorned as it was, proved to be the strong right-arm of the nation, in winning the greatest glory in the conflict that ensued.

The State legislatures generally spoke in favor of war; but the timid President, influenced by his own convictions and the opinions of his cabinet still hesitated. Finally a committee of Democratic members waited on Mr. Madison and told him plainly, in substance, that the supporters of his administration had determined upon a war with Great Britain; that the people were impatient of delay; and that unless a declaration of war should soon be made, his renomination and re-election to the Presidency would probably not be accomplished. The President consented to yield his own convictions to the will of his political friends. Accordingly, on the first of April, 1812, he sent a confidential message to Congress, proposing as a measure preliminary to a declaration of war, the passage of a law laying an embargo upon all commerce with the United States for the space of sixty days. This was done on the 4th of April. Four days afterward, Louisiana was admitted into the Union as a State.

At the end of sixty days the President sent a message to Congress in which he reviewed the difficulties with Great Britain, portrayed the aggressions of that power, and intimated the necessity of war for the maintenance

of the honor and dignity of the republic. It was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, when a majority of them—John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Felix Grundy of Tennessee, John Smillie of Pennsylvania, John A. Harper of New Hampshire, Joseph Desha of Kentucky, and Ebenezer Seaver of Massachusetts—reported (June 3) a manifesto as the basis of a declaration of war. On the next day, a bill to that effect, drawn by Attorney-General Pinckney, in the following form, was adopted and presented by Mr. Calhoun:

“That war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their Territories; and that the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States, commissions or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the government of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof.”

During these proceedings Congress sat with closed doors. The bill passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 79 to 49, and the Senate by 19 to 13. It immediately became a law by receiving the signature of the President. Two days afterward—the 19th of June, 1812—Mr. Madison issued a proclamation in which he formally declared war against the offending government and people. The conflict that ensued is known in history as the *War of 1812*, and may properly be regarded as our *Second War for Independence*, for until the end of that contest the United States were only nominally free. The people, blessed with prosperity and happy in the pursuit of the arts of peace, dreaded war, and submitted to many acts of oppression and insult from Great Britain and France, rather than appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. Commercially, and in a great degree socially, the people of the United States were dependent upon Europe, and especially upon England; and the latter was, at that time, rapidly acquiring a dangerous political interest here. The war began in 1775, was really only the first great step toward independence; the war begun in 1812, first thoroughly accomplished it. The chief causes for declaring war were the impressment of American seamen by the British; the blockade of French ports without adequate force to sustain the act; the orders in councils, and the incitement of the savages to hostilities.

Congress took measures immediately to sustain the declaration of war. They authorized the President to enlist 25,000 men for the regular army; accept 50,000 volunteers, and call out 100,000 militia for the defence of the

sea-coasts. They also appropriated about \$3,000,000 for the navy. But at the very outset the government encountered open and secret, manly and cowardly, opposition. The Federalists in Congress, who had opposed the war-scheme of the administration from the beginning, published an address to their constituents in which they set forth the state of the country at that time, the course of the administration and its supporters in Congress, and the reasons of the minority for opposing the war. This was fair and honorable. But outside of Congress there was a party of politicians, composed



AN AMERICAN SEAMAN FORCIBLY IMPRESSED.

of Federalists and disaffected Democrats, organized under the name of the *Peace Party*, whose object was to cast obstructions in the way of the prosecution of the war, and to compel the government, by weakening its resources and embarrassing its operations, to make peace. They tried to derange the public finances, discredit the faith of the government, prevent enlistments, and in every way to cripple the administration and bring it into discredit with the people. It was an unpatriotic and mischievous faction; and the leaders of the Federalists, like Mr. Quincy and Mr. Emott, who, when the war began, lent their aid to the government in its extremity, frowned upon these real enemies of their country. But the machinations of the Peace Party continued until the close of the war, and did infinite mischief unmixed with any good.

At that time there were very few men in our country thoroughly trained in the art of war; for the Military Academy at West Point, as it now exists,

was then in its infancy. A school to be established there had been authorized only ten years before. The elder leading officers of the Continental Army were in their graves, and the younger ones were far advanced in life; yet to the latter, alone, the government felt compelled to look for its military leaders. Henry Dearborn, who had been a meritorious New Hampshire colonel in the Continental Army, was commissioned major-general and commander-in-chief. His principal brigadiers were James Wilkinson, who was on the staff of General Gates in the conflicts near Saratoga; Wade Hampton, who had done good partisan service with Marion, Sumter, and others in South Carolina; William Hull, who had served as colonel in the old war for independence; and Joseph Bloomfield, who had been a captain in the New Jersey line.

Hull was, at that time, governor of the Territory of Michigan. The administration party, satisfied that our navy could not cope with that of the British on the ocean, based their hopes for success largely upon the supposed dissatisfaction with imperial rule, of the inhabitants of the Canadas and other British colonial possessions on our borders, who, they believed, would flock to the American standard when it should appear upon their soil. This was the fatal mistake made in 1775. Our people had not profited by the sad experience of the campaign into Canada that year; and our government resolved to begin the war by an invasion of the western portion of the Upper Province by American troops. Canada was then divided into Upper and Lower Provinces, the former extending westward from Montreal along the shores of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, to Lake Huron and the Detroit River. It included about one hundred thousand inhabitants, who were principally of the families of American Loyalists who had been compelled to abandon their homes in the States at the close of the war for independence, and had experienced the fostering care and kindness of the British government. Their loyalty was stimulated by the recollections of that kindness and by lingering resentments; and they were the last people to count upon as allies of those whom they had been taught, many of them by great suffering, to regard as enemies. This fact does not seem to have been taken into account by the administration.

When war was declared, George, Prince of Wales, was really monarch of Great Britain, for the court physicians had pronounced his father, George the Third, to be hopelessly insane. Great Britain was then waging a tremendous war against the Emperor Napoleon. Wellington was in command of the British forces on the Spanish peninsula, and Great Britain had just formed an alliance with Russia against the ambitious Corsican. Her naval armament on the American station—Halifax, Newfoundland, Jamaica, and

the Leeward Islands—then consisted of five ships-of-the-line, nineteen frigates, forty-one brigs and sixteen schooners, and some armed vessels on Lakes Ontario and Erie, with several others a-building. The British land force in Upper Canada did not exceed fifteen hundred men; the aggregate in the two provinces and the British domain on the east was about six thousand. The number of the militia of all the British-American provinces was estimated at forty thousand. They had an assailable frontier of full seven-teen hundred miles.

Governor Hull, while in Washington city in the winter of 1812, heard proposals for the invasion of Western Canada. He told the President that success in such a movement might be hoped for, only by having armed vessels on Lake Erie and a competent military force in the northwest as a protection against the hostile savages over whom the British had almost unbounded control. These were showing promises of active warfare in the spring, and Governor Meigs, of Ohio, had summoned the militia of that State to rendezvous at Dayton, to meet the impending danger. Hull accepted the commission of brigadier, that he might lead the troops in defence of the people on the frontiers; and late in May he arrived at Dayton and took command of them. Surrounded by his staff and Colonels Duncan McArthur, James Findlay, and Lewis Cass, in the presence of Governor Meigs and his council, Hull made a stirring speech to the troops, and then marched with them for Detroit, through the almost trackless wilderness. While on his march with about two thousand men, he was informed of the declaration of war, not, however, before the news had reached the British posts in Canada, and his little army was placed in imminent peril. The government then gave him discretionary power for invading Canada.

General Sir Isaac Brock was then acting lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and commander-in-chief of the military forces of the provinces. He was a vigilant and energetic leader, and by his activity saved the province from disastrous invasion. Early in July, Hull felt strong enough to invade Canada, and on the 12th he crossed the Detroit River with his whole force, and encamped at Sandwich, preparatory to an attack on Fort Malden, near present Amherstburg. A British force, who were erecting a fort at Sandwich that would command that at Detroit, had, through misapprehension, withdrawn on the night of the 11th to defend Fort Malden, and the armies landed without opposition. Hull issued a stirring proclamation to the inhabitants of Canada, threatening death to all who should be found fighting by the side of Indians (then gathering under Tecumtha at Malden), and offering security to the property and persons of those who should remain at home. This proclamation and the invasion produced great

despondency throughout the province, but Brock's energetic measures soon created hope and courage in the public mind and heart. He sent General Proctor to take command at Fort Malden, and establishing his own headquarters at Fort George, near the mouth of the Niagara River, he summoned the militia of the peninsula between Lakes Ontario and Erie to his standard. Eight hundred responded with alacrity; and John Brant, a son of the great Mohawk chief, came with one hundred Indian warriors from the Grand River, and offered their services to Brock. Young Brant was a splendid specimen of a man, as he appeared before the British commander on that occasion. He was dressed in the white man's costume, with a large silver medal suspended upon his breast, and his head crowned with an enormous pile of white ostrich plumes.

Hull was exceedingly cautious, for he had no reliable information concerning the strength of the garrison at Fort Malden, or the movements of the British and Indians at the northward. He hesitated to move forward. His young officers, such as McArthur, Cass and others, became very impatient, and showed a mutinous spirit. By this delay in going forward, the opportunity to capture that post Malden was lost, for it was strongly reinforced by British and Indians. Meanwhile positive information came of a startling character, from the mysterious region of the upper lakes. Upon the Island of Mackinaw, a limestone rock in the bosom of the clear waters of the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan, the Americans had a small fort, garrisoned by fifty-seven men under Lieutenant Hancks. The British had a fort some distance off commanded by Captain Roberts, who, informed of the declaration of war, left his post with a flotilla of boats, bateaux and Indian canoes, freighted with about three hundred regulars and Canadian militia and over seven hundred savages, and appeared before the fort on Mackinaw, on the morning of the 17th of July. Captain Roberts demanded the instant surrender of the fort, and Lieutenant Hancks, yielding to superior force, gave up the important post to the British.

With news of this disaster came information that Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, on the western shore of Lake Michigan, was invested by Indians. This was followed by news that British and barbarians were making their way from the head of Lake Ontario toward Detroit. The prospect presented to Hull, who knew the condition of affairs around him better than any one else, was truly appalling; and when, on the 5th of August, Major Van Horne, who had been sent down the west side of the Detroit River to escort a party approaching from Ohio with supplies for the army, was attacked by British and Indians, and after a sharp fight was defeated, the cautious commander gave orders for the invading army to recross the river and take post

behind Fort Detroit. This order surprised and disappointed the army, and drew from some of the young officers very harsh remarks concerning the imbecility and even treachery of General Hull. Sullenly that army crossed the river, and on the morning of the 8th of August it was encamped under



HULL IN FORT DETROIT.

the shelter of Fort Detroit. On the same day Colonel Miller and several hundred men were sent to accomplish what Van Horne had failed to do. They met and defeated Indians (under Tecumtha) and a small British force, near the scene of Van Horne's disaster, and were about to press forward to meet the supply party and escort them to camp, when the commander-in-chief recalled them.

General Brock had joined Proctor at Malden, where he held a conference with Tecumtha and his thousand followers on the morning of the 14th of August. His troops took possession of Sandwich, and constructed a battery there that commanded Fort Detroit and the town. At a little past noon on

the 15th he sent a note to Hull demanding the instant surrender of the post. It conveyed a covert threat that in case of refusal and its ultimate capture, the blood-thirsty savages would be let loose upon the inhabitants and the garrison. Hull was perplexed. The fort was thronged with trembling women and children, and decrepit old men who had fled to it for protection from the savages. For full two hours he kept the flag waiting while considering what he should do. His whole effective force there did not exceed a thousand men—too few to withstand the enemy in open battle, but sufficient, his officers thought, to endure a long siege, for there was an ample store of provisions. They urged him to stand firm. His pride of character and his patriotism bade him fight; his prudence and humanity bade him surrender. His officers clamored for an opportunity to show their prowess and skill, and he sent the flag back with a refusal to surrender.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the battery of five guns at Sandwich opened a cannonade and bombardment upon the fort and town, which was kept up until near midnight, and in the morning twilight of the 16th—a calm and beautiful Sabbath morning—a large body of the British and Indians crossed the river below Detroit, and soon afterward marched upon the town and fort. Soldiers outside of the fort waited impatiently for orders to fire upon the approaching foe, confident that they could repulse the invaders. They received, instead, orders to retreat into the fort. It was obeyed with reluctance; and the place was crowded to excess with exasperated men, who gave vent to their feelings in loud expressions of indignation and distrust of their commander. Some of them were mutinous at first, but were restrained by more prudent officers.

In the midst of this excitement, a cannon-ball came bounding over the wall of the fort from the Canada shore, spreading death in its path. A group standing by the door of the officers' quarters were almost annihilated. Many women and children were in the house where the officers were slain; among them General Hull's daughter and her little children. Some of the women, made senseless by fright, were carried to the bomb-proof vault for safety. The general saw the effects of the ball from a distance, and did not know but his own child was among the slain. He paced the parade backward and forward with great agitation of mind, until informed that the enemy were preparing to storm the fort; then he directed his son, Captain Hull, to hoist a white flag over the wall in token of surrender. The firing ceased, terms of capitulation were soon agreed upon; and at noon the same day, the surrender was completed.

In less than two months after the declaration of war, a strong military post, a spirited army of about two thousand men, and a magnificent territory

with all its inhabitants, were given up to the British. Hull had not asked the advice of a single man concerning a surrender, but took the whole responsibility upon his own shoulders, and bore the heavy load nearly all his life afterward. His young officers made serious charges against him. He was accused of treason, cowardice, and neglect of duty. A court-martial sentenced him to be shot, but the President of the Republic pardoned him. Truth and justice have since vindicated his character. To the neglect and



MRS. HEALD DEFENDING HERSELF.

inefficiency of his superiors—the Secretary of War and the commander-in-chief—was due chiefly the great disaster. The blundering administration—blundering in ignorance—made him a scape-goat to bear away the sins of others—a conductor to avert from their own heads the lightning of the people's wrath. The verdict of impartial history to-day acquits General Hull of all wrong in the surrender of Detroit, unless it be wrong to allow humanity to overbear expediency.

We have observed that Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, was invested by savages at the time of the trouble at Detroit. On the site of that marvelous inland city of over three hundred thousand inhabitants were then only the fort, the dwelling of Mr. Kinzie, a trader, and the huts of a few settlers. The

garrison was commanded by Captain N. Heald, assisted by Lieutenant Helm; and the young wives of both officers were inmates of the fort. The garrison and the family of Mr. Kinzie, the trader, were on friendly terms with the surrounding Indians until the spring of 1812, when the hostile feelings created by British emissaries were first made slightly manifest. One day a chief, at the fort, seeing the two young women playing at battledore, said to the interpreter: "The white chiefs' wives are amusing themselves very much; it will not be long before they will be living in our cornfields." The terrible significance of these mysterious words was made apparent a few weeks afterward.

Early in April a scalping party of Winnebagoes made a raid upon a settlement near Chicago. The inhabitants near Fort Dearborn took refuge with its garrison, and saw with anxiety the continual gathering of the Indians in the neighborhood during the summer. Finally, on the 7th of August, a friendly Pottawatomie chief arrived with a letter for Captain Heald from General Hull, telling the former of the declaration of war and the fall of Mackinaw, and ordering him, if possible, to evacuate Fort Dearborn and distribute all the United States property there among the Indians, to conciliate them. Heald was advised by the friendly Indian and by Kinzie, who knew the savage character well, not to let them know his intention to evacuate the fort by making the distribution. "Leave the fort," said the chief, "and let them distribute the property themselves; while they are doing this, you and the white people may reach Fort Wayne in safety."

Heald, contrary to the advice of everybody, resolved to obey his orders strictly. He called a council of the Indians on the 12th, and told them to come the next day and receive the property. He had such confidence in the sincerity of their professions of friendship, notwithstanding repeated warnings to beware of treachery, that he accepted their offer to escort the white people through the wilderness to Fort Wayne. That very night Black Partridge, a friendly chief, delivered to Heald a medal which had been given him by the Americans, saying he could not restrain his young men who were resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the white people, and he would no longer wear that token of friendship. The warning was unheeded. The goods were distributed the next day; and that evening the Black Partridge said to the interpreter: "Linden birds have been singing in my ears to-day; be careful on the march you are going to take." This warning, too, was unheeded.

On the morning of the 15th, the evacuation of the fort took place. There were positive indications that the savages intended to massacre the white people. When the gate of the fort was thrown open and the procession moved, it



MRS. HEALD AND THE SAVAGES AT CHICAGO.

was like a funeral march. The band struck up the Dead March in Saul. The wives of Heald and Helm rode by the side of their husbands. Mrs. Heald, who was a good shot, was well armed with a rifle. They had not gone far when the savage escort, five hundred strong, fell upon them. A sharp and bloody conflict ensued. Rebecca Heald deported herself bravely. She received several wounds, but, though bleeding and faint, she kept her saddle.



MRS. HELM CARRIED TO THE LAKE.

A savage raised his tomahawk to slay her, when she said, in a sweet voice in his own language, and with a half smile, "Surely you will not kill a squaw!" The appeal was effectual, and she lived until the year 1860. A stalwart young savage attempted to tomahawk Mrs. Helm, who was dismounted. She sprang to one side, received the blow on her shoulder, and at the same instant seized the savage around his neck, and endeavored to get hold of his

scalping-knife. While thus struggling, she was dragged from her antagonist by another Indian, who bore her to the shore of the lake and plunged her in, at the same time preserving her from drowning. The friendly hand that saved her, was that of the good Black Partridge. There were other cases of the grand heroism of women displayed on that bloody field. Meanwhile Heald had made terms for surrender, and the contest ended. The prisoners were distributed among their captors, and were finally reunited or restored to their friends or families. In this affair, twelve children, all the masculine civilians excepting Mr. Kinzie and his sons, and twenty-six private soldiers, were murdered. The fort was burned the next morning by the Indians.

On the spot where this massacre occurred, only about two generations ago, now stands a city whose growth is one of the marvels in the history of the progress of our country within the present century. It is at the centre of a railway system connecting the East with the West by full ten thousand miles of railroad, all tributary to Chicago; and that city, which was only the germ of a small village forty years ago, now contains more than three hundred thousand inhabitants. It is the most extensive grain mart on our continent. From it are annually shipped almost one hundred million bushels; and the commerce of that city is computed, in value, to be five hundred million dollars annually.



CHAPTER VIII.

UNFORTUNATE MOVEMENTS—NEW ENGLAND AND GREAT BRITAIN—IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS AND THEIR EFFECTS—PATRIOTISM OF THE PEOPLE—A NEW INVASION OF CANADA CONTEMPLATED—GATHERING OF THE NEW YORK MILITIA—THE BRITISH ON THE ALERT—CONTROL OF THE LAKES SOUGHT—AN ARMISTICE AND ITS EFFECTS—TROOPS ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER—BATTLE AT QUEENSTOWN—BRAVERY OF WOOL AND DEATH OF BROCK—INFLUENCE OF SCOTT—COWARDICE OF THE MILITIA—SURRENDER OF THE AMERICANS—THE MILITARY SITUATION—AMERICAN NAVAL VICTORIES ACHIEVED BY HULL, JONES, PORTER, DECATUR, AND BAINBRIDGE—PUBLIC HONORS AWARDED THE VICTORS.

THE disasters on the northwestern frontier at the very beginning of the war and the evident intention of the British to make the savages of the forest their allies in the prosecution of it, caused widespread alarm and indignation; while the opponents of the administration unpatriotically took advantage of the confusion in the public mind to cast obstacles in the way of the government in carrying on the war. The governor of Massachusetts (Caleb Strong), of New Hampshire (William Plumer), and of Connecticut (Roger Griswold), refused to allow the militia of their respective States to march to the northern frontier on the requisition of the President of the United States. They justified their course with the plea that such a requisition was unconstitutional and that the war was unnecessary. The British, meanwhile, had declared the whole American coast in a state of blockade, excepting that of the New England States.

These events justified a suspicion that prevailed for awhile that the New England States were ready and willing to leave the Union, and become a part of the British empire—a suspicion that had been created by revelations made to the President several months before, by an Irishman named John Henry, who had lived in Canada for several years. Late on a stormy night in February, 1812, Henry went to the mansion of President Madison, bearing a letter of introduction from Elbridge Gerry, then Democratic governor of Massachusetts. He said he had some secrets to divulge that were of very great importance to the people of the United States. An interview was arranged for the next evening, when Henry declared that for full two years efforts had been in progress on the part of the British authorities in Canada, sanctioned by the home government, to effect a separation of the Eastern

States from the Union, and to attach them to Great Britain. He said that he had been employed by Sir James Craig, governor-general of Canada, in 1809, as a British spy, to visit Boston and ascertain the temper of the people of New England, who, at that time, seemed to be in a state of incipient rebellion because of the passage of the embargo act. He said that at first he was satisfied the New Englanders were ripe for revolt and separation.

Henry's performances in the matter so pleased Sir James, that he promised to give the spy lucrative employment in the Colonial government; but after waiting some time for the fulfillment of that promise, Sir James died, and Henry went to England in 1811 to seek remuneration for his services from the home government. He was petted by the cabinet for a while, and introduced into the highest circles of society. He demanded £30,000 for his great services, but offered to accept of a lucrative office in Canada. At length, wearied with his importunities, and satisfied that the disaffection in New England toward the government of the United States was not more serious than a local partisan feeling, the ministry dismissed Henry politely by referring him to Sir George Prevost, Sir James Craig's successor. The exasperated spy sailed for Boston instead of Quebec, with a determination to divulge the whole secret of British perfidy to the government of the United States, for a money consideration. He laid before the President the strong documentary evidence which clearly proved that Great Britain, while indulging in the most friendly expressions toward the United States, and negotiating treaties, was secretly engaged in efforts to destroy the young republic of the West, by fomenting disaffection toward it among a portion of the people, and intriguing with disaffected politicians with an expectation, with the aid of British arms, to be able to separate New England from the Union and reannex that territory to the British dominions. Madison was so well satisfied of the importance of Henry's disclosures, at the time when he was about to declare war against Great Britain, that he gave the spy \$50,000 out of the secret service fund at his disposal, for his documents, which consisted chiefly of the correspondence of the parties to the affair in this country and in England.

These disclosures, when made public, intensified the indignation of the Americans against Great Britain. The inhabitants of New England were annoyed by the implied disparagement of the patriotism of their section of the Union. Both parties tried to make political capital out of the affair. The Democrats vehemently reiterated the charge that the Federalists were a "British party" and "disunionists," while the Opposition declared that it was only a political trick of the administration to damage their party, insure the re-election of Madison in the autumn of 1812, and to offer an

excuse for the war. The acrimony caused by these partisan feelings was at its height when the New England governors refused to send their militia to the frontier; and the British government, in declaring the blockade of the American coast, discriminated in favor of that section. That the British, mistaking partisan feeling for unpatriotic disaffection, hoped to carry out their plan for disunion, there is no doubt; but the suspicion that the New England people contemplated disunion and annexation to the British crown, had no foundation in fact.

While New England was halting in its support of the war, the people of the other portions of the Union, especially in the region beyond the Alleghany mountains, were alive with enthusiasm in favor of prosecuting it with sharp and decisive vigor. They had suffered much from the Indians under British control, and the massacre at Chicago had kindled a flame of indignation not easily to be controlled by prudence.

The government resolved to retrieve the disaster at Detroit by an invasion of Canada on the Niagara frontier. For this purpose a requisition was made upon Governor Tompkins, of New York, for the militia of that State. He was decidedly in favor of the war. Stephen Van Rensselaer, the last of the Patroons and a patriotic Federalist retired from public life, was commissioned a major-general and placed in chief command of the militia. A desire to wipe out the disgrace of Hull's surrender, burned in the hearts of the people. The New York regiments were speedily filled, and a considerable force was soon concentrated at Lewiston, on the Niagara River; also at Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain, to confront a possible counter-invasion from Canada. Another force was gathered at Greenbush, opposite Albany, where General Dearborn, the commander-in-chief, was stationed. Anticipating an invasion across the Niagara River, the British had gathered a considerable military force on that frontier; and at mid-autumn, before the Americans were prepared to cross the river, some of them occupied a strong position on Queenstown Heights, opposite Lewiston.

At midsummer, hostile demonstrations had been made on Lake Ontario and on the St. Lawrence frontier. Both parties were earnestly seeking the control of those waters, and the preparation of armed vessels on them was vigorously begun. General Bloomfield was in command of the militia in northern New York, and everything betokened warm work on the frontiers soon. At that juncture, General Dearborn concluded an armistice with the British commander in Canada, for a cessation of hostilities along the entire frontier, which he kept in force, contrary to commands from his government, until the close of August. By this armistice, Brock was enabled to concentrate a force on the Detroit River sufficient to compel Hull to sur-

render. To this fact and his neglect to inform Hull of his intentions are justly chargeable the chief cause of that general's disaster. It did more; it enabled Brock to bring his troops and prisoners to the Niagara frontier without molestation; and it so delayed preparations for war in New York, that on the first of September (1812) Van Rensselaer had at Lewiston only seven hundred men instead of five thousand, as he had been promised, though charged with the double duty of defending the frontier and invading Canada. At length regulars and militia arrived on the Niagara, and toward the middle of October, Van Rensselaer found himself in command of six thousand men, scattered along the river between Lewiston and Buffalo. He then resolved to invade Canada from Lewiston.

The night of the 12th of October was intensely dark. A heavy storm was just ending. In the gloom at three o'clock the next morning, Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, in command of six hundred men, was on the shore of the river at Lewiston, prepared to cross the swift-running stream and storm the British works on Queenstown Heights. But only thirteen boats were there to take the troops over, and in these he passed with less than one-half his force. The enemy were on the alert, and had discovered the movements of the Americans; and when Van Rensselaer landed, they assailed his little force with musketry and a small field-piece. This assault was responded to by a battery on Lewiston Heights, when the British turned and fled toward Queenstown. They were followed by regulars, under Captain John E. Wool (the senior in command in the absence of Lieutenant-Colonel Chrystie, who was in a boat that had lost its way in the darkness and did not arrive until between eight and nine o'clock), who pushed gallantly up the hill, pressed the British back to the plateau on which Queenstown stands, fought them there, and finally gained possession of Queenstown Heights. Van Rensselaer had followed with the militia, and was so severely wounded that he was compelled to relinquish the command and recross the river. A bullet had passed through the fleshy part of both of Wool's thighs, but, unmindful of his wounds, that gallant soldier would neither leave the field nor relinquish the command until the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Chrystie between eight and nine o'clock.

General Brock was at Fort George, seven miles below Queenstown, when the firing began. He hastened to the scene of action, and with his staff pressed up the Heights to a redan battery, where they dismounted. They were suddenly startled by the crack of musketry. Wool and his followers were close upon them. Brock and his aides had not time to remount, but fled down the hill, leading their horses at full gallop and followed by the dozen men who manned the battery. In a few minutes the American flag

was waving over that little work. Brock at once placed himself at the head of some troops to drive Wool from the Heights, and at first the Americans were pressed back by overwhelming numbers, to the verge of the precipice that rises from the deep chasm of the river two hundred feet below. That little band were in great peril, when Captain Ogilvie, seeing men falling around him and the danger of being hurled into the flood below, raised a white handkerchief on the point of a bayonet in token of surrender. Wool sprang forward, snatched the token of submission, addressed a few stirring



FLIGHT OF BROCK AND HIS STAFF.

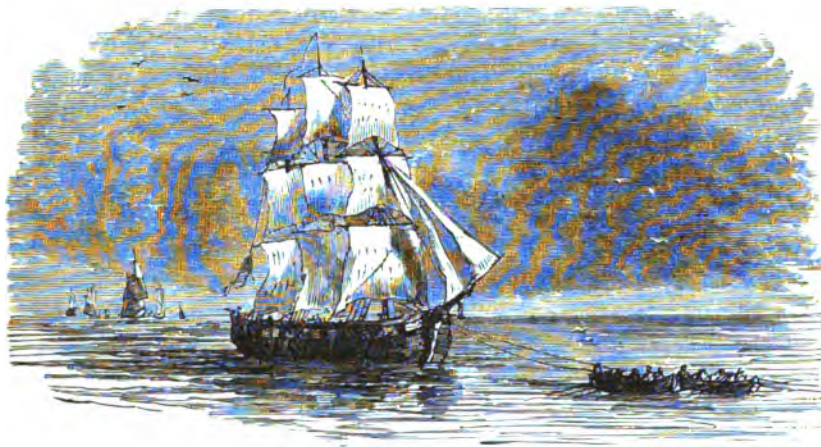
words to his men, begging them to fight as long as they had a weapon, and then waving his sword, so inspirited his comrades to a renewal of the fight that they soon made the British veterans break, and flee down the hill in confusion. These were rallied by General Brock, and were about to reascend the Heights, when their commander was mortally wounded at the foot of the declivity. After a short struggle, the British retreated a mile below Queenstown. The young commander (Wool was only twenty-four years of age), after three distinct battles, was left master of the Heights with two hundred and forty men. Not long afterward, Brigadier-General Wadsworth, of the New York militia, took the chief command.

General Sheaffe, who succeeded General Brock in command of the

British, rallied the troops. Lieutenant-Colonel (afterward Major-General) Winfield Scott, had arrived at Lewiston, and crossing the river joined the troops as a volunteer. At the request of General Wadsworth, he took active command. Early in the afternoon a cloud of dusky warriors, led by John Brandt, painted and plumed, and with gleaming tomahawks, fell upon the pickets on the American left with great fury, uttering the horrid war-whoop. The militia were about to flee, when the towering form and trumpet-toned voice of Scott, commanded their attention. He inspired the troops, now about six hundred strong, militia and regulars, to fall upon the savage assailants with a shout. The Indians turned and fled to the woods in terror. Meanwhile General Sheaffe had pressed forward, when General Van Rensselaer, who stood by the side of Scott, hastened across the river to send over reinforcements of militia. About a thousand had gone over in the morning, but few had engaged in the fight. Others now refused to go, pleading, in the language of the opponents of the war, that they were not compelled to leave the soil of their country and invade that of another. The poltroons stood idly at Lewiston, while their comrades were mown down like grass at Queenstown. Overwhelming numbers compelled the Americans to surrender, when all the prisoners were marched to Newark. There Scott had an encounter with two Indian chiefs. He met them in a hall, and was unarmed. They demanded how many bullets had passed through his clothes, as they had both fired at him repeatedly. One of the Indians attempted to turn him round rudely, when Scott thrust him away, exclaiming: "Hands off! you shot like a squaw!" Both Indians drew their knives and tomahawks, and were about to spring upon Scott, when he snatched a sword standing at the end of the hall, drew the blade from the scabbard as quick as lightning, and was about to slay his assailants, when a British officer interfered and saved them.

On that memorable day, the 13th of October, 1812, the Americans lost, in killed, wounded and prisoners, about eleven hundred men. General Van Rensselaer, disgusted with the inefficiency everywhere displayed, left the service, and was succeeded by General Alexander Smythe, of Virginia, who accomplished nothing of importance during the remainder of the season. The military situation of the Americans at the close of 1812, was this: The *Army of the Northwest*, as it had been named, first under Hull and then under General Harrison, was occupying a defensive position among the snows of the wilderness on the banks of the Maumee River; the *Army of the Centre*, under General Smythe, was resting on the defensive on the Niagara frontier; and the *Army of the North*, under General Bloomfield, was also resting on the defensive at Plattsburgh.

While military failures gave the opponents of the administration reasons for complaints and denunciations, the little American navy, so weak compared with that of the British, was winning honor for itself and the nation. Unmindful of this disparity, the Americans went boldly out upon the ocean in national and privately-armed vessels, and won victory after victory. When war was declared, Commodore Rodgers was off Sandy Hook, near New York, with a small squadron consisting of the frigates *President*, *Congress*, and *United States*, and the sloop-of-war *Hornet*. He put to sea two



ESCAPE OF THE "CONSTITUTION."

days after that declaration, in pursuit of a British squadron conveying the West India fleet of merchantmen to England. The *President* (Rodgers' flag-ship) overtook the British off Nantucket Shoals, on the 23d of June, and after a slight engagement with the *Belvidera*, and a chase of several hours, the pursuit was abandoned. The news of this affair, carried into Halifax by the *Belvidera*, produced a profound sensation there, and Rear-Admiral Sawyer sent out a squadron of war-vessels, under Captain Broke, to search for Rodgers and his frigate. Broke's flag-ship was the *Shannon*, 38. This squadron appeared near New York early in July, and captured the United States brig *Nautilus*, 14. This was the first vessel-of-war taken on either side in this contest.

The frigate *Constitution* (yet afloat), of 44-guns, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, had just returned from foreign service when war was declared, and on the 12th of July she sailed from Annapolis on a cruise to the northward. On the 17th she fell in with Broke's squadron, when one of the most

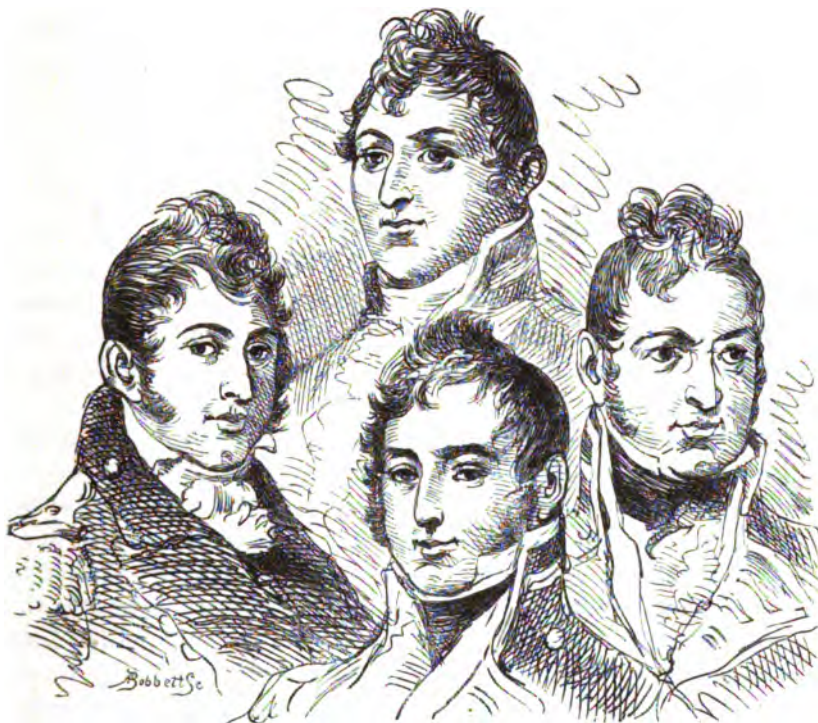
remarkable naval retreats and pursuits on record occurred. The *Constitution* was not strong enough to fight the squadron, with a hope of winning; and her safety depended upon her celerity in flight. There was almost a dead calm, and her sails flapped lazily in a zephyr-like breeze, as she floated almost independently of the helm on the slowly undulating bosom of the sea. Down went her boats with sweeps and manned by strong oarsmen. A long 18-pounder was rigged as a stern-chaser, and another of the same calibre was pointed off the forecastle. Out of her cabin-windows, where saws had made them large enough, two 24-pounders were run, and all the light cannon that would draw was set. She was just getting under headway with a gentle northwest breeze that sprung up, when the *Shannon* assailed her with shot at long range without effect. Calm and breeze succeeded each other, and sweeps and sails alternately kept the good ship moving in a manner that puzzled the pursuers.

At length the British discovered the secret power that bore the *Constitution* before them, and instantly boats with sweeps and strong men were urging onward the *Shannon*, which then slowly gained on her intended victim. The *Guerriere*, 38, Captain Dacres, another of the squadron, had joined in the chase. All day and all night the pursuit continued; and at dawn of the second day of the chase the whole British squadron were in sight, bent on capturing the American frigate. The five vessels were clouded with canvas, while expert seamanship caused the *Constitution* to make the space between her and her pursuers so wide that not a gun was fired. That afternoon she was four miles ahead of the *Belvidera*, the nearest vessel of the squadron; and at sunset a heavy squall burst in fury on the *Constitution*, but she was prepared for it. Wind, lightning, and rain made a terrible commotion on the sea, for a short time; but the gallant ship outrode the tempest, and at twilight she was flying before her pursuers at the rate of eleven knots an hour. At midnight the British fired two guns, and at dawn they gave up the chase, which had lasted sixty-four hours. The country rang with praises of Hull and the *Constitution*; and a bard of the day, singing of her exploits, said:

"Neath Hull's command, with a tough hand,
And naught beside to back her,
Upon a day, as log-books say,
A fleet bore down to whack her.

"A fleet, you know, is odds, or so,
Against a single ship, sirs;
So 'cross the tide her legs she tried,
And gave the regues the slip, sirs."

Just after Rodgers left Sandy Hook, the *Essex*, 32, Captain David Porter, sailed from New York with a flag at her mast-head bearing the significant words: *Free Trade and Sailors' Rights*. Soon after leaving Sandy Hook, while sailing southward, the *Essex* captured several British merchant-vessels, and made trophy bonfires of them; and on the 13th of August (1812) she



O. H. PERRY.

ISAAC HULL.
JAMES LAWRENCE.

WM. BAINBRIDGE.

captured the British brig *Alert*, 18. This was the first British national vessel captured in the war. She encountered some others, when, believing himself cut off from Boston and New York by a British squadron, Porter ran the *Essex* into the Delaware.

The *Constitution* did not long remain idle after her remarkable escape. She sailed from Boston (where she was built) on the 2d of August, and cruised eastward in search of British vessels. Hull was anxious to meet the *Guerriere*, whose commander had boastfully enjoined the Americans to remember that she was not the *Little Belt*. Hull sailed as far as the Bay of

Fundy, and then cruised eastward of Nova Scotia, where he captured some British merchant-vessels making their way to the St. Lawrence. On the afternoon of the 19th of August, he fell in with the *Guerriere*, in latitude $41^{\circ} 46'$, and longitude $55^{\circ} 48'$. Some firing began at long range; but at six o'clock, Hull, observing a willingness of his antagonist to have a fair yard-arm and yard-arm fight, pressed all sail on the *Constitution* to get alongside of the *Guerriere*. He walked the quarter-deck, watching the movements of the enemy with keen interest. He was fat, and wore very tight white breeches. When the *Guerriere* began to pour shot into the *Constitution*, Lieutenant Morris, Hull's second in command, asked, "Shall I open fire?" The commander replied quietly, "Not yet." As the shots began to tell seriously on the *Constitution*, the question was repeated. "Not yet," Hull quietly answered. When the two vessels were very near each other, Hull, filled with intense excitement, bent himself twice to the deck and then shouted, "Now boys, pour it into them!" The command was instantly obeyed. When the smoke of the first broadside cleared away, it was discovered that the commander, in his energetic movements, had split his breeches from waistband to knee; but he did not stop to change them during the action.

The guns of the *Constitution* were double-shotted with round and grape, and their execution was terrible. The vessels were within pistol-shot of each other. Fifteen minutes after the contest commenced, the mizzen-mast of the *Guerriere* was shot away, her main-yard was in slings, and her hull, spars, sails, and rigging were torn in pieces. Very soon, by a skillful movement, the *Constitution* fell foul of her foe, her bowsprit running into the larboard quarter of her antagonist. In that situation the cabin of the *Constitution* was set on fire by the explosion of the forward guns of the *Guerriere*, but the flames were soon extinguished. Both parties now attempted to board, while the roar of the great guns was terrific. There were fierce volleys of musketry; but the heavy sea would not allow a safe passage from one vessel to the other. At length the *Constitution* became disengaged from the *Guerriere* and shot ahead, when the main-mast of the latter, shattered into weakness, fell into the sea. The hapless vessel, shivered and shorn, rolled like a log in the trough of the waves, entirely at the mercy of the billows. A jack that had been kept flying on the stump of the mizzen-mast of the *Guerriere* was now lowered; and the late Commodore George C. Read, then third lieutenant, was sent on board of her. "Captain Hull's compliments," said Read to Captain Dacres, "and wishes to know if you have struck your flag?" Dacres, who was a "jolly tar," looking up and down, coolly and dryly said: "Well, I don't know; our mizzen-mast is

gone, our main-mast is gone, and, upon the whole, you may say we *have* struck our flag." The *Guerriere* was too much damaged to be saved. So, after removing her people and their effects to the *Constitution*, she was set on fire and soon blew up. So ended the career of the vessel that was "not the *Little Belt*." A rhymist at the time wrote:

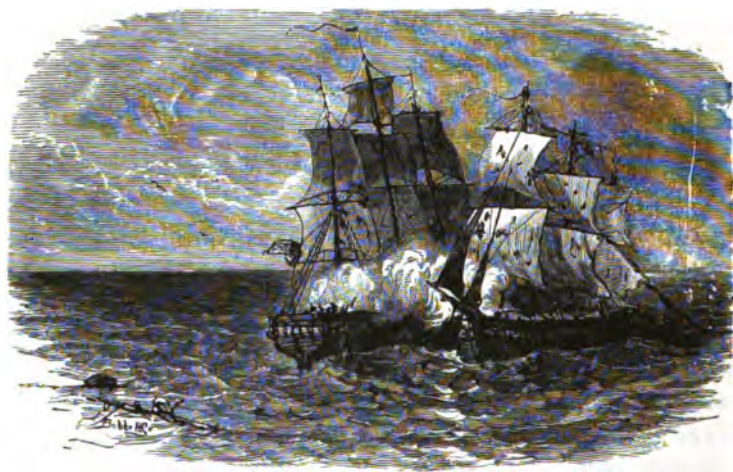
Isaac did so maul and rake her,
That the decks of Captain Dacre
Were in such a woful pickle
As if death, with scythe and sickle,
With his sling or with his shaft,
Had cut his harvest fore and aft.
Thus in thirty minutes ended
Mischief that could not be mended;
Masts and yards, and ship descended
All to David Jones' locker—
Such a ship in such a pucker!

The *Constitution* bore the news of her own victory into Boston. There was a burst of joy over the land. The name of Hull was soon upon every lip. The people of Boston gave him and his officers a sumptuous public banquet, at which six hundred citizens sat. The authorities of New York voted him the freedom of that city in a gold box. The citizens of Philadelphia presented to him an elegant piece of plate; and Congress awarded him a gold medal, and appropriated \$50,000 to be distributed as prize-money among the officers and crew of the *Constitution*. We cannot now appreciate the feeling which the victory created on both sides of the Atlantic. The British public were amazed. Their faith in the impregnability of the "wooden walls of Old England" began to waver. Its momentous bearing on the future of the war was incalculable. The Americans, no longer impressed with the idea of the omnipotence of the British navy, were stimulated to the performance of great achievements. The *London Times* regarded the victory as a serious blow at the British supremacy on the sea. "It is not merely that one English frigate has been taken," said that journal, "but that it has been taken by a *new enemy*, an enemy *unaccustomed to such triumphs*, and likely to be rendered *insolent* and confident by them."

The victory of the *Constitution* was followed by others. On the 18th of October the American sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jones, captured the British brig *Frolic*, Captain Whinyates, after a severe engagement of forty-five minutes, off the coast of North Carolina. The slaughter on board the *Frolic* was fearful. Only three officers and one seaman remained unhurt. Ninety were killed and wounded, while only ten were slain or disabled on board the *Wasp*. But she enjoyed her victory a very short time; for

that very afternoon, the British 74-gun ship *Poicters*, Captain Beresford, appeared, and two hours after the gallant Jones had gained his triumph, he was compelled to surrender his prize and his own ship to another of superior force. Jones was honored for his bravery, by public entertainments, and Congress gave him a gold medal. They also voted \$25,000 as prize-money for himself and his followers. Lieutenant Biddle, his second in command, was also honored with gifts and promotion.

A week after Jones' contest, the frigate *United States*, 44, Captain Stephen Decatur, of the squadron of Commodore Rodgers, gained an important naval victory after a conflict of about two hours on the ocean



CONFLICT BETWEEN THE "UNITED STATES" AND "MACEDONIAN."

westward of the Canary Islands. The vessel captured by the *United States* was the British frigate *Macedonian*, 38, Captain Carden. After a cannonade at a distance for about half an hour, they engaged in close contest. The *United States* displayed splendid gunnery. Very soon her balls cut the mizzen-mast of her antagonist, and it fell overboard. Soon afterward the main-yard of the *Macedonian* was seen hanging in two pieces, her main and fore top-masts were gone, her fore-mast was tottering, and her main-mast and bow-sprit were severely bruised. All this while the *United States* remained almost unhurt. Seeing the hopelessly crippled condition of his vessel, Carden surrendered her. She had received one hundred round shot in her hull, many of them between wind and water. Rigging her as a bark, with a prize-crew on board, Decatur sailed with his own ship and her captive for American waters; and on the first day of January, 1813, the *Macedonian* was

anchored in the harbor of New York, where she was greeted with joy as a "New Year's Gift." "She comes with the compliments of the season from Old Neptune," said one of the newspapers of that city. Only three days before a public banquet had been given to Hull, Jones, and Decatur, by the corporation and citizens of New York. Decatur afterward received honors similar to those bestowed upon his brother victors, by banquets, gifts, and a gold medal from Congress.

Before the close of the year (1812) another naval victory was won that cheered the spirits of the Americans. Captain Hull had generously retired from the command of the *Constitution* after his victory, to give some brother officer a chance to win renown with her. Captain William Bainbridge was appointed his successor, and a small squadron, consisting of the *Constitution*, 44; *Essex*, 32; and *Hornet*, 18, were placed in his charge. The *Constitution* and *Hornet* were then in Boston harbor, and the *Essex* was in the Delaware. Orders were sent to the latter to cruise in the track of the English West Indiamen, and at a specified time to rendezvous at certain ports, where, if she did not fall in with the flag-ship, she would be at liberty to make an independent cruise. Not long afterward Porter was on a long cruise in the South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, which will be considered hereafter.

Bainbridge sailed with the two vessels from Boston, late in October, touched at the designated ports, and at the middle of December was off Bahia, Brazil. There the *Hornet* blockaded the English sloop-of-war *Bonne Citoyenne*, 18, Captain Green, which was about to sail for England with a very large amount of specie. Meanwhile the *Constitution* went on a cruise down the coast of Brazil, and on the 29th of December, when about thirty miles from land, she fell in with the British frigate *Java*, 38, Captain Lambert, one of the finest vessels of her class in the royal navy. At about two o'clock in the afternoon, they engaged in combat, which continued between two and three hours. A part of the time was consumed by efforts of each to gain an advantage of position. The *Java* tried to run down on the *Constitution's* quarter to engage in close action, but received much damage without gaining any advantage. As she turned, the *Constitution* poured a raking broadside into the stern of her enemy. This was followed by another that sent balls crashing through the *Java* with fearful effect, carrying away her jib-boom and part of her bow-sprit. Very soon the two vessels lay broadside to broadside, engaged in deadly conflict, yard-arm to yard-arm. The mizzen-mast of the *Java* soon went by the board, and nothing was left standing but her main-mast with its yard carried away. Her firing ceased, and between five and six o'clock, Captain Lambert, who was mortally wounded, ordered his colors to be hauled down. The *Java* was a wreck.

She was manned by four hundred and forty-six men and boys, and had more than one hundred passengers. After her people were all transferred to the *Constitution*, with their baggage, she was set on fire, and blew up on the 31st of December. At Bahia, Bainbridge landed and paroled his prisoners, and then sailed for the United States, where he was honored in the manner accorded to the naval heroes whose victories had lately won much glory for themselves and their country. This was the fourth brilliant victory over the British, won by the American navy in the space of five months. Praises were lavished on Bainbridge without stint. New York and Albany each gave him the freedom of the city in a gold box. The citizens of Philadelphia presented him with an elegant service of plate, and Congress voted him a gold medal, and also \$50,000 as prize-money for himself and companions. These sums were given when the prizes captured were lost at sea.

The conflict between the *Constitution* and *Fava* was the closing naval engagement in the year 1812. These justified the views of the Federalists who were always in favor of a navy, and the opposition to it by the Democrats ceased. The whole American people, excepting the Peace Faction, were made jubilant; and the gloom caused by the failures of the land forces was dispelled. The British people were astounded, and their newspapers raved. A leading London journal petulantly and vulgarly gave vent to its sentiments by expressing its apprehensions that England might be stripped of her maritime supremacy "by a piece of striped bunting flying at the mast-head of a few fir-built frigates, manned by a handful of bastards and outlaws."

The naval triumphs of the Americans were not confined to the national vessels. Privateers swarmed on the sea in the summer and autumn of 1812, and were making prizes in every direction. Accounts of their exploits filled the newspapers, and helped to swell the tide of joy throughout the Union. It is estimated that during the year 1812 more than fifty armed British vessels and two hundred and fifty merchantmen, with an aggregate of over three thousand prisoners, and a vast amount of booty, were captured by the Americans.



CHAPTER IX.

THE NORTHERN FRONTIER—SKIRMISH AT SACKETT'S HARBOR—NAVAL FIGHT ON THE ST. LAWRENCE—CHAUNCEY ON LAKE ONTARIO—EVENTS ON THE ST. LAWRENCE AND NIAGARA FRONTIERS—A CONSPICUOUS MILITARY FAILURE—GENERAL HARRISON IN THE WEST—ENTHUSIASM OF THE PEOPLE THERE—MASSACRE AT THE RIVER RAISIN—FORT MEIGS BUILT AND BESIEGED—BRAVERY OF CAPTAIN COMBS—DUDLEY'S DEFEAT—CIVIL AFFAIRS CONSIDERED—MEDIATION OF RUSSIA OFFERED—SIEGE OF FORT STEPHENSON—THE BRITISH REPULSED—THE EFFECTS.

BUT small preparations for war had been made on the northern frontier of New York when it was declared. Brigadier-General Jacob Brown was charged with the defence of that frontier from Oswego to Lake St. Francis (an expansion of the River St. Lawrence), a distance of about two hundred miles. There was only one American war-vessel (the *Oneida*) launched in 1809, on Lake Ontario, commanded by Lieutenant Melancthon Woolsey; while the British, in anticipation of difficulties, had built at Kingston, at the foot of the lake, a small squadron of light vessels-of-war. Brown and Woolsey were authorized to defend the frontier from invasion, but not to act on the offensive except in certain emergencies.

On the 29th of July, 1812, the little British squadron, composed of the *Royal George*, 24; *Prince Regent*, 22; *Earl of Moira*, 20; *Simcoe*, 12; and *Seneca*, 4, appeared off Sackett's harbor at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. The *Oneida* was in the harbor, and a considerable body of militia under Colonel Bellinger were there. The *Oneida* was laid so as to give a broadside to the approaching enemy, while an old 32-pound iron cannon, dragged up from the shore, was placed in battery on a rocky bluff in charge of Captain Vaughan, a sailing-master in the navy. A cannonade between the *Royal George* and the big guns on shore was kept up for about two hours with very little effect, when a 32-pound ball from the former came over the bluff and ploughed a furrow near where some soldiers were standing. A sergeant caught up the ball and running with it to Captain Vaughan, said, "I've been playing ball with the red-coats, and I have caught them out." Vaughan put it in his gun. It fitted better than his own balls, and he sent it crashing through the *Royal George* from stern to stem, sending splinters

as high as her mizzen top-sail yard, killing fourteen men and wounding eighteen. The squadron, alarmed, immediately sailed out of the harbor.

The command of the lakes was now an important consideration for both parties, and the Americans prepared to create a navy to cope with that of the British. The quickest way to do so was to convert merchant-schooners into vessels-of-war. Eight of these had been caught at Ogdensburg, when the declaration of war was made, and were unable to escape to the lake. Two had been burned, and six remained there. These the British deter



SENDING BACK BRITISH BALLS.

mined to attempt to capture or destroy, and for this purpose two of their armed vessels went down the St. Lawrence immediately after the affair at Sackett's Harbor. They were followed by the American armed schooner *Julia*, with sixty volunteers from the *Oneida*, and a rifle company in a Durham boat. They overtook the British vessels among the Thousand Islands, on the 31st of July, fought them for three hours, and in the shadows of an intensely dark night, relieved occasionally by flashes of lightning, reached Ogdensburg in safety before morning. The armistice already mentioned, that followed, allowed the *Julia* and her consort and the six schooners to make their way to the lake, where the latter were converted into vessels-of-war.

At the close of August, Isaac Chauncey, one of the best practical seamen of his time, was commissioned commander-in-chief of the navy on Lakes Ontario and Erie; and the eminent ship-builder, Henry Eckford, with a

competent number of men, hastened to Sackett's Harbor to prepare a squadron for Lake Ontario. On the 8th of November, Chauncey appeared in those waters with a little fleet consisting of the armed schooners *Conquest*, *Growler*, *Pert*, *Scourge*, *Governor Tompkins*, and *Hamilton*. With these he made a cruise toward Kingston, skirmished with the enemy, and blockaded the British squadron in Kingston harbor. In this short cruise of a few days Chauncey disabled the British flag-ship *Royal George*, destroyed one armed schooner, captured three merchant-vessels, and took several prisoners. On the 12th of November, leaving vessels to blockade Kingston harbor until the ice should effectually do so, he sailed toward the western end of Lake Ontario, at the same time writing to Governor Tompkins: "I am in great hopes that I shall fall in with the *Prince Regent*, or some of the royal family which are cruising about York. Had we been one moment sooner, we could have taken every town on this lake in three weeks; but the season is now so tempestuous that I am apprehensive that we cannot do much more this winter." He returned to Sackett's Harbor, and early in December the navigation of the lake was closed by frost. Chauncey's entire squadron of eight vessels (exclusive of the *Madison*, 24, whose keel was laid before his arrival) mounted only forty guns, and were manned by four hundred and thirty men, including marines. The British squadron had double the power of that of the Americans, in weight of metal and number of men.

The land forces on the St. Lawrence frontier were not idle. Captain Benjamin Forsyth was there with a company of regular riflemen, and after performing some exploits in the vicinity of the Thousand Islands, he took post at Ogdensburg. General Brown arrived there on the 1st of October (1812), and on the same day a large flotilla of British bateaux, escorted by a gun-boat, appeared at Prescott, on the opposite side of the river. This flotilla conveyed armed men, who, on the 4th of October, attempted to cross the river and attack Ogdensburg. They were repulsed by the Americans, who, with the regulars and militia, were about fifteen hundred strong. Eighteen days afterwards, Major G. D. Young, in command of a detachment of militia (chiefly from Troy, New York, about two hundred in number and stationed at French Mills,) captured the larger portion of a British detachment at St. Regis, an Indian village, lying on the boundary line between the United States and the British dominion. The late William L. Marcy, governor of the State of New York, then a lieutenant, captured the British flag with his own hand—the first trophy of that kind taken on land in the war.

Meanwhile some stirring events had occurred on the Niagara frontier. Commodore Chauncey had sent Lieutenant Jesse D. Elliott to superintend

the construction of vessels on Lake Erie. Black Rock, near Buffalo, was chosen as the place for a navy-yard. A few days before the affair at Queens-town, two British vessels anchored under shelter of the guns of Fort Erie, opposite. Elliott determined to attempt their seizure, and at midnight on the 8th of October, he crossed the river in boats with one hundred and twenty-four armed men—landsmen and seamen—and surprised and captured them both, with all their people. The expedition was now at Buffalo and Black Rock; and when the first pistol was fired, lanterns and torches sent gleams of light across the waters from the American shore, and shouts from scores of people rang out on the night air. These noises aroused every British soldier on the Canada shore, and heavy guns were brought to bear upon the assailants. There was a fierce struggle for the possession of the two captured vessels. The *Caledonia* was secured by the Americans, and afterward did good service in Perry's fleet on Lake Erie. Her consort the *Detroit* was burned.

More than a month later, British cannon were opened from five detached batteries on the Canada shore upon Fort Niagara at the mouth of the Niagara River. From dawn until the early twilight on the 21st of November, the cannonade and bombardment were kept up, and two thousand red-hot balls, with a tempest of bombshells, were hurled upon the American works. These missiles were answered in kind. The village of Newark was set on fire several times, and the garrison at Fort George were greatly disquieted. Night ended the artillery duel. This attack aroused the pompous General Smythe, at Buffalo, to action. He made ready for invading Canada from that point, and by flaming proclamations he so advertised his intentions, that the enemy were fully prepared to meet him when he was ready to cross the river. An abortive attempt was made before daylight on the 21st of November, and another attempt was ordered to take place two days afterward. Smythe, in an order issued the day before, said: "Neither rain, snow nor frost will prevent the embarkation. . . . Yankee Doodle will be the signal to get under way. The landing will be effected in despite of cannon. . . . Hearts of War! to-morrow will be memorable in the annals of the United States!" To-morrow came, but it was memorable there only by the failure of the cowardly commander to carry out his orders. He was evidently afraid of Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, who commanded a small force on the other side of the river, and the campaign ended without anything being done in the way of invasion. Smythe was dismissed from the army. In a petition to Congress to reinstate him, he asked to be permitted to "die for his country." This phrase excited much ridicule. At a public celebration of Washington's birthday at Georgetown, D. C., the

following sentiment was proposed: "General Smythe's petition to Congress to 'die for his country': May it be ordered that the prayer of said petition be granted." A wag wrote on a panel of one of the doors of the House of Representatives:

"All hail, great chief! who quailed before
A Bisshopp, on Niagara's shore;
But looks on Death with dauntless eye,
And begs for leave to bleed and die.
Oh my!"

During the fall of 1812, the whole western country, incensed by Hull's surrender and the atrocities of the savage allies of the British, seemed to be filled with men animated by a zeal like that of the old Crusaders. It was there determined that Michigan must be recovered and Indian tribes be made quiet by severe chastisement. In every settlement volunteers had gathered under local leaders. Companies were formed and equipped in a single day, and were ready to march the next. For several weeks these volunteers found employment in driving the hostile Indians from post to post in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, on the borders of the extreme western settlements. They desolated their villages and plantations after the manner of Sullivan in the Seneca country in 1779, and thereby the fiercest indignation against the white people was excited among the savages. This feeling, stimulated by the British allies of the Indians, led to some terrible results. So eager were the people of the West for conflict with the British, that the snows of winter lying in the wilderness between them and Detroit did not keep them from the field, and the campaign of 1813 opened with the year. General William Henry Harrison had succeeded General Hull in the command of the Army of the West, and General Sir George Prevost was the military successor of Brock, in Canada. Harrison worked intensely in preparations for a winter campaign in the northwest, which the feelings of the people demanded. To do this he must march a crude and undisciplined army through a savage wilderness, in dark forests and across tangled swamps, wherein lurked wily enemies; and, at the same time, he had to defend a frontier several hundred miles in extent against the tomahawk and scalping-knife, at all hazards. Block-houses had to be built and garrisoned on the way, and magazines of provisions created and defended. But the good soldiers cheerfully undertook the difficult task. Brave and experienced leaders had rallied to his standard. Kentucky sent swarms of young men from every social rank, led by the veteran Isaac Shelby, whose exploits at King's Mountain in the Revolution were remembered with gratitude. The yeomanry of Ohio and its neighborhood had hastened to the field; and so

numerous were the volunteers, that Harrison was compelled to issue orders against further enlistments. He made the vicinity of the Maumee Valley, near the western end of Lake Erie, the place of general rendezvous, whence he intended to fall upon Malden and Detroit; and he designated the brigades from Virginia and Pennsylvania, and one from Ohio, under General Simon Perkins, as the right wing of the army, and the Kentuckians under General Winchester, as the left wing. So arranged, the army pressed forward.

Winchester, with eight hundred young Kentuckians, reached the Maumee Rapids in January, 1813, where he learned that a party of British and Indians were occupying Frenchtown (now Monroe, Michigan), on the River Raisin, twenty miles south of Detroit. He sent a detachment, under Colonels Allen and Lewis, to protect the inhabitants in that region, who drove the enemy out of the hamlet of about thirty families, and held it until the arrival of Winchester, on the 20th, with about three hundred men. At that time General Proctor was at Malden, eighteen miles distant, with a considerable body of British and Indians; and with fifteen hundred of these, he crossed the river and marched stealthily at night to attack the Americans.



A BLOCK-HOUSE.

Late in the evening of the 21st, intelligence reached Winchester that a foe was approaching. He did not believe it. At midnight the camp was as reposed as if under absolute security from heaven.

The sentinels were posted; but the weather being intensely cold, pickets were not sent out upon roads leading to the town. Just as the drummer-boy was beating the *réveillé* in the gray of dawn on the 22d, the sharp crack of a rifle, followed by musketry, awoke the sleepers. Bombshells and canister-shot immediately succeeded in a shower upon the camp. The Americans seized their arms, and opposed force to force. Very soon the soldiers fled to the woods for shelter, where the savages, who swarmed there, hewed them down with gleaming hatchets. The allies made it a war of extermination on that morning.

Winchester was made a prisoner, and he concluded an agreement with Proctor to surrender his troops to that officer on condition that ample

protection should be given to them against the fury of the savages. The promise was given and immediately violated. Proctor, knowing Harrison to be near, hastened toward Malden, leaving the sick and wounded Americans behind, without a guard. The Indians followed him awhile, when they turned back, murdered and scalped those who were unable to travel as captives, set fire to houses, and took many prisoners to Detroit to procure exorbitant prices for ransom. The indifference of Proctor and his troops on that occasion, and the dreadful suspicion that they encouraged the savages in their butchery of the defenceless, was keenly felt in all the West, and par-



SCENE AT THE RIVER RAISIN.

ticularly in Kentucky, for most of the victims were of the flower of society in that State. After that the war-cry of Kentuckians—"Remember the River Raisin!" was often heard.

Harrison had advanced to the Maumee Rapids when he heard of the disaster at Frenchtown, and hearing that Proctor was marching toward Malden, he established a fortified camp there at the beginning of February, and named it Fort Meigs. It was near the site of the present village of Perrysburg, and opposite Maumee City. There Harrison was besieged many weeks afterward by Proctor and Tecumtha, with full two thousand of their allied followers. They came down from Malden and appeared at the British Fort Miami, near Fort Meigs, at the close of April. Although the latter fort was strong, having bastions and many cannon planted, Harrison felt

that its garrison was in peril, and he sent a courier to General Greene Clay, who was on his march northward with Kentuckians, urging him to press forward.

Clay was near the Maumee Valley when the courier reached him. He resolved to send Harrison word of the near approach of succor, for Clay was at the head of twelve hundred men. Captain Leslie Combs, a young man then nineteen years of age (yet living), volunteered to be the messenger. With four men of his company and a young Indian, he went down the Maumee in a canoe, and as they approached the Rapids, they heard the roar of artillery at Fort Meigs. It was the first of May, and Proctor had begun the siege. How shall I enter an invested fort? was a question that perplexed the gallant captain. But he pushed on, and having passed the Rapids in safety, he rounded a point in full view of the fort, over which waved the Stars and Stripes. Suddenly some Indians appeared in the woods on shore. Combs attempted to shoot by them in the canoe on the swift current, but a volley from their guns killed one of his men and badly wounded another. They turned the prow of the canoe toward the opposite shore and escaped.

Clay pressed forward, and on the morning of the 5th of May, was near the fort. A large part of his troops, under Colonel Dudley, were landed near the site of Maumee City, and pressed forward to attack the British battery there. Captain Combs and his riflemen were in the advance. The battery was taken, most of its great guns were spiked, and the British flag was hauled down and trailed on the earth, while huzzas rang out from the ramparts of Fort Meigs. The troops were signaled to fall back and cross the river; but at that moment some ambushed Indians fell upon Combs and his men and made them prisoners. These savages were attacked by Dudley's troops. The Indians were reinforced, and Dudley was defeated and slain. Of the eight hundred men who followed him from the boats, only one hundred and seventy escaped to Fort Meigs.

Meanwhile Colonel Boswell, with the remainder of Clay's army, had fought his way toward the fort. Meeting a sallying party sent out by Harrison, they all turned upon their assailants and drove them into the woods. Another sortie was made against the besiegers at another point, and more than eight hundred of the motley foe were driven from their batteries and dispersed. The siege of Fort Meigs was then abandoned, and the assailants went back to Malden. Combs and his companions were stripped and taken to old Fort Miami, where, almost naked, they were compelled to run the gauntlet between two rows of savages, armed with war-clubs, tomahawks, scalping-knives, and pistols. Many of the victims were killed or badly

maimed by blows from the Indians. When the survivors were all inside the fort, they would have been massacred but for the humanity of Tecumtha, which was greater than that of Proctor, who did not attempt to stay the fury of the Indians. Active military operations in the West were suspended for several weeks after the siege of Fort Meigs was raised.

Let us here take a brief retrospective glance at civil affairs. Congress assembled on the 2d of November, 1812. Its counsels were divided by fierce party-spirit that boded evil to the public interests. The Democrats had a decided majority in both houses, and the measures of the administration were sustained. Madison was re-elected President of the republic. There had been some changes in the cabinet, John Armstrong having taken the place of William Eustis as Secretary of War, in January, 1813, and William Jones that of Paul Hamilton as Secretary of the Navy, at the same time. Mr. Monroe remained Secretary of State, and William Pinckney, Attorney-General. The British government had shown some desire for reconciliation, by a repeal of the Orders in Council, but there were other obstacles which kept the doors of amicable adjustment fast closed. The report of the Committee on Foreign Relations to the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calhoun, their chairman, had taken high ground, which the British government did not approve. "The impressment of our seamen," said that report, "being deservedly considered a principal cause of the war, the war ought to be prosecuted until that cause be removed. To appeal to arms in defence of a right, and to lay them down without securing it, or a satisfactory evidence of a good disposition in the opposite party to secure it, would be considered in no other light than a relinquishment of it. . . . War having been declared, and the case of impressment being necessarily included as one of the most important causes, it is evident it must be provided for in the pacification. The omission of it, in a treaty of peace, would not leave it on its former ground; it would, in effect, be an absolute relinquishment—an idea at which the feelings of every American must revolt."

Almost simultaneously with the presentation of this report (January, 1813), which recommended negotiations for peace, the Prince Regent (the actual sovereign of Great Britain) issued a manifesto concerning the causes of the war and the subject of blockade and impressment, in which he declared that the war was not the consequence of any fault of Great Britain, but that it had been brought on by the partial conduct of the American government in overlooking the aggressions of the French in their negotiations with them. He alleged that a quarrel with Great Britain had been sought because she had adopted measures solely retaliative as toward France, and that as those measures had been abandoned by a repeal of the

Orders in Council, the war was now continued on the question of impressment and search. On this point the Prince Regent took such a decisive position, that the door for negotiation seemed to be irrevocably shut. "His Royal Highness," said the manifesto, "can never admit that the exercise of undoubted and hitherto undisputed right of searching merchant-vessels in time of war, and the impressment of British seamen when found therein, can be deemed any violation of a neutral flag; neither can he admit, the taking of such seamen from on board such vessels can be considered by any neutral state as a hostile measure or a justifiable cause of war." This assertion was not correct, for the right of Great Britain to search and impress had been disputed by all the maritime nations of Europe for many years.

After reaffirming the old English doctrine respecting self-expatriation of a British subject, the manifesto continued: "But if to the practice of the United States to harbor British seamen, be added their assumed right to transfer the allegiance of British subjects, and thus to cancel the jurisdiction of their legitimate sovereign by acts of naturalization and certificates of citizenship, which they pretend to be as valid out of their own country as within it, it is obvious that to abandon this ancient right of Great Britain and to admit these novel pretensions of the United States, would be to expose the very foundation of our maritime strength." The manifesto charged our government with systematic efforts to inflame the people against Great Britain, and that a hostile temper toward that government, and "complete subserviency to the ruler of France," was evident in the official correspondence between the American and French governments. "While contending against France in defence not only of the liberties of Great Britain, but also of the world," said the manifesto, "His Royal Highness was entitled to look for a far different result. From their common origin—their common interest—from their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States was the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abettor of French tyranny." The Prince Regent also declared most solemnly, in that manifesto, that "the charge of exciting the Indians to offensive measures against the United States, is equally void of foundation." This denial was iterated and reiterated by British statesmen and publicists then, and have been ever since. It is very natural for a civilized and Christian people to repel the charge of complicity with savage pagans in the practice of merciless and barbarous warfare; but the fact has been too clearly proved by documentary and other evidence to be doubted.

At this juncture, when reconciliation seemed impossible, a ray of hope came from northern Europe. When the declaration of war reached St.

Petersburg, the Russian emperor, Alexander, expressed his regret to the American minister, John Quincy Adams, and suggested the expediency of tendering his mediation for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation. Mr. Adams favored it; but the victorious march of Napoleon toward Moscow, the heart of the Russian empire, delayed the measure for a while. The mediation was finally tendered through the Russian minister at Washington early in March, 1813, a few days after Mr. Madison, in his second inaugural address, had endeavored to excite the feelings of the people in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war. The offer was accepted by the President, who nominated Albert Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, and James A. Bayard, a member of the Senate, to act jointly with Mr. Adams, as commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain, at St. Petersburg. The British government refused to accept the mediation of the emperor, and the war went on.

We left General Harrison and his little army at Fort Meigs. When he was assured that Proctor and his allies had returned to Fort Malden, he left General Clay in command of Fort Meigs, and proceeded to Lower Sandusky (now Fremont, on the west bank of Sandusky River,) and the interior, to make preparations for the defence of the Erie frontier against the foiled and exasperated foe. He met Governor Meigs at Lower Sandusky, with a considerable body of Ohio militia, pressing forward to his relief; and he found the Ohio settlements so full of enthusiasm, that he felt sure of aid whenever he might call for it. Meanwhile Tecumtha had been urging Proctor to renew the siege of Fort Meigs. That timid General hesitated a long time; but finally, late in July, he appeared before Fort Meigs with his Indian allies—his own and Tecumtha's followers numbering about four thousand. The tribes of the northwest were fully represented. Satisfied that he could not capture the fort, Proctor and his white troops embarked with their stores, on the 28th of July, for Sandusky Bay, with the intention of attacking Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, a regular earthwork, with a ditch, circumvallating pickets, bastions, and block-houses. It was garrisoned by one hundred and sixty men under the command of Major George Croghan of the regular army, and then only twenty-one years of age.

Proctor's dusky allies marched across the country to assist in the siege; and when, on the afternoon of the 31st, the British in transports and gunboats appeared at a turn in the river a mile from the fort, it was perceived that the woods near by were swarming with Indians. Tecumtha had concealed about two thousand of them in the forest, to watch the roads along which reinforcements might attempt to reach Fort Stephenson. Proctor at once made a demand for the surrender of the fort, accompanied by the usual

couched threat of massacre by the Indians in case of refusal. The demand was met by a defiant refusal. This was immediately followed by a cannonade from the gun-boats and howitzers which the British had landed. All night long the great guns played upon the fort without serious effect, and answered occasionally by the solitary 6-pound cannon possessed by the garrison, which was shifted from one block-house to another to give the impression that the works were armed with several great guns.

During the night the British dragged three 6-pound cannon to a point higher than the fort, and early in the morning these opened fire on the



ATTACK ON FORT STEPHENSON.

works. This continued many hours with very little effect, the garrison remaining silent. Proctor became impatient and his savage allies were becoming uneasy, for there were rumors of reinforcements on their way for the men in the fort; so he resolved to storm the work. At five o'clock in the afternoon of that hot August day, while the bellowing of distant thunder was heard from an angry tempest-cloud in the western sky, the British marched in two columns to assail the fort. At the same time some



THE BRITISH REPULSED AT FORT STEPHENSON.

British grenadiers made a wide circuit through the woods to make a feigned attack at another point. As the two columns advanced, the artillery played incessantly upon the fort, and under cover of the smoke they had reached a position within fifteen or twenty paces of the strong pickets, before they were discovered. The garrison consisted of Kentucky "sharp-shooters," whose rifles now opened a deadly fire upon the foe. The British columns wavered, but soon rallied; and the first, pushing over the glacis, leaped into the ditch to assail the palisades. "Cut away the pickets, my brave boys, and show the damned Yankees no quarter!" shouted Lieutenant-Colonel Short, their leader. His voice was soon silenced. In a block-house that commanded the ditch in a raking position, the only cannon of the fort was masked. When that ditch was crowded with men, the port flew open and a terrible storm of slugs and grape-shot swept along the living wall with awful effect. The second column, led by Lieutenant Gordon, leaped into the ditch, and met a similar reception, to which was added a volley of rifle-balls. Short and Gordon, and many of their followers, were slain in the ditch. A precipitate and confused retreat followed, the British having lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and twenty-men, while only one man of the garrison was killed and several were wounded. The cowardly Indians, always afraid of cannon, had not joined in the fight, but were swift in the flight.

This gallant defence of Fort Stephenson commanded the greatest admiration, and Major Croghan received many honors. Congratulatory letters were sent to him. The ladies of Chillicothe, Ohio, bought and presented to him an elegant sword, and Congress voted him the thanks of the nation. Twenty-two years afterward, that body awarded him a gold medal for his bravery and skill on that occasion. This defence, so unexpected and successful, had a powerful effect upon the Indians. Tecumtha no longer believed in British invincibility, of which Proctor had boasted, and the British abandoned all hope of capturing these western American posts until they should become masters of Lake Erie.



CHAPTER X.

COMMAND OF LAKE ERIE COVETED—CAPTAIN PERRY SUPERINTENDS THE CREATION OF A FLEET
IN THAT LAKE—THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH SQUADRONS—PERRY REPORTS TO HARRISON—
NAVAL BATTLE ON LAKE ERIE—HARRISON PURSUES THE BRITISH FROM MALDEN—BATTLE
ON THE THAMES—DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH—MICHIGAN RECOVERED—EVENTS ON THE ST.
LAWRENCE FRONTIER—CAPTURE OF YORK AND FORT GEORGE—BATTLE AT STONY CREEK
—BRITISH REPULSED AT SACKETT'S HARBOR—ANOTHER INVASION OF CANADA PLANNED—
DISAGREEMENT OF GENERAL OFFICERS.

WHO shall be masters of Lake Erie? was a question which the belligerents tried to solve in the summer and early autumn of 1813. Our government had not listened to the proposition of General Hull early in 1812, to construct a naval force on that lake, but its wisdom was made manifest before the close of that year.

Captain Oliver Hazard Perry, a zealous young naval officer of Rhode Island, who was in command of a flotilla of gun-boats on the Newport station, offered his services for the lakes, and early in February, 1813, a letter to him from Commodore Chauncey, said: "You are the very person I want for a particular service, in which you may gain reputation for yourself and honor for your country." That service was the command of a naval force on Lake Erie; and on the 17th of February, Perry received orders from the Secretary of the Navy to report to Chauncey with all possible dispatch, and to take with him to Sackett's Harbor all of the best men of the flotilla at Newport. He sent them forward at once in companies of fifty under sailing-masters Almy, Champlin and Taylor, and followed them in a sleigh. He met Chauncey at Albany, and they journeyed together in a sleigh through the dark wilderness to Sackett's Harbor. A fortnight afterward (March, 1813,) Perry went to Presque Isle (now Erie, Pa.,) to hasten the construction and equipment of a little navy there, to co-operate with General Harrison for the recovery of Michigan.

Four vessels were speedily built at Erie, and five others were taken to that sheltered harbor from Black Rock, below Buffalo, where Henry Eckford had fashioned merchant-vessels into warriors. The little fleet of nine vessels were all ready at Erie early in July, and the flag-ship was named the *Law-*

rence, in compliment to the gallant commander of the *Chesapeake*, who had just given his life to his country. But men and supplies were wanting, and Perry had to wait weeks, in great impatience, before he could get out on the lake to meet a British squadron that was cruising there under Commodore Barclay. That squadron seriously menaced the fleet at Presque Isle, while Perry chafed under compulsory idleness. Late in July he wrote to Chauncey: "For God's sake, and yours and mine, send me men and officers, and I will have them all (the British vessels) in a day or two. . . . Our sails are bent, provisions on board, and in fact everything is ready. Barclay has been bearding me for several days; I long to be at him. . . . Think of my situation; the enemy in sight, the vessels under my command more than sufficient and ready to make sail, and yet obliged to bite my fingers with vexation for want of men."

Meanwhile the tardy government and the stay-at-home citizens were calling loudly upon Perry and Harrison to "do something," and the former, fretted by these implied complaints, having been reinforced by about one hundred men under Captain Elliott, went out upon the lake with his little fleet early in August, before he was fairly prepared for vigorous combat. He determined to report to Harrison that he was ready for co-operation with him, and on the 17th day of August, when off Sandusky Bay, he fired signal guns according to agreement. Late on the evening of the 19th, Harrison and his suite arrived in boats and went on board the *Lawrence*, where arrangements were made for the fall campaign in that quarter. Harrison had then about eight thousand militia, regulars and Indians, at camp Seneca, a little more than twenty miles from the lake. While he was waiting for Harrison to prepare his army for transportation to Malden, Perry cruised about the lake. Then he lay quietly at anchor in Put-in-Bay for a few days. On a bright and beautiful morning, the 10th of September, the sentinel watching in the maintop of the *Lawrence*, cried "Sail ho!" It announced the appearance of the British fleet, clearly seen in the north-western horizon.

Six barques train'd for battle the red flag displaying,
By Barclay commanded, their wings wide outspread,
Forsook their stronghold, on broad Erie essaying,
To meet with that foe they so lately did dread.

The sentinel's cry was followed by signals from the *Lawrence* to the rest of the fleet: "Enemy in sight. Get under way;" and the shout of the boatswains, "All hands up anchor, ahoy!" Perry's nine vessels were the brigs *Lawrence*, 20; *Niagara*, 20; *Caledonia*, 3. Schooners *Ariel*, 4; *Scorpion*, 2, and two swivels; *Tigris*, 1; *Porcupine*, 1; and sloop *Trippe*, 1; in all fifty-

four carriage-guns and two swivels. Barclay's fleet consisted of the flag-ship *Detroit*, the *Queen Charlotte*, *Lady Prevost*, *Hunter*, *Little Belt*, and *Chippewa*, carrying 64 carriage-guns, 2 swivels, and 4 howitzers. At the masthead of the *Lawrence*, Perry displayed a blue banner, with the reported last words of Captain Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship!" displayed upon it in large white letters.

The two squadrons slowly approached each other, and at noon the battle began at long range—the *Scorpion*, commanded by young Champlin, then less than twenty-four years of age, firing the first shot on the American side. Nearer and nearer the vessels approached each other; hotter and hotter waxed the fight. For two hours the *Lawrence* bore the brunt of battle, with twice her force, until, like the *Guerriere*, she lay upon the waters an almost total wreck. Her rigging was all shot away; her sails were cut into shreds, her spars were battered into splinters, and her guns were dismounted. One mast remained, and from it the Stars and Stripes were streaming. A less hopeful man than Perry would have pulled them down and surrendered, for his deck was a scene of dreadful carnage. Meanwhile most of the other vessels had been fighting gallantly, excepting the stanch *Niagara*, Captain Elliot, which kept outside and was unhurt. As this lagging brig drew near, Perry determined to fly to her, and renewing the fight, gain a victory. In token of his faith he put on the uniform of his rank, as if conscious he should receive Barclay as a prisoner. Then taking down his broad pennant and the banner with the stirring words, he entered his boat with his little brother, fourteen years of age, and four stout seamen for the oars, and started on his perilous voyage, anxiously watched by Lieutenant Yarnell and a few others, who had been left in charge of the battered *Lawrence*. Perry stood upright in his boat with the pennant and banner partly wrapped around him, a conspicuous mark for the guns of the enemy. Barclay, who was badly wounded, knew that if Perry, who had fought the *Lawrence* so gallantly, should tread the decks of the stanch *Niagara* as commander, the British would be in danger of defeat; so he ordered big and little guns to be brought to bear upon the boat that bore the young hero. The voyage lasted fifteen minutes. The oars were splintered, bullets traversed the little vessel, and round and grape-shot falling in the water near, covered his oarsmen with spray. But he reached the *Niagara* in safety. Hoisting his pennant over that vessel, he dashed through the British line, and eight minutes afterward the colors of the enemy's flag-ship were struck, and all but two of the fleet surrendered. These attempted to escape. They were pursued and brought back by the brave young Champlin in the *Scorpion* late in the evening. He had fired the *first* gun at the opening of the

battle, and now he had fired the *last* one in securing the conquered vessels. The victory was complete. Assured of triumph, Perry sat down, and resting his naval cap on his knee, wrote with a lead-pencil, on the back of a letter, this famous despatch to General Harrison: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop.

"Yours, with great respect,

"O. H. PERRY"



PERRY GOING FROM THE "LAWRENCE" TO THE "NIAGARA."

The news of this victory carried joy to the hearts of the Americans. The lakes had echoed the triumphs of the ocean. The name of Perry was made immortal. His government, in the name of the people, thanked him, and gave him and Elliott each a gold medal. States and cities honored him. The legislature of Pennsylvania voted him thanks and a gold medal; and they gave the thanks of the Commonwealth and a silver medal to each man who was engaged in the battle. The loss of the Americans in the conflict on Lake Erie, considering the small number engaged, was very severe—

twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded. The British lost about two hundred in killed and wounded, and six hundred made prisoners. Perry's humane conduct toward the captives was such that Barclay declared it was sufficient to immortalize him.

This victory was followed by energetic action on the part of Harrison. The veteran Governor Shelby, the hero of King's Mountain, had joined him with four thousand Kentucky volunteers. The command of Lake Erie was secured, and he proceeded to attack Fort Malden and attempt the recovery of Detroit. The fleet took a part of his troops across the lake and landed them below Fort Malden, but no enemy was there. The cowardly Proctor, taking counsel of his fears, and in spite of the indignant remonstrances of Tecumtha, had fled with his motley host into the interior of Canada, setting fire to Fort Malden and the many buildings and store-houses at Amherstberg when he left. As the Americans approached the smoking ruins, they were met by a troop of modest, well-dressed women, who came to implore mercy and protection. Harrison calmed their fears and took possession of the fort while the bands played Yankee Doodle. Proctor's rear-guard had been gone only about an hour when the Americans arrived.

The American flotilla that bore the troops across the lake reached Detroit on the 29th of September. On the same day Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, with a troop of cavalry, arrived at Detroit, and Harrison encamped with his army at Sandwich. Informed that Proctor and Tecumtha were flying eastward toward the Moravian town on the Thames, or *La Tranche*, as the French called the stream, eighty miles from Detroit, Harrison began a pursuit on the morning of the 2d of October, with about thirty-five hundred troops. Johnson and his mounted men led the van, and Shelby's Kentuckians composed the bulk of the pursuers. They overtook the fugitives on the 5th, a short distance from the Moravian town, and there, in an open wood, with the Thames on one flank and a deep swamp on the other, a severe battle was fought. Tecumtha was slain, and his amazed followers, who had fought desperately, broke and fled to the shelter of the swamp. The whole British force, about eight hundred strong, were speedily vanquished, and most of them were made prisoners. Proctor escaped in his carriage, with his personal staff, a few dragoons and mounted Indians, hotly pursued by Johnson and his horsemen. He made his way to the western end of Lake Ontario, and there his military career was ended. Proctor was rewarded by the censure of his superiors, the rebuke of his sovereign, and the scorn of all honorable men, for his career in America had been marked by cowardice and cruelty.

Harrison's victory was complete. His praises were sounded from the

St. Croix to the delta of the Mississippi ; and Congress gave him and Shelby the thanks of the nation and each a gold medal. At that battle six brass field-pieces taken from Hull at Detroit were recaptured, on two of which were engraved the words: "Surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga." They may now be seen at West Point, on the Hudson. The Moravian town, near the battle-ground, is a village in the township of Oxford, and was a settlement of Indian Moravian converts who had fled from the Muskingum, Ohio, in 1792.

This victory was an important one. All that Hull had lost was recovered. The Indian Confederacy in the Northwest was broken up, and the war on the northwestern border of the Union was ended. The achievement was fully appreciated, and a member of the House of Representatives said in his place: "Such a victory would have secured to a Roman general, in the best days of the Republic, the honors of a triumph." The frontier being now secured, Harrison dismissed a greater portion of the volunteers; and leaving Colonel Lewis Cass with a garrison of a thousand regulars, as military governor at Detroit on the 23d of October (1813), he proceeded to Niagara with the remainder of the troops, to join the army of the centre. For some unexplained reason, General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, treated Harrison so badly that the latter resigned, and his country was deprived of his valuable services at a most critical time.

During the winter of 1813, there were some stirring events on the St. Lawrence frontier. The repulse of the British at Ogdensburg has been noticed. After that, under the pretence of looking for deserters, British soldiers crossed the river and captured some Americans and committed robberies. Major Forsythe, in command of riflemen at Ogdensburg, retaliated by crossing to Elizabethtown (now Brockville) and releasing all the prisoners in jail there. This was resented by the British, who, on the morning of the 22d of February, 1813, about eight hundred strong, crossed the St. Lawrence River on the ice and entered Ogdensburg. The inhabitants fled into the country. A conflict of an hour ensued in the streets between the invaders and Forsythe's little force, and the enemy became masters of the village. Then they plundered every house in the town except three, burned the barracks near the river and two gun-boats and two armed schooners frozen in the ice, and returned to Canada with their plunder. These events accelerated the gathering of militia on the northern frontier, especially at Sackett's Harbor; but these troops, undisciplined, were of little immediate service.

A second invasion of Canada was a capital feature in the general plan of the campaign of 1814. General Dearborn, who was in immediate command

of the northern army, had about six thousand troops under his control. These were to defend the frontier from Buffalo to St. Regis, and to them was also given the task of capturing Montreal and the province of Upper Canada. Chauncey had gained such a mastery on Lake Ontario, that it was believed he might easily confine the British squadron to Kingston Harbor, where it was ice-bound during the winter. The plan of the campaign sent from the War Department reached General Dearborn at Plattsburg at near the middle of February, and he immediately made preparations for the invasion by concentrating troops at Sackett's Harbor and Buffalo. When Dearborn arrived at the former post, at about the first of March, rumors were current there that Sir George Prevost was in command of six or eight thousand men, and was actively engaged in preparations for offensive operations. Dearborn found only about three thousand troops at the Harbor. General Brown was ordered to summon several hundred of the militia to the field; and Colonel Pike was directed to hasten to the Harbor from Plattsburg with four hundred of his best men. Henry Eckford arrived soon after Dearborn, with instructions to build six war-schooners at Sackett's Harbor; and orders were given to Chauncey for the purchase of as many more as the exigencies of the service might require.

At the middle of April, Dearborn and Chauncey matured a plan of invasion with a combined land and naval force. It was to cross over the lake and capture York (now Toronto), and then to assail Fort George, near the mouth of the Niagara River. At the same time troops were to cross in the vicinity of Buffalo and capture Forts Erie and Chippewa, join the victors at Fort George, and all proceed to capture Kingston. With seventeen hundred troops under the immediate command of Pike, who had lately been commissioned a brigadier-general, Dearborn sailed in Chauncey's fleet from Sackett's Harbor on the 25th of April, and on the morning of the 27th, the armament appeared before York. The land forces disembarked about two miles westward of the British fortifications there, in the face of a galling fire from regulars and Indians under General Sheaffe. These were soon driven back to their works, and the Americans, led by the brave Pike, pressed forward and captured two redoubts. At the same time Chauncey was hurling upon the foe deadly volleys of grape-shot from his naval cannon.

Sheaffe and his little army, deserted by the Indians who had fled before the roar of artillery, now took post with the garrison near the governor's house and opened a heavy fire of round and grape-shot upon the invaders. This battery was soon silenced by Pike's heavy guns, and it was expected that a white flag, in token of surrender, would soon appear, when a sudden and awful catastrophe occurred. General Pike was sitting on the stump of

a tree talking with a captive British officer, when a tremor of the earth was felt and was immediately followed by a tremendous explosion near by. The British, unable to hold the fort, had fired a magazine of gunpowder on the edge of the lake. The effect was terrible. Fragments of the timber and huge stones, of which the magazine walls were built, were scattered in every direction over a space of several hundred feet and more. When the smoke floated away, the scene was appalling. Fifty-two Americans lay dead, and one hundred and eighty others were wounded. Forty of the British were also slain. General Pike, two of his aides, and the captive officer, were mortally hurt. The dying general was taken to one of Chauncey's vessels.



DEATH OF GENERAL PIKE.

His benumbed ears heard the shout of victory when the British ensign was pulled down at York. Just before he died, the captured British flag was brought to him. He smiled, and made a sign for it to be placed under his head. It was done, and he expired. The civil authorities of York and the militia officers formally surrendered the place, while Sheaffe and a larger part of his force, after destroying some vessels and store-houses, escaped to Kingston. The Americans lost in killed and wounded two hundred and eighty-six men; the loss of the British (besides prisoners), in killed and wounded, was one hundred and forty men.

The victors left York early in May, and proceeded to attack Fort George. The British force in that vicinity, under General Vincent, numbered about eighteen hundred men. Besides Fort George, they had several smaller works along the Niagara River. The American troops had landed and

encamped five miles east of Fort Niagara, and their arrangements were made for the attack on the British works on the morning of the 27th of May. The troops were conveyed by Chauncey's squadron, and under cover of his guns, landed a little westward of the mouth of the Niagara. The advance was led by Colonel Winfield Scott, accompanied by Commodore Perry, who had charge of the boats. He and Scott both leaped into the water at the head of the first division of men, and in the face of a galling fire and of bristling bayonets ascended the bank. The other troops followed, and after a severe conflict on the plain, the British fell back discomfited. General Vincent, satisfied that he must retreat, and knowing Fort George to be untenable, ordered the garrison to spike the guns, destroy the ammunition and abandon it. This was done, and the whole British force retreated westward to a strong position among the hills, at a place called the Beaver Dams, about eighteen miles from the Niagara River. There Vincent had a deposit of stores and provisions. Forts Chippewa and Erie were abandoned, and the Niagara frontier of Canada passed into the possession of the Americans.

Chauncey sailed for Sackett's Harbor, and on the first of June, Dearborn sent General Winder, with a considerable force, in pursuit of General Vincent, who was making his way toward Burlington Heights, at the western end of Lake Ontario. Winder took the lake-shore road, and marched rapidly. On the 5th he was joined by General Chandler, with some troops, who, being senior officer, took the chief command. Meanwhile Vincent had gained his destination and the Americans encamped at Stony Creek, seven miles eastward of him. There, on the night of the 6th, the Americans were surprised and fiercely attacked by Vincent. The night was intensely dark, and a severe battle was fought in the gloom. The British were repulsed, but in the darkness and confusion both of the American commanders were captured. The Americans, fearing a renewal of the attack, made a hasty retreat toward the Niagara. They were met by a relief party. On their way they were threatened by a British fleet on the left, and hostile savages on the mountain on the right; but they drove the former away with hot and cold shot, defied the latter and the local militia that hovered on their flanks, and reached Fort George in safety.

When the British at Kingston heard of the weakening of Sackett's Harbor by the withdrawal of a portion of the land and naval forces there, to attack York, they resolved to attempt its capture, for it was a place of great importance. It was the chief depot for the military and naval stores of the Americans on that frontier, and its possession would give to the holders the command of the lake. The affair at York made the enemy cir-

cumspect; but when it was known that Chauncey and Dearborn had gone to the Niagara, they proceeded to assail Sackett's Harbor.

On the evening of the 27th of May, word came to the Harbor, that a British squadron, under Sir James Yeo, had sailed from Kingston. Colonel Backus was in command of the troops at Sackett's Harbor. General Jacob Brown was at his home, a few miles from Watertown, and he had promised Backus to take the chief command in case of an invasion. The news from Kingston was sent to him, and before the dawn of the 28th, he was in the



MRS. SECOND WARNING FITZGIBBON.

camp at the Harbor. He sent expresses in all directions to summon the militia to the field and fired alarm-guns to arouse the inhabitants. As fast as the militia came in they were armed and sent to Horse Island, where the light-house now stands, the place where it was expected the invaders would first attempt to land.

At noon on the 28th, six British armed vessels and forty bateaux appeared off Sackett's Harbor, bearing over a thousand land troops, the whole armament under the command of Sir George Prevost. The troops were embarked in the bateaux, but were soon ordered back, when the whole squadron put to sea. Sir George had been alarmed by the appearance of a flotilla of American gun-boats approaching from the westward conveying a part of a regiment from Oswego to join the garrison at Sackett's Harbor. As soon as their real weakness was perceived, the prows of the squadron were again turned toward the Harbor, and on the morning of the 29th a

considerable force, with cannon and muskets, landed on Horse Island. The militia had been withdrawn from the island, and placed behind a gravel-ridge on the main. These fled almost at the first fire of the enemy. This disgraceful conduct astonished General Brown, and he attempted to rally the fugitives. Colonel Backus, with his regulars and Albany volunteers, were disputing the advance of the enemy inch by inch, and a heavy gun from Fort Tompkins played upon the British. At that moment a dense smoke arose in the rear of the Americans. The store-houses, in which was gathered an immense amount of materials, and the ship on the stocks, had been fired by the officer in charge, under the impression, when the militia fled, that the post would be captured. The sight was disheartening; but when Brown was assured that the incendiary was a friend, he felt a relief and redoubled his exertions to rally the militia. He succeeded, and so turned the fortunes of the day in favor of his country. Sir George Prevost, mounting a high stump and sweeping the horizon with his field-glass, saw the rallying militia on his flank and rear, and supposing these to be reinforcements of regulars in large numbers, sounded a retreat. That movement became a disorderly flight. The British troops reached the squadron in safety, leaving their dead and wounded behind. At noon the whole armament sailed away, and Sackett's Harbor was saved. So also was the ship on the stocks; but a half million dollars worth of stores were destroyed. Sackett's Harbor was never afterward attacked, and it remained the chief place of deposit for supplies for the northern frontier during the war.

We left the Americans on the Niagara frontier, at Fort George. The British advance-post was then at the Beaver Dams, and General Dearborn sent Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler, with about six hundred men and two field-pieces, to capture the garrison and a large amount of stores collected there. It proved to be a most unfortunate undertaking. Mrs. Laura Secord, a light and delicate woman living at Queenstown, became acquainted with Dearborn's plan, and on a hot summer day on the 23d of June, she made a circuitous journey of nineteen miles on foot to the quarters of Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, who was at the Beaver Dams with some regulars, and informed him of his danger. When, on the following day, Boerstler penetrated that region, he was assailed by Indians under John Brant and others, and by an exaggerated statement of the strength of the British in that neighborhood, was induced to surrender his whole command. The British then advanced to Queenstown, and very soon invested Fort George with a strong force. Dearborn, whose career as commander-in-chief of the army had been singularly unsuccessful, was now succeeded by General James Wilkinson. The change was of no value to the American cause. Dearborn

withdrew from the service before the arrival of Wilkinson, leaving the command of the Americans at Fort George with General John Boyd, the senior officer on that frontier.

Thus far all attempts to conquer Canada had failed. The invasions were unsuccessful, yet the government did not seem to have gained wisdom by experience. The Secretary of War, General Armstrong, was as much infatuated with this idea as his predecessors had been, and he now conceived a plan for making an invasion of that province by the united forces of the armies of the centre and of the north; and on the arrival of Wilkinson from



JAMES WILKINSON.

HENRY DEARBORN.

the command of the Gulf regions, he was ordered to Sackett's Harbor to make arrangements for the future. He differed with Armstrong about the plan of the new invasion, and bitter enmity between them was soon aroused. The fiery spirit of Armstrong could not brook contradiction. There was another fiery spirit then in the field—General Wade Hampton of South Carolina, one of Marion's companions in arms, who had succeeded Bloomfield in command of the Northern Department. He was a thorough-going aristocrat, whose landed possessions in his native State and in Louisiana were almost princely in extent, and he counted his slaves by thousands. He hated Wilkinson intensely; and when that officer, on his arrival at Albany, sent his first order to Hampton, the anger of the veteran was fiercely kindled. He wrote to the Secretary of War, insisting that his was a separate command, and tendering his resignation in the event of his being

ordered to act under Wilkinson. The latter, at the same time, was as jealous of Armstrong, whom he feared might trample upon his prerogatives; and on the 24th of August (1813), he wrote to the Secretary: "I trust you will not interfere with my arrangements, or give orders within the district of my command, but to myself, because it would impair my authority, and distract the public service. Two heads on the same shoulder make a monster."

The jealousies and bickerings, and the manifestations of undesirable personal traits afterward exhibited by these old officers of the Continental army, were highly detrimental to the public service. Armstrong was haughty, fiery, and opinionated. He was a son of an officer in the French and Indian War, and had, himself, been an officer in the Continental Army as aide-de-camp, first to General Mercer and afterward to General Gates. After the war he was active in public life in his native State (Pennsylvania); and having married a sister of Chancellor Livingston, he became a citizen of the State of New York. In 1804 he succeeded his brother-in-law as minister to France, and President Madison unwisely called him to his cabinet as Secretary of War, for he was not well fitted for that office and made serious mistakes. Wilkinson was no better fitted for the office he was called to fill. He, also, was an officer in the Continental Army, and was aide-de-camp to General Gates. His peculiar temperament and personal habits made his selection as commander on the frontier an unfortunate one. As a rule, the younger officers in the army, in the War of 1812-15, were the most efficient and successful.



CHAPTER XI.

EVENTS ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER—COLONEL SCOTT AND REGULARS MARCH EASTWARD—EVENTS ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN—EVENTS ON LAKE ONTARIO—EXPEDITION AGAINST MONTREAL—MILITARY MOVEMENTS IN NORTHERN NEW YORK—BATTLE OF CHRYSLER'S FIELD—THE AMERICAN TROOPS IN WINTER-QUARTERS—CRUELITIES ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER—DESTRUCTION OF BUFFALO—EVENTS IN THE GULF REGION—WAR ON THE CREEK INDIANS—JACKSON SUBDUES THEM—NAVAL EVENTS ON THE OCEAN—CRUISE OF THE "ESSEX"—THE "HORNET" AND "PEACOCK"—THE "CHESAPEAKE" AND "SHANNON"—LOSS OF THE "ARGUS"—VICTORY OF THE "ENTERPRISE."

THE British, made bold by their success at the Beaver Dams, as we have observed, not only closely invested Fort George, but made incursions upon the soil of New York. On the night of the 4th of July, 1813, a party of Canadian militia and Indians, under Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, crossed over to Schlosser and captured a guard, with arms, ammunition and stores, and returned in triumph to Canada. On the 11th of the same month, Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, with a motley party of regulars, Canadians and Indians, about four hundred in number, landed a little below Black Rock, near Buffalo, before daylight. His object was to surprise and capture the little garrison there, and seize or destroy the large quantity of stores collected by the Americans, together with the ship-yard. They were defended by only about two hundred militia, and a dozen men in a block-house. These, with some infantry and dragoon recruits from the south and a few Indians,—a little more than one hundred in all, of the latter—were at Buffalo, under the command of General Peter B. Porter.

Bisshopp surprised the post at Black Rock. The militia fled toward Buffalo, and General Porter barely escaped capture in his own house, near by. He hastened toward Buffalo, rallied a part of the militia, and with fifty volunteer-citizens proceeded to attack the invaders. At the same moment forty Indians crossed from an ambush in a ravine, and with the fearful war-whoop rushed toward the foe. The frightened British, after brief resistance, fled in confusion to their boats, and, with Bisshopp, hastily departed, followed by volleys from American muskets. In this flight Bisshopp was mortally wounded, and died five days afterward.

At about the same time, a small party of Canadians, covered by a large

body of western Indians under Blackbird (the chief who conducted the massacre at Chicago the year before), encamped a short distance from Fort George, had a skirmish with the American pickets. Lieutenant Eldridge, a dashing young officer, went out from the fort, with forty followers, to the relief of the pickets. They fell into an Indian ambush, and only five escaped. Those who were captured were butchered and scalped by the Indians, with horrible attendant circumstances. After that, no military movement of much importance occurred on the Niagara frontier, until late in the autumn of 1813.

While Wilkinson was concentrating forces at the western end of Lake Ontario preparatory to another invasion of Canada, or to the striking of a "deadly blow somewhere," orders came from the Secretary of War to strengthen Fort George, and garrison it with at least six hundred regulars. Wilkinson left eight hundred regulars at the fort, with some militia under Colonel Scott, and, with the remainder of the army on the Niagara frontier, sailed eastward on the 2d of October. He instructed Scott, in the event of the British leaving that frontier, to put Fort George in charge of General McClure of the New York militia, and with the regulars to join the expedition destined to go down the St. Lawrence. This contingency soon occurred. When General Vincent heard of the defeat of Proctor on the Thames, he called the British troops from the Niagara to Burlington Heights. Then Scott crossed the river, and marching eastward as far as Utica, he there met the Secretary of War who had come from Washington to reconcile the difference between Wilkinson and Hampton, and to assume the conduct of the invading expedition. The Secretary permitted Scott to leave his troops and to press northward to join Wilkinson. Armstrong established the seat of the War Department at Sackett's Harbor.

Meanwhile there had been stirring events on Lakes Champlain and Ontario. In the spring of 1813, Captain Macdonough, who had been charged with the construction of a fleet on Lake Champlain, placed two stanch armed vessels on those waters, named *Growler* and *Eagle*. At the beginning of June they were sent to the foot of the lake to look after some British gun-boats that were depredating there. They ran down the Sorel with a stiff breeze almost to Isle-aux-Noix, when they turned and ran back, chased by British armed vessels and by a land force on each side of the narrow river. A heavy cannon-shot sunk the *Eagle*, and the *Growler* was captured with the crews of both vessels. This disaster stimulated Macdonough to greater exertions; and at the beginning of August he had placed on the lake, and fitted and manned, three armed schooners and six gun-boats. At about the same time Plattsburg (on the west side of the

lake), entirely uncovered, had been seized, plundered and scorched by a British land and naval force, fourteen hundred strong, under Colonel Murray, while General Hampton, with four thousand troops at Burlington, about twenty miles distant, had made no attempt to oppose the invaders. Such was the condition of affairs on Lake Champlain at the close of the summer of 1813, when Wilkinson took command of the army of the north.

Chauncey, meanwhile, had been busy on Lake Ontario, after leaving the mouth of the Niagara River. While at Niagara he heard of the appearance of a British fleet on the lake and its menace of Sackett's Harbor, when he immediately weighed anchor and sought the enemy. He crossed the lake, looked into York, and ran for Kingston; but not meeting with the British fleet, he went to the Harbor, where the embers of the late conflagration were yet smouldering. The unfinished big vessel on the stocks there had been saved, and she was speedily finished and named *General Pike*. But it was late in the summer before she was fully equipped and manned. The keel of a fast-sailing schooner, called the *Sylph*, was laid by Eckford at the Harbor, and was launched late in July.

For several weeks the belligerent fleets were moving over the lake without coming to an encounter. Chauncey was seeking an opportunity to measure strength and skill with his antagonist, and Sir James Yeo, the British naval leader, was continually avoiding battle, for his superiors had instructed him to "risk nothing." Chauncey had thirteen vessels, a great portion of them altered merchantmen. Sir James had six staunch vessels built expressly for war. Finally, on the 7th of July, they were in sight of each other. There was a stiff breeze and they manœuvred all day, each trying to obtain the weather-gage. At night there was a dead calm, and Chauncey, by the use of sweeps, gathered his vessels in close order. At midnight, fitful gales swept over the lake. Suddenly a rushing sound was heard at the rear of the American fleet, and it was soon ascertained that a terrific squall had capsized two of the vessels, and all on board had perished except sixteen men. The next day there was light skirmishing; but the summer wore away without bloodshed on the lake, Sir James continually expressing a desire to "fight the Yankees."

Finally, on the 18th of September, Chauncey, who had been sent to Niagara to convey troops to Sackett's Harbor, went out to attack the British fleet which had followed him. He compelled the baronet to fight or cease boasting. A sharp battle ensued between the *Pike* and the heavier vessels of the enemy, but it did not last long. When the smoke of the conflict was cleared away, it was found that the *Wolfe*, Sir James Yeo's flag-ship, was too much bruised to fight any longer, and was hurrying away before the wind,

with crowded canvas, covered in her retreat by the *Royal George*. The enemy fled westward to Burlington Bay, pursued by Chauncey, but a rising gale made it prudent for the latter to return to Niagara. The British vessels soon made their way to Kingston; and Chauncey, returning to the Harbor, did little more during the remainder of the season, than to watch the enemy and to assist the army in its descent of the St. Lawrence.

It had been determined by Armstrong and Wilkinson, in council at Sackett's Harbor, that the latter should lead an expedition down the St. Lawrence to attack Montreal. While preparations for this enterprise was in progress, the right wing of the army, under General Hampton, had been put in motion to co-operate with the forces on the St. Lawrence. At the middle of September, Hampton had gathered at Cumberland Head, near Plattsburg, four thousand effective infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and a well-appointed train of artillery. He moved forward, and on the 24th encamped on the Chateaugay River, not far from the present village of Chateaugay in Franklin county, N. Y., where he awaited further orders.

At the middle of October, the troops destined for Montreal embarked at Sackett's Harbor, and at the same time Hampton was ordered to make his way to the St. Lawrence at the mouth of the Chateaugay, to co-operate with them. The flotilla of open boats was terribly smitten by a gale. The vessels were dispersed, and much property was lost. The troops rendezvoused on Grenadier Island, except some under General Brown that pushed forward to French Creek, now Clayton, where, on the afternoon of the 1st of November, they had a sharp fight with British schooners and gun-boats filled with infantry. In the meantime snow had fallen to a considerable depth, and a Canadian winter was near. The troops went forward from Grenadier Island, and the combined force left French Creek at dawn on the morning of the 5th of November, in about three hundred boats. It was clear and cold. The banners were all folded, and the music was silent, for they wished to elude the vigilance of the British, who, until then, did not know whether Kingston or Montreal was the destination of the expedition. But the Americans were discovered and were pursued by a heavy armed galley and gun-boats filled with troops, through the sinuous channels among the Thousand Islands. That evening the belligerents had a fight by moonlight in Alexandria Bay, and land troops from Kingston reached Prescott before Wilkinson arrived at Ogdensburg. The latter disembarked his army just above that village, and marched around to a point below to avoid the batteries on the Canada shore. In the meantime General Brown had successfully taken the flotilla past the batteries at Prescott, and the forces were reunited at a point four miles below Ogdensburg.

After many perils on land and water, and being closely pursued by the enemy in boats and on the shore, under the general command of Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, the flotilla lay anchored a few miles above the head of Long Rapids, on the 10th of November. Many of the troops under Generals Boyd and Brown were on the northern shores of the St. Lawrence, and Brown had pushed forward to dislodge the enemy posted at the foot of the Long Rapids to attack the flotilla when it should descend the stream. Brown was successful, and the next day (November 11, 1813) General Boyd pushed forward and met the enemy face to face, in battle array, on the farm of John Chrysler, a few miles below Williamsburg, in Canada. There a severe battle was fought in cold, snow and sleet, which lasted about five hours. Boyd was ably supported by Generals Swartwout and Covington, Colonels Coles, Ripley and Swift, and Adjutant-General Walbach at the head of cavalry. The Americans were driven from the field with a total loss in killed and wounded of three hundred and thirty-nine. Among the mortally wounded was General Covington. Under cover of the night, the American troops withdrew to the boats, and the next morning the flotilla passed the Long Rapids in safety. General Wilkinson was very ill, and word came from General Hampton that he could not form the ordered junction, but would return to Lake Champlain and co-operate in the attack on Montreal. He would not serve under Wilkinson. The officers of the little invading army did not deem it prudent to follow Wilkinson (who was then weak in body and mind) any further in the way of invasion, and a council determined that the troops should be put into winter-quarters at French Mills, on the Salmon River, which was done. So ended in disaster and disgrace the expedition for another invasion of Canada. And the campaign of 1813, in the north, closed with distressing events on the Niagara frontier in December. General McClure, considering Fort George untenable with his little garrison of only forty effective men, resolved to abandon it, cross the river, and leaving Fort Niagara in charge of a subaltern, march to Buffalo. Before leaving, he ordered the beautiful village of Newark, on the Canada side, to be set on fire. One hundred and fifty houses were laid in ashes. Many of the tenants—tender women and children—were turned into the keen winter air (it was the 10th of December) houseless wanderers. This wanton savagism created fiery indignation. The British seized Fort Niagara, and massacred a part of the garrison. Free rein was given to the Indians for plunder and destruction; and every village and hamlet on the New York side of the river between the lake and Buffalo, was despoiled and burnt. Black Rock and Buffalo did not escape. The exasperated enemy took possession of the latter village, containing about fifteen hundred inhab-

itants, and laid it in ruins. Only four buildings were left. That event occurred a little more than sixty years ago; now, on the site of that village, is a stately commercial city with full 125,000 inhabitants.

In the region of the Gulf of Mexico, affairs assumed a serious aspect in the summer of 1813. The ever-restless Tecumtha had been among the southern Indian tribes in the early spring, stirring them up to make war on the white people. The powerful Creeks, inhabiting Alabama and western Georgia, yielded to his influence and persuasions; and at the close of August, a large party of them, led by the noted chief Weatherford, surprised and captured Fort Mimms, on the east side of the Alabama River, about ten miles above its junction with the Tombigbee. Flaming arrows set the fort on fire, and by the flames and the gleaming tomahawk, almost three hundred men, women, and children perished. The British agent at Pensacola had offered five dollars apiece for scalps, and many a savage pagan bore away the locks of men and the long tresses of women as marketable commodities in a Christian market.



SCALPS FOR THE MARKET.

This event aroused the whole southwest. A cry for help went northward, but it took a month to reach New York. Meanwhile the Tennesseans flew to the relief of their suffering neighbors. General Andrew Jackson, commanding that region, was then disabled

by a wound received in a duel with the late Senator Thomas H. Benton; but he issued a stirring appeal to the men of his division. The Tennessee legislature provided for calling to the field over three thousand men, and immediate preparations were made for chastising the savages. Late in September Colonel John Coffee, at the head of five hundred cavalry, pressed on toward the frontier of the Creek country, and everywhere volunteers flocked to his standard. The appointed place of rendezvous for all the troops was at Fayetteville, eighty miles south of Nashville, and at that point Jackson arrived early in October, with his arm in a sling. He soon joined Coffee below the Tennessee, and with twenty-five hundred foot soldiers and thirteen hundred mounted men, he was encamped on the banks of the Coosa River at the beginning of November.

The campaign against the savages was opened with vigor. On the 3d of November, Coffee (who had lately been commissioned brigadier-general) surrounded an Indian force, with nine hundred men, at Tallashatchee (near the present town of Jacksonville, in Benton county, Alabama), and killed two hundred of the savages. Not a warrior escaped. Tallashatchee was wiped from the face of the earth. Hearing of the approach of General Cocke with East Tennesseans, Jackson pushed on to Talladega, east of the Coosa, in Talladega county, to relieve the settlers there. On the 8th of November he had a sanguinary battle with the Indians at Talladega, and defeated them with great slaughter. Among the trophies which he carried back to his camp on the Coosa, was a coarse banner on which were the Spanish arms, an evidence of the complicity of the Spaniards at Pensacola with the savages.

Late in November the Creek country was invaded from the east by Georgians under General John Floyd, nine hundred strong, accompanied by four hundred friendly Indians. Floyd pushed westward to the Tallapoosa River, and fell upon the Indians at Autossee, twenty miles above the confluence of that stream with the Coosa, at dawn on the 29th. The place was called "holy ground," and the prophets had taught the Indians that no white man could set his foot there and live. This fallacy was soon fearfully dispelled by Floyd and his followers. He assailed the warriors there with cannon, bullet, and bayonet. After a brief struggle the affrighted savages fled to the woods, closely pursued by the victors, who cruelly butchered every one they overtook.

In the meantime, General Claiborne had penetrated the Creek country from the west with a thousand men, to aid Jackson in subduing the savages. He fought the Indians who were under the immediate command of Weatherford, and on the morning of the 23d of November, he assailed them at Econachaca, another "holy" place at a bluff on the left bank of the Alabama River, in Lowndes county. There Tecumtha had left "prophets" to inflame the Creeks, and in the centre of the town white and dusky prisoners had been frightfully tortured at the stake. It was Weatherford's favorite resort, for he had built the village in an obscure place, to which no trail led. But Claiborne found it. Very soon after he closed upon it with three columns, the Indians fled in dismay, and in canoes and by swimming many escaped to the opposite shore. Weatherford, finding himself deserted by his warriors, fled swiftly on a powerful gray horse, hotly pursued, to the verge of a perpendicular bluff, having a ravine on each side. There he paused a moment, when his steed made a mighty leap, and horse and rider disappeared under the flood. They immediately rose, and Weatherford.

with his rifle in his hand, was borne by the noble animal to the opposite shore, and escaped.

Jackson's army was literally disbanded at the close of 1813, but he was soon at the head of a thousand raw recruits and some friendly Indians, attended by General Coffee. His forced inactivity for awhile had encouraged the Indians to be aggressive, and he resolved to renew the war with as much



LEAP OF WEATHERFORD'S HORSE.

vigor as possible. He pushed on with his force toward the Indian village of Emucfau, on the western bank of the Tallapoosa River, in Tallapoosa county, and encamped near there on the evening of the 21st of January, 1814. At daybreak the next morning he was fiercely attacked by the savages, and a very hard struggle ensued. The courage of the Creeks was astonishing, and though they were repulsed, Jackson thought it prudent to withdraw and return to Fort Strother, from which he had marched.

During the winter there was skirmishing in the Creek country ; and early in February, Jackson was gratified by news that two thousand East Tennesseans were near Lookout Mountain, coming to join him. The Choctaw Indians openly espoused the cause of the Americans, and at the beginning of March, he was at the head of about five thousand men, prepared to strike the savages a crushing blow. The Creeks, aware of this, gathered in large numbers at the Horse-shoe Bend of the Tallapoosa, to avert it. They called the place Tohopeka, and by the aid of white men at Pensacola, they had built a very strong breastwork of logs across the neck of the peninsula. The Indians had gathered there an ample supply of food, and with their women and children, numbering in all about twelve hundred persons, they determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

Jackson moved upon Tohopeka with about two thousand soldiers, and on the 27th of March (1814) began an assault upon the stronghold, after planting small cannon on an eminence not far off. The Indians were in a fortified pen and were hopeful. The white men could make but very little impression upon their works, and were derided by the savages. Jackson called for volunteers to storm them. The first man who stepped out was Ensign Houston (afterward the eminent Sam Houston, governor of Texas), who was already wounded. Others followed. They set fire to the fortifications, and as the inmates tried to escape, they were shot down like wild beasts. Not one would surrender, and they were butchered without mercy. At the close of the conflict, almost six hundred Creek warriors lay dead, and the spoils of victory were more than three hundred Indian widows and orphans. The nation had received a deadly blow. Its power and spirit were broken forever. The chiefs of the remnant sued for peace, and agreed to a treaty upon the terms imposed by Jackson. Weatherford, their great leader, survived the destruction of his nation, and he sought the tent of Jackson. There he found the general alone. Standing erect, his magnificent figure assuming an attitude of quiet dignity, Weatherford folded his arms and with a firm voice said : "I am in your power ; do with me what you please. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. My warriors are all gone now, and I can do no more. When there was a chance for success, I never asked for peace. There is none now, and I ask it for the remnant of my nation." Jackson admired the pluck of the chieftain before him, and granted his request. So it has been time after time since the advent of the Europeans in America ; the hands of the stronger have been laid upon the weaker until now nothing but *remnants* of once powerful nations are found.

There were important naval events on the ocean during the year 1813. We have observed that the *Essex*, Captain Porter, sailed on a long cruise, in the autumn of 1812. Having missed Bainbridge, Porter went southward, crossed the Equator on the 11th of December, 1812, and the next day captured his first prize, the British packet-ship *Nocton*, 10, with \$55,000 in



WEATHERFORD AND JACKSON.

specie on board. He sailed around Cape Horn into the Pacific Ocean, with the intention of capturing the English whalers there, and to live on the enemy. While in those waters Porter seized twelve British whale-ships, with an aggregate of three hundred and two men and one hundred and seven guns. Some of them he armed, and at one time he had a fleet of nine vessels. The *Essex* finally met with disaster in the harbor of Valparaiso, in the spring of 1813. There she was blockaded, with her consort

Essex, Jr. (a prize vessel which Porter had manned with sixty choice men and armed with twenty cannon), by two British war-vessels—the frigate *Phæbe*, 36, Captain Hillyer, and the schooner *Cherub*, 20, Captain Tucker. At length Porter resolved to run the blockade. The sails of his vessels were spread for the purpose on the 28th of March, 1814, and both ships started for the open sea, when a squall partly disabled the *Essex* and both sought shelter in a bay. There they were attacked by the *Phæbe* and *Cherub*, and one of the most desperate and sanguinary battles of the war ensued. When at last the *Essex* was a helpless wreck and on fire, and her magazine was threatened—when every officer but one was slain or disabled—when, of the two hundred and twenty-five brave men who went into the fight on board of her, only seventy-five effective ones remained, Porter hauled down his flag. So ended the brilliant cruise of the *Essex*. Her gallant commander wrote to the Secretary of War: “We have been unfortunate, but not disgraced.” Porter was publicly honored as the “hero of the Pacific.”

When, after the capture of the *Java*, Bainbridge sailed for the United States, he left the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, commander James Lawrence, to blockade an English vessel in a South American port. The *Hornet* was driven away by a larger British vessel, and on the 24th of February, 1813, fell in with the British brig *Peacock*, 18, Captain Peake, off the mouth of the Demarara River. They fought desperately fifteen minutes, when the colors of the *Peacock* were hauled down, and a signal of distress was run up. Her commander was slain, and she was sinking. So rapidly did she fill, that before all the wounded could be taken from her, she went to the bottom of the sea, taking down with her nine British seamen and three Americans. Lawrence immediately sailed for the United States; and the story of the exploit of the *Hornet* created a profound sensation. A Halifax newspaper said: “It will not do for our vessels to fight them single-handed. The Americans are a dead nip.” Public honors were awarded to Lawrence, and Congress gave him thanks and a gold medal. To each of the commissioned officers of the *Hornet* they gave a silver medal. More precious than all was a public letter of thanks given to Lawrence by the officers of the *Peacock*, his prisoners, for his kind and generous treatment of them.

While the *Hornet* was on her homeward-bound voyage, with her large number of prisoners, the *Chesapeake*, 38, Captain Evans, was out on a long cruise to the Cape de Verd Islands and the coasts of South America. She accomplished nothing, excepting the capture of four British merchant vessels; and as she entered Boston harbor in a gale, her top-mast was carried away, and with it several men who were aloft. These were drowned. She

had the name of an "unlucky" ship. Evans was compelled to leave her on account of the loss of the sight of one of his eyes, and Lawrence, who had been promoted to captain, was put in command of her, with the *Hornet*, Captain Biddle, as consort.

At the close of May, the British frigate *Shannon*, 38 (she carried fifty-two guns), Captain Broke, appeared off Boston harbor in the attitude of a challenger. Lawrence observed her, and on the morning of the 1st of June he sent out a pilot-boat to ascertain whether she was alone. Shortly afterward Captain Broke sent in a polite note to Lawrence inviting him to come out to single combat, and assuring him that the *Chesapeake* would be crushed by a British squadron, if she should attempt to go to sea.

Seeing that the *Shannon* was without a consort, Lawrence, with Lieutenant Ludlow as his second in command, sailed out of Boston harbor to meet the booster, at midday on the 1st of June. They engaged in a close conflict between five and six o'clock the same evening. After fighting twelve minutes, the shot of the *Shannon* so injured the spars and rigging of the *Chesapeake*, that she became unmanageable. Her mizzen rigging was entangled in the fore chains of her antagonist, in which position the decks of the *Chesapeake* were swept with terrible effect by the balls of the *Shannon*. Lawrence ordered his boarders to be called up. There was some delay in obedience, when a musket-ball mortally wounded the gallant young commander, and he was carried below. As he left the deck he said: "Tell the men to fire faster and not to give up the ship. Fight her till she sinks." The words of the dying hero, "Don't give up the ship!" became a battle-cry of the Americans. As an encouragement to any person struggling in life's battles, R. M. Charlton, referring to this incident, wrote in a short poem:

"Though danger spreads her ready snare
Your erring steps to trip,
Remember that dead hero's prayer,
And 'don't give up the ship.'"

Broke's boarders soon swarmed upon the deck of the *Chesapeake*, where the highest officer, not hurt, was a midshipman. A fierce hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which Lieutenant Ludlow, before wounded, was mortally hurt by a sabre cut. Victory remained with the *Shannon*, after a most sanguinary battle, in which the Americans lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and forty-six men, and the British eighty-four. Broke immediately sailed for Halifax with his prize, and the day before his arrival (June 7, 1813), Lawrence expired. The victory was hailed with great joy by the inhabitants. England rang with shouts of exultation. An American writer

remarked, "Never did any victory—not even that of Wellington in Spain, nor those of Nelson—call forth such expression of joy on the part of the British; a proof that our naval character had risen somewhat in their estimation."

The loss of the *Chesapeake* was soon followed by another disaster. The American brig *Argus*, 32, Captain Allen, had borne to France William H. Crawford, United States minister to that government. Then she cruised in British waters, and by celerity of movement and destructive energy, she spread consternation throughout commercial England. In less than thirty days she destroyed or captured twenty British merchantmen with their cargoes, valued at two million dollars. Too far away from home to send in his prizes, Allen burnt them all, after generous treatment of their people. Several British cruisers were sent out to capture the *Argus*. Just before the dawn of the 14th of August (1813), the British sloop-of-war *Pelican*, 18, Captain Maples, attacked her. The men of the *Argus* were weakened by the too free use of captured wine the night before, and after a conflict of three-quarters of an hour, she was compelled to strike her colors. In the action, a round-shot had carried away a leg of the brave Allen, and he died the next day. The capture of the *Argus* gave great relief to the British shipping interest, at that time, for she had appeared to be invincible.

Soon afterward an American naval vessel won honor by a victory near the New England coast. The brig *Enterprise*, 14, Lieutenant Burrows, sailed out of the harbor of Portland, Maine, on the morning of the 4th of September, in search of British cruisers. The next day she encountered the British brig *Boxer*, 14, Captain Blythe. Both leaders were mortally wounded at the beginning of the conflict, and Lieutenant McCall commanded the *Enterprise* during the battle of four minutes, when the *Boxer* was surrendered. The bodies of the two young commanders were buried side by side, in a cemetery near the water's edge, at Portland, and their graves are marked by marble slabs suitably inscribed, lying upon brick foundations. Congress presented a gold medal to the nearest masculine relative of Lieutenant Burrows, and another was given to Lieutenant McCall.



CHAPTER XII.

MARAUDING WARFARE—PLUNDER AND DESTRUCTION OF TOWNS—COCKBURN AT HAVRE-DE-GRACE—NORFOLK THREATENED—THE BRITISH REPULSED—CRUELITIES AT HAMPTON—DEPARTURE OF THE MARAUDERS—CRUISE OF COMMODORE RODGERS—FALL OF NAPOLEON—PEACE FACTION—FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES—CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE PUBLIC CREDIT—DISPOSITION OF TROOPS ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIERS—LA COLLE MILLS—ATTACK ON OSWEGO—CAPTURE OF FORT ERIE—BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA.

DURING the spring and summer of 1813, a most distressing warfare was carried on by a small British squadron and some soldiers, under the command of Admiral Cockburn, upon the coast between Delaware Bay and Charleston Harbor. The chief object of the marauding movements appears to have been to draw American troops from the northern frontier to the defence of the seaboard, and thus lessen the danger from invasion by which Canada was continually threatened. It was a sort of amphibious warfare, carried on upon land or water as circumstances seemed to require, and it was marked by many acts of wanton cruelty and barbarity on the part of the aggressors. "Chastise the Americans into submission" was the fiat that went out from the British Cabinet toward the close of 1812, and it was determined to send out a land and naval force sufficient to do it. An order in council in December declared the ports and harbors of the Chesapeake and Delaware bays in a state of blockade. The first hostile squadron entered the capes of Virginia early in February, 1813, commanded by Sir George Cockburn, whose flag-ship was the *Marlborough*, 74. His vessels bore a land force of about eighteen hundred men, a part of them captive Frenchmen from English prisons, who preferred active life in the British service to indefinite confinement in jails. The appearance of this force alarmed all lower Virginia, and the militia of the peninsula and the region about Norfolk were soon in motion after the squadron had anchored in Hampton Roads. An order went out from the Secretary of the Treasury for the extinguishment of all the beacon-lights on the Chesapeake coast, and at Old Point Comfort a host of armed men defied the invaders. At the same time the frigate *Constellation*, 38, lying near Norfolk, was making ready to attack the British vessels, when the latter withdrew and engaged in the destruction of merchant-vessels in Chesapeake Bay.

A part of the squadron went into Delaware Bay to demand the submission of the inhabitants along its shores. When the commander sent a note to the "first magistrate" of the little town of Lewis, demanding bullocks, provender and vegetables, and threatening the destruction of the town in case of refusal, he was astonished by the answer, "We solemnly refuse to commit legal or moral treason; do your worst." The inhabitants had prepared for the invaders, and the latter found prudence to be the "better part of valor." All along the Delaware coast the militia, forewarned, were out with experienced leaders. Newcastle and Wilmington were alive with enthusiasm. At the latter place the venerable Allen McLane, of the Continental Army, took the direction of military affairs; and for some weeks the thunders of the British squadron were held back. Finally, early in April, cannon of the enemy opened on Lewis, and hurled full eight hundred shot and shell upon the town, without doing much damage. The invaders were repulsed by the militia.

Meanwhile Cockburn, who had been plundering and distressing the inhabitants along the coasts of the Chesapeake Bay, concluded to undertake more ambitious adventures. He thought of attacking Annapolis, Baltimore, and even the national capital; but the experience of the squadron in the Delaware caused him to listen to the warnings of prudence, and he only made warfare upon the little villages of Frenchtown, Georgetown, Frederick and Havre-de-Grace, on the banks of the Chesapeake, which he plundered and burned. At the latter place, situated at the mouth of the Susquehanna River, he opened a cannonade in the night, at the beginning of May, while the inhabitants were slumbering, and with his shot and shell he sent blazing Congreve rockets that set buildings on fire. Then he sent four hundred men on shore, who proceeded deliberately to plunder the dwellings and lay them in ashes. When the village was half destroyed, Cockburn went ashore himself and was met by a deputation of ladies, who had taken refuge in a large brick house some distance from the town. They entreated him to spare the remainder of the village, and he reluctantly consented to do so. When the marauders left Havre-de-Grace, the town was at least sixty thousand dollars poorer than when they came.

On the first day of June (1813), Admiral Warren entered the Chesapeake with a naval reinforcement for the marauders, bearing a large number of troops under General Sir Sidney Beckwith. The British naval force then within the capes of Virginia consisted of eight ships-of-the-line, twelve frigates, and a considerable number of smaller vessels. Their proposed first point of attack was Norfolk, then defended by the frigate *Constellation*, twenty gun-boats and four forts, besides an outpost of strong fortifications

on Craney Island, a few miles below Norfolk. The militia of that region were in the field or in garrison, under the chief command of General Robert B. Taylor; and the troops on Craney Island were led by Lieutenant Colonel Beatty. The artillery were under the charge of Major James Faulkner. The armed vessels were placed in a curved line from Craney Island to the eastern shore.



THE BRITISH AT HAVRE-DE-GRACE.

Before the dawn of the 22d of June (1813) twenty-five hundred British troops were landed on the western shore, not far from Craney Island, and, in the early morning, they crept stealthily through the underbrush of the woods, to attack the Americans. At the same time fifty large barges filled with fifteen hundred sailors and marines, were seen approaching from the ships of the enemy. They were led by Admiral Warren's beautiful barge, and made for the narrow strait between Craney Island and the main. Faulkner had his artillery well in hand, and when the enemy were within proper distance, the great guns opened a terrible storm upon them. The invaders were repulsed, and retreated in haste to their ships. Warren's barge, which had a small swivel-gun at the bow, with four others, was sunk in the shallow water, when some American seamen waded out, seized the elegant little vessel and dragged it ashore, taking with them several men as

prisoners. The British now abandoned all hope of seizing Norfolk, the *Constellation* and the navy-yard, and never attempted it afterward.

Exasperated by this repulse, the enemy fell upon the village of Hampton with fury. Early on the morning of the 25th of June, twenty-five hundred soldiers, including the French captives, landed near the village. Major Crutchfield, with a small force, fought the invaders gallantly, until the pressure of a superior number compelled him to retreat, when the British entered the village and Admiral Cockburn gave it up to pillage and rapine. Many of the inhabitants had fled up the peninsula. Those who were unable to escape became victims of horrid atrocities, especially the unprotected women. A commission appointed to investigate the matter said, in their report, "The sex, hitherto guarded by the soldier's honor, escaped not the assaults of superior force." These transactions have consigned the name of Sir George Cockburn to merited dishonor. The British officers who tried to palliate the offence by charging the crimes upon the Frenchmen, were denounced by the most respectable British writers as responsible for the shame.

Leaving Hampton, Cockburn sailed down the coast of North Carolina, plundering the inhabitants wherever opportunity offered, and carrying away a large number of slaves whom he sold in the West Indies on his private account. In pleasing contrast to Cockburn's career on our coasts, was that of Commodore Sir Thomas Hardy on the ocean borders of New England, while he was in command of a blockading squadron there. His conduct was always that of a high-minded gentleman and generous enemy. Even when he was exasperated by the attempts of private individuals to blow up his vessels with torpedoes, his forbearance from retaliation was as generous as it was humane.

We may close the record of contests on sea and land in 1813, by a notice of a remarkable cruise by Commodore Rodgers. He left Boston late in April, in the *President*, 44, accompanied by the *Congress*, 38, and sailed to the northeast in search of British vessels. For weeks he was singularly unsuccessful, not meeting with a vessel of any kind. At length his presence in British waters became known, and produced much excitement among the English shipping. Many cruisers were sent out to capture or destroy the *President* (which had parted company with the *Congress* toward the Azores); and finally, on the 23d of September, Rodgers fell in with the British armed schooner *Highflyer*, the tender to Admiral Warren's flag-ship *San Domingo*, a stanch vessel and fast sailer and commanded by Lieutenant Hutchinson, one of Cockburn's subalterns when he plundered and burned Havre-de-Grace, the home of Rodgers. By stratagem the latter decoyed the *High-*

flyer alongside the *President*, and captured her without firing a gun. He had obtained some British signal-books before leaving Boston, and he had caused some signals to be made on his ship. When he came in sight of the enemy he raised a British ensign, which was responded to, and a signal was also displayed from the mast-head of the *Highflyer*. Rodgers was delighted to find he possessed its complement, when he signalled that his vessel was the *Sea-Horse*, one of the largest of the British vessels of its class in American waters. The *Highflyer* bore down, hove to under the stern of the *President* and received one of Rodgers' lieutenants on board, who was dressed in the British naval uniform. He bore an order from Rodgers for Hutchinson to send his signal-books on board the *Sea-Horse* to be altered, as the Yankees, it was alleged (and truly), had obtained possession of some of them. Hutchinson obeyed, and Rodgers was put in possession of the whole correspondence of the British navy.

The commander of the *Highflyer* soon followed his signal-books, and putting into Rodgers' hands a bundle of despatches for Admiral Warren, told the commodore that the main object of the British naval chief was to capture or destroy the *President*, which had spread alarm in British waters. "What kind of a man is Rodgers?" asked the commodore, when the unsuspecting lieutenant replied: "I have never seen him, but am told he is an odd fish and hard to catch." "Sir!" said Rodgers, with emphasis that startled Hutchinson, "do you know what vessel you are on board of?" The lieutenant answered, "Why, yes sir; his Majesty's ship *Sea-Horse*." "Then sir," said Rodgers, "you labor under a mistake; you are on board the *President*, and I am Commodore Rodgers." At that moment the band struck up "Yankee Doodle" on the *President's* quarter-deck, the American ensign was displayed, and uniforms were suddenly changed from red to blue. The lieutenant was astonished and was utterly overwhelmed with shame, for he had in his possession a sword which he had stolen from Rodgers' house at Havre-de-Grace. He had been instructed not to fall into the hands of Commodore Rodgers, for, it was alleged, he would hang the lieutenant to the yard-arm, if he should catch him. But Rodgers treated Hutchinson with all the courtesy due to a prisoner-of-war, and soon afterward he released him on parole. This transaction occurred off the New England coast, and three days afterward, Rodgers entered Newport with his prize. He had captured eleven merchant-vessels and nearly three hundred prisoners. In December, Rodgers sailed on another cruise to the southward, with some success and varying fortunes, and in February (1814) he dashed through a British blockading squadron off Sandy Hook and sailed into New York harbor. In that city he was entertained at a public dinner, at which he

gave the following patriotic toast: "Peace—if it can be obtained without the sacrifice of national honor or the abandonment of maritime rights; otherwise war until peace shall be secured without the sacrifice of either."

With the close of the year 1813, the British government evinced a disposition to prosecute the war in America with greater vigor. Their vessels-of-war swarmed in American waters and kept the seaport towns in such continual alarm, that all projects for conquering Canada by the Americans was



COMMODORE RODGERS AND LIEUTENANT HUTCHINSON.

kept in abeyance for awhile, though the invasion of that province continued to be a favorite scheme of the administration. Early in 1814 the victorious career of Napoleon was checked by the allied powers of Europe. Nearly every continental government coalesced with England in efforts to crush him and to sustain the sinking Bourbon dynasty. The armies allied in a common cause, approaching from different directions, met around Paris at the close of March, 1814, and the Prussian and Russian emperors entered the French capital in triumph. Napoleon had surrendered, for he had been closely pursued by superior armies, deserted by friends, and possessed only shattered forces. Hoping to secure the crown to his son, he abdicated the throne and retired to the island of Elba, where he was allowed to reign as

sovereign, with an annual income of twelve hundred thousand dollars. Peace for Europe seemed to be secured thereby. British troops were withdrawn from the continent, and early in the summer of 1814, fourteen thousand of Wellington's veterans, fresh from the fields of the Peninsula, were sent to Canada to operate against the United States.

It was fortunate for the Americans that hitherto since war against England had been proclaimed, hostile armies were fiercely contending in Europe. Had peace reigned on that continent when *our* war first began, Great Britain might have crushed the Americans by the mere weight of military and naval numbers and metal. The Americans were excessively weak when they began the war, for political partisanship divided the nation. They were physically unprepared for any excessive strain; but as the contest went on and the people beheld clearly that not party but *justice* was the object for which the armies and navies of the United States were contending, there was more unity and consequently more moral strength. At the beginning of 1814 there were very few opponents of the war outside of the unpatriotic Peace Faction and their influence. This faction was found in much the greatest numbers in New England, where they had been very active, during 1813, in efforts to embarrass the government in carrying on the war. They upheld violators of the law and defied every principle of patriotic action by nefarious acts, until the great body of the people of New England so emphatically condemned their course that they became less and less conspicuous.

Among the mischievous enemies of the government were selfish men who secretly supplied the British blockading squadrons from our shores, and received British manufactures in pretended neutral vessels, by the sale of which enormous profits were realized. This system of public mischief had become so deplorable in its consequences, that late in 1813 the President recommended the passage of an Embargo act, shutting up American ports to ingress and egress. It was done; but almost simultaneously with the passage of the act came news of Napoleon's reverses and prospects of peace in Europe. This intelligence was soon followed by the assurance of the British government of a willingness on its part to treat for peace with the Americans; but in these assurances, there was no disposition shown on the part of that government to recede one iota from its assumption of the right of search and impressment. The language of Lord Castlereagh was that his government was willing to treat with that of the United States "upon principles of perfect reciprocity *not inconsistent with the established maxims of public law* [the 'Rule of 1756'] *and with the maritime rights of the British empire.*" Our government, sincerely anxious for peace, interpreted this

generously, and added to the commission sent abroad to treat for Russian mediation, two other members authorized to join the others and negotiate a treaty with commissioners of the British government. There were now loud clamors for a repeal of the Embargo act, and it was repealed in April, 1814.

Meanwhile as these preliminary movements did not, by any means, give full assurance of peace, our government prepared to prosecute the war as vigorously as possible, notwithstanding the finances were in a wretched condition, and the public credit was so weak that United States Treasury notes had fallen seventeen per cent below par. From the beginning the government was compelled to ask for loans, and the Peace Faction made such persistent opposition for the purpose of embarrassing the administration, that in every case a bonus had to be paid for all sums borrowed. On a loan of \$16,000,000, authorized at the beginning of 1813, the lenders received a bonus of about \$2,000,000. In March, 1814, the darkest period of the war, a loan of \$25,000,000 was authorized, when the Peace Faction at public meetings, through the newspapers and even from the pulpit, cast every possible embarrassment in the way of the government. Their opposition assumed the character of virtual treason. They violently denounced the government and those who dared to lend it money; and by inflammatory publications and personal threats, they intimidated many capitalists who were disposed to lend. The result was that not one-half of the amount of the proposed loan was obtained, and that only by the payment on \$11,400,000 of a bonus of \$2,852,000. Over the failure of the government these unpatriotic men rejoiced, and pointed to it as an evidence that the people were opposed to war. So disastrous was this attempt to loan money, that only one more of a like nature was made through the remainder of the war, the deficiency being made up by the issue of Treasury notes.

Failing to accomplish their object in full by this movement (for banks and patriotic men loaned money to the government), the Peace Faction struck another blow at the public credit, and obtained the aid of the Boston banks in giving it intensity. The banks out of New England were the principal lenders to the government, and measures were taken to drain them of their specie, and so produce an utter inability on their part to pay their subscriptions. Boston banks sent the notes of New York banks and those further south, which they held, with a demand for their redemption in specie, and at the same time drafts were drawn on the New York banks for the balances due the Boston corporations to the total amount of about \$8,000,000. A panic was created and great commercial embarrassment ensued, for banks so drained were compelled to contract their discounts. This conspiracy against the public credit was potent and ruinous in its

effects. To make the blow more intensely fatal, the conspirators made arrangements with agents of the government authorities of Lower Canada, whereby a very large amount of British government bills, drawn on Quebec, were transmitted to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and offered on such advantageous terms that capitalists were induced to purchase them. By this means an immense amount of gold was transmitted to Canada, and so placed beyond the reach of the government of the United States and put into the hands of the enemy. Had the conspirators fully succeeded the national armies must have been disbanded, and our country might have been reduced to a dependency of Great Britain.

As we have observed, the favorite project of the administration continued to be the invasion and capture of Canada. For this purpose and for defence against invasion, the greater portion of the national troops were kept on the northern frontiers. The main British army in Canada, to defend it from invasion or to make aggressive movements as circumstances might dictate, was placed under the chief command of Lieutenant-General Drummond late in 1813, and he was stationed on the Niagara frontier. The command of the American army on that frontier was given to General Jacob Brown. General Wilkinson, who, with his troops, went down the St. Lawrence and into winter-quarters at French Mills late in the preceding year, remained there until near the close of February, 1814, when he broke up his encampment and marched with a part of the troops to Plattsburg on Lake Champlain. At the same time, General Brown with two thousand men, proceeded to Sackett's Harbor, preparatory to his departure for the Niagara River. Late in March, Wilkinson erected a battery at Rouse's Point, at the foot of Lake Champlain and on the border of Canada.

Wilkinson was informed that a considerable British force was about to be gathered at La Colle Mills, three or four miles below Rouse's Point. As he was preparing for a march on Montreal, he pressed forward toward La Colle with about four thousand men, on the 30th of March, to meet the approaching foe. He found there a stone mill, with heavy walls, strongly garrisoned with British regulars under Major Hancock, and learned that reinforcements were on the way. Wilkinson attempted to dislodge them before the arrival of the reinforcements, but did not succeed; and after a sharp engagement for about two hours, the Americans withdrew. The disastrous results of this affair (a loss of sixty-three men) brought Wilkinson into disrepute; and with this event his military career was ended. He was tried by a court-martial and acquitted, but he left the army. In the meantime the command of his troops had been given to General Izard.

During the winter and spring, the belligerents had been preparing to

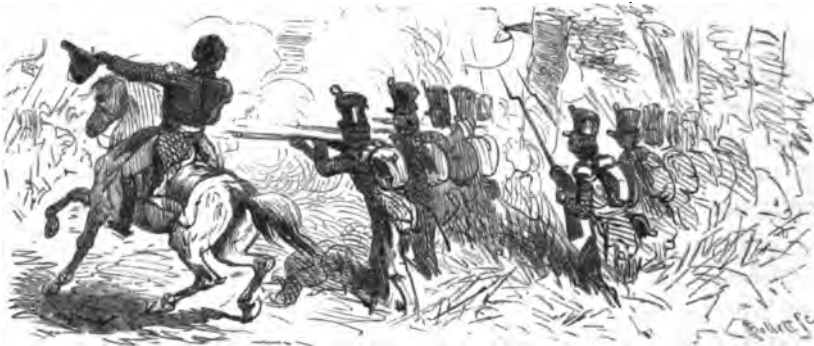
make a struggle for the mastery of Lake Ontario; and when the ice in Kingston harbor permitted vessels to leave it, Sir James Yeo went out upon the lake with a small British squadron and a force of about three thousand land troops and marines. On the 5th of May (1814) he appeared off Oswego, which was defended by a fort on a bluff on the east side of the harbor, with a garrison of only about three hundred men under Colonel Mitchell, and a small flotilla commanded by Captain Woolsey. Chauncey was then not quite ready to leave Sackett's Harbor. The object of the British was the seizure of a large quantity of provisions and naval stores at the Falls of the Oswego River, now the village of Fulton. They effected a landing, and after a sharp fight with the little garrison in the open field, the latter retired and the enemy took possession of the fort. The experience in that contest made the invaders cautious, and they did not venture to penetrate the country in quest of the coveted prize, but withdrew early on the morning of the 7th, bearing away with them as captives several citizens to whom they had promised protection.

On the first of July, General Brown was on the eastern bank of the Niagara River, at Buffalo, with a force competent, he thought, to carry out the orders of his government to invade Canada. His two brigades of infantry were commanded, respectively, by Generals Scott and Ripley; his artillery by Captains Towson and Hindman, and his small squadron of cavalry was led by Captain S. D. Harris. These were all regulars, and well equipped and disciplined. He had also a brigade of miscellaneous troops composed of New York and Pennsylvania volunteers, and between five and six hundred Indian warriors, embracing nearly the whole military force of the Six Nations remaining in the United States. The volunteers and Indians were commanded by General Peter B. Porter.

The first aggressive movement of the Americans was on the 3d of July, when Generals Scott and Ripley crossed the Niagara River to attack Fort Erie, situated on the Canada shore at the foot of Lake Erie, opposite Buffalo. It was the chief impediment in the way of an invasion of Canada in that quarter. But that impediment was soon removed by its capture. Scott crossed the river with several regiments and a corps of artillery, before the dawn of the 3d, and was followed by General Brown and his staff. At a later hour General Ripley crossed with some regiments, and the whole force invested the fort. Then Brown demanded its surrender, and at six o'clock the same evening, the American flag waved over it, and the garrison had been sent over the river prisoners-of-war.

Prompt measures were taken to secure the advantages gained by this victory; for it was known that General Riall, who was then the chief com-

mander on that frontier and an able officer, was moving toward Fort Erie. Early that morning, on hearing of the peril that impended over the fort, he had sent forward some of the Royal Scots to reinforce the garrison. At Chippewa they heard of the capture of the fort, when Riall determined to make an immediate attack on the Americans; but hearing that reinforcements from York were near, he postponed the attack until next morning. To meet this force, General Brown sent forward General Scott, with his brigade, accom-



BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA.

panied by Townsen's artillery, on the morning of the 4th of July. Ripley was ordered in the same direction with his brigade, but it was late in the afternoon before he was prepared to move. Scott went down the Canada side of the Niagara to a place a little more than a mile from Chippewa, driving back a British advanced detachment. The main portion of Brown's army reached Scott's encampment that night, and on the morning of the 5th the two belligerent armies were not more than two miles apart.

At noon on the 5th, Scott was joined by General Porter with his volunteers and Indians, and the British had also been reinforced. For some time the two armies felt of each other, when preliminary skirmishing was begun by General Porter with marked success. The Indians behaved gallantly on that occasion. Toward evening, Riall advanced with his whole force, and a desperate battle ensued between Street's Creek and Chippewa, in full view of the Niagara River. Finally a flank movement was made by Major McNeil with Campbell's regiment, and a terrific fire from a corps under Major Jesup, in the centre, made the British line give way. It broke and fled in haste toward the intrenchments below Chippewa Creek. The fugitives tore up the bridge over the creek that was behind them, leaving an impassable chasm between themselves and the Americans. The battle-field (opposite

the foot of Navy Island) was strewn with the dead and the dying. The Americans lost, in killed, wounded and missing, three hundred and fifty-five men. The British had lost by the same casualties, six hundred and four men, of whom two hundred and thirty-six were killed.

The horrors of that battle-field, on that hot July evening, were mitigated by a gentle shower of rain that came like a descending angel of mercy at the close of the conflict. Many a feverish lip was moistened by it, and many a throbbing temple was cooled. All night long the wounded of both armies were tenderly cared for, and the dead were speedily buried in shallow graves. Scott was eager to pursue, but was compelled to await the tardy movements of Ripley, who did not arrive in time to participate in the action and to join in a pursuit.

There was joy in the camp of the Americans that night, for they had gained a decisive and important victory—more important in its immediate results, perhaps, than any which had preceded it. The Indian allies of the British were disheartened. Their disaffection, begun at the Thames, was now complete. Nearly all the savages who had terrified the frontiers wherever there were military operations, now left the British army and returned to their homes. The victory also greatly inspirited the Americans, and recruiting became so active that almost any number of men might have been added to the army. It also gained for our American soldiers more of the genuine respect of the enemy than they had ever received; and it subdued the clamors of the mischievous Peace Faction.



CHAPTER XIII.

EFFECTS OF THE BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA—MOVEMENTS OF THE TWO ARMIES—BATTLE OF NIAGARA FALLS—ATTACK ON FORT ERIE—A SUCCESSFUL SORTIE—THE AMERICANS ABANDON CANADA—NAVIES ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN—INVASION OF NORTHERN NEW YORK—BATTLES ON LAND AND WATER AT PLATTSBURG—EVENTS ON LAKE ONTARIO—EXPEDITION AGAINST MACKINAW—MCARTHUR'S RAID—THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS BLOCKADED—BOSTON AND NEW YORK FORTIFIED BY THE PEOPLE—BRITISH REPULSED AT STONINGTON—THEIR DOINGS ON THE PENOBSCOT.

UNTIL after the battle of Chippewa, English writers had indulged in sneers when alluding to our soldiers; and one of the most popular of the light theatrical performances in London was one in which the characters representing our military leaders were promoted tailors, shoemakers, etc. After that battle, in which an inferior number of Americans had won a decisive victory over British troops, the tone of British writers was changed. "The important fact is," wrote an English author, "that we have now got an enemy who fights as bravely as ourselves. For some time the Americans cut no figure on land. They have now proved to us that they only wanted time to acquire a little discipline. They have now proved to us what they are made of; that they are the same sort of men as those who captured whole armies under Burgoyne and Cornwallis; that they are neither to be frightened nor silenced."

General Brown was impatient to pursue the discomfited army, for he expected Chauncey, with a squadron at the mouth of the Niagara River, to co-operate with him. Much of the next and following days was spent in burying the dead and caring for the wounded; but before the morning of the 8th, a part of Brown's army had crossed the Chippewa in boats. Riall fled down the Niagara River to Queenstown, put some of his troops into Forts George and Mississauga, and established his head-quarters near the lake twenty miles westward. Drummond was mortified by this discomfiture of his veteran troops by what he deemed to be raw Americans, and he resolved to wipe out the stain. He drew most of the troops from York and Burlington Bay, Kingston and Prescott, with a determination to renew the conflict and drive the Americans out of Canada. With a force about one-third greater than that of Brown, he soon advanced to meet the invaders.

Meanwhile Brown, with his whole army, had pushed on to Queenstown and threatened Fort George. There he anxiously waited many days for the arrival of Chauncey's fleet, when, on the 22d of July, he received word that the commander was sick at Sackett's Harbor and his squadron was blockaded there. Abandoning all hope of co-operation from the navy, he ordered the army to fall back to the battle-ground of Chippewa, when their future movements would be governed by circumstances. They did not rest long, for on the 24th the alarming intelligence reached General Brown that Drummond had landed on the eastern shore of the Niagara River below Queenstown with a thousand troops, many of them Wellington's veterans; that a considerable British force occupied Queenstown, and that Riall had joined Drummond with his shattered regiments and a body of loyal Canadians.

Drummond had landed at Lewiston, opposite Queenstown, and Brown suspected his intention to be to seize the American stores at Schlosser. Impressed with this idea, he ordered Scott to march rapidly, with a part of the army, and menace the forts at the mouth of the Niagara River. Toward evening, Scott pushed on with his brigade, Towson's artillery and some mounted men, and saw some British officers leave a house at the verge of the great fall, leap into their saddles and ride rapidly away. Scott, believing only a remnant of the British army were near, dashed into the woods to disperse them, when he found Riall there with a larger force than he had at Chippewa. The peril of the American detachment was extreme. To stand still would be fatal; to retreat would be very hazardous, for it might create a panic in the main army and demoralize the whole. So Scott instantly resolved to fight the overwhelming force; and at sunset a desperate battle was begun, which ended at near midnight.

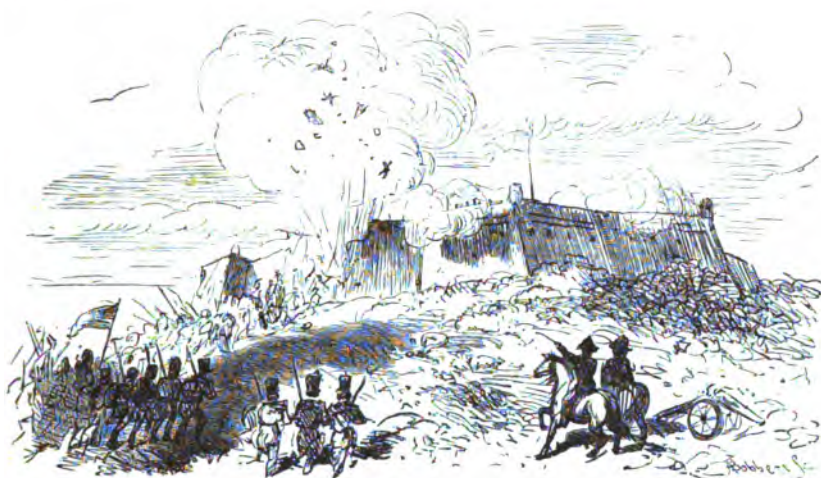
The British line which Scott encountered was eighteen hundred strong, posted in a slightly crescent form upon an eminence over which Lundy's Lane passed, and on which they had planted a battery. The quick eye of Scott soon discerned a blank between the enemy's left and the river; and he ordered Major Jesup, with his command, to crawl cautiously in the evening twilight through the underbrush that covered the space and turn the British left flank. Jesup obeyed, and was successful. He gained the British rear, and kept back reinforcements sent by Drummond. Meanwhile Scott was hotly engaged with Riall; and General Brown, when apprised of the situation by the booming of great guns and by messengers from the front, had pressed on with his whole army to the conflict. He perceived the key of the enemy's position to be their battery on the hill. Turning to Colonel James Miller of the Twenty-seventh, General Brown asked: "Can you

storm that work and take it?" Miller instantly replied, "I'll try." With three hundred men he moved stealthily up the hill in the darkness, along a fence shrouded in luxuriant bushes that hid them from the view of the gunners and their protectors who lay near. When within short musket-range of the battery, they could see the gunners, with their glowing lint-stocks, ready to act at the word fire. Selecting good marksmen, Miller directed each to rest his rifle on the fence, select a gunner, and fire at a given signal. They did so. The gunners fell, and Miller and his men rushed forward and captured the battery before the troops, stationed for its protection, could resist.

Miller's gallant exploit secured a victory, not, however, until a terrible hand-to-hand fight had ensued. The British finally fell back. They attempted to retake the battery of some splendid brass cannon, but failed, even after being reinforced by fifteen hundred men sent forward by Drummond from Queenstown. Meanwhile General Scott had been fighting desperately, but successfully, and was severely wounded by a musket-ball in his shoulder. General Brown was also severely wounded, and the command devolved on General Ripley. The British were repulsed and the Americans fell back to Chippewa, with orders from General Brown to return after a brief rest, before the dawn, and occupy the battle-field. The always tardy and disobedient Ripley failed to obey the order, and the enemy returned and took possession of the field and also of their battery, excepting one piece of artillery. This conflict is known in history as the battle of Niagara Falls, for it was fought within the sound of the sullen roar of the great cataract. It has also been called the battle of Bridgewater and the battle of Lundy's Lane. It was fought by about four thousand five hundred British troops, and two thousand six hundred Americans. The Americans lost, in killed, wounded and missing, nearly one-third of their whole number; the British lost about eight hundred and seventy-eight, or twenty-six more than the Americans. Both parties claimed the victory.

General Ripley, whose tardiness deprived the Americans of the advantages of a glorious victory they had won, led the army to Fort Erie, where he was soon superseded in command by General Gaines. Drummond, who had been wounded, pushed forward as soon as he was able, and on the 4th of August, began a siege of Fort Erie with about five thousand men. From the 7th to the 14th of that month there was an almost incessant cannonade between the besiegers and the besieged. On the evening of the 14th, just at twilight, a shell from a British mortar came screaming into the American camp, lodged in a nearly empty powder magazine and blew it up. Drummond, supposing he had fired one of the principal magazines, and believing

the camp and garrison to be in great confusion, determined to assail the fort in full force. Before the dawn of the 15th, fifteen hundred of the enemy furiously attacked the American lines, and after desperate fighting they gained a bastion of the fort. At all other points they were repulsed. To this stronghold the enemy held with tenacity, until the bastion was blown up with a terrific explosion. A jet of flame mingled with fragments of earth and timber, stones and the bodies of men, rose to the height of more than a hundred feet, and spread a shower of ruins to a great distance. Soon afterward the British broke and fled, and victory remained with the Americans.



FORT ERIE BASTION BLOWN UP.

For a month after this affair, both parties prepared to renew the struggle for the possession of Fort Erie. General Brown had recovered, and was in command of his army again. The fort was closely invested by the British; but Drummond's force, lying upon low ground, was greatly weakened by typhoid fever. Hearing of this, Brown determined to make a sortie from the fort. He did so on the 17th of September, and after a severe engagement (in which General Porter was the chief actor, and James Miller, then promoted to brigadier-general, bore a conspicuous part), the British advance works were captured and destroyed. Fort Erie was saved, and the enemy were driven back to Chippewa with a loss of about nine hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. "Thus," General Brown wrote to the Secretary of War, "one thousand regulars, and an equal proportion of militia, in one hour of close action, blasted the hopes of the enemy, destroyed the

fruits of fifty days' labor, and diminished his effective force one thousand men at least." So sudden and precipitate was Drummond's flight, that he abandoned some of his stores in front of Fort Erie and destroyed others on the line of his retreat. This victory, following so closely on that at Chippewa and Niagara Falls, and occurring a few days after another won at Plattsburg on Lake Champlain by the Americans, and the expulsion of the British from Baltimore, diffused unusual joy throughout the country, and dispelled, in a measure, the gloom which had recently overspread the whole land because of the capture of the national capital by the enemy. General Brown was highly honored by Congress and the people. The former gave him thanks and a gold medal; and Scott, Ripley, Porter and Gaines received the same reward for their services during that campaign.

General George Izard, the successor of Wilkinson and Hampton in command of the army in Northern New York, who had led about five thousand troops first to Sackett's Harbor and then to the Niagara frontier, arrived at the latter in October, and, ranking Brown, took the chief command. The combined forces, regulars, militia and volunteers, numbered about eight thousand men. With these Izard was preparing to march against Drummond, when the latter prudently withdrew his troops to Fort George and Burlington Heights. Perceiving that further offensive operations on the Canadian peninsula would be imprudent, perhaps perilous, Izard blew up Fort Erie on the 5th of November, and it has lain in ruins ever since. He abandoned Canada, and the troops were wintered at several points in the State of New York.

When General Izard marched from Plattsburg for Sackett's Harbor in August, he left his troops that remained on the borders of Lake Champlain (nearly fifteen hundred in number) under the command of General Alexander Macomb. During the spring and summer, both parties had been busy in the preparation of war-vessels on that lake, and the command of the American squadron was held by Captain Thomas Macdonough. Many of Wellington's troops, as we have observed, had arrived in Canada. There were about fifteen thousand of them at Montreal at the close of August, and Sir George Prevost, governor of Canada and general-in-chief, proceeded to invade New York. A requisition had been made by Izard for militia and light dragoons; and Macomb found himself in command of about three thousand five hundred troops at the beginning of September. These he conducted to Plattsburg, in anticipation of the threatened invasion.

Prevost advanced at the head of about fourteen thousand troops, to a point eight miles from Plattsburg; and at the same time the British squadron, under Captain Pringle, moved out of the Sorel into Lake Champlain.

Prevost announced his intention to seize and hold Northern New York as far down as Ticonderoga, and he called upon the inhabitants to cast off their allegiance and furnish him with supplies. Meanwhile Macomb bent all his energies in preparation for a defence of the menaced region. He had completed redoubts and block-houses at Plattsburg, to prevent the invaders crossing the Saranac River. General Benjamin Mooers, in command of the militia, had been very active at the same time; and when Prevost advanced, he was at the head of about five thousand men.



REPULSE AT THE STONE MILL.

On the morning of the 6th of September, the British moved upon Plattsburg in two columns. One column had a severe skirmish near Beekmantown, with regulars and militia under Captain Wool. The latter were compelled to fall back to Plattsburg; and other detachments sent out by Macomb were forced back by an overwhelming number of the enemy. The Americans retired to the south side of the Saranac, tearing up the bridges behind them and using the timbers for breastworks. The British tried to force their way across the stream, when they were repulsed by a small company of volunteers in a stone mill near the site of the lower bridge, who poured sharp volleys of musketry upon them. Prevost saw that his invasion was not to be a pleasant holiday affair, and he employed the time from the

7th until the 11th in bringing up his batteries and supply trains and constructing works to command those of the Americans on the south side of the Saranac. Meanwhile the British naval force, under Commodore Downie, had approached Cumberland Head. The flag-ship was the frigate *Confiance*, 38, which was assisted by one brig, two sloops, and twelve gun-boats. Macdonough's squadron lay in Plattsburg Bay. His flag-ship was the *Saratoga*, 26, which was assisted by one brig, two schooners, and ten gun-boats or galleys.

On the morning of the 11th, the British came round Cumberland Head with a fair wind, and at the same time the land forces of the enemy were moving for a combined attack upon the Americans on land and water. The battle was opened by the navy. Macdonough (then thirty-one years of age) had skillfully prepared his forces to meet the enemy. When his vessels were cleared for action, he knelt upon the deck of the *Saratoga*, near one of her heaviest guns, and with his chief officers around him, implored the aid of the Almighty. Very soon afterward the thunders of cannon boomed over the lake, and a sharp naval conflict was begun. At the outset, a shot from a British vessel demolished a hen-coop on board the *Saratoga*, when a young game-cock, which the sailors had brought from the shore, released from confinement and startled by the sound of the great guns, flew up on a gun-slide, and, flapping its wings, crowed lustily and defiantly. The incident was regarded by the sailors as ominous of victory, and thereby their courage was strengthened. In a rhyming *Epistle of Brother Jonathan to Johnny Bull*, written at the close of the war, is the following allusion to this event:

"O, Johnny Bull, my Joe, John,
Behold on Lake Champlain,
With more than equal force, John,
You tried your fist again ;
But the cock saw how 'twas going,
And cried cock-a-doodle-doo !
And Macdonough was victorious
O, Johnny Bull, my Joe."

This naval battle lasted two hours and twenty minutes, and ended with victory for the Americans. The vessels were dreadfully shattered. "There was not a mast in either squadron," Macdonough wrote, "that could stand to make a sail on." "Our masts, yards and sails, were so shattered," wrote one of the officers of the *Confiance*, "that one looked like so many bundles of matches, and the other like so many bundles of rags." The sight of the conflict was sublime, and it was witnessed by hundreds of spectators on the headlands of the Vermont shore. The loss of the Americans was one hun-

dred and ten; that of the British was over two hundred. Among the British slain was Commodore Downie, whose remains were buried at Plattsburg.

While the battle was raging on the water, there was a sharp conflict on land. When the British squadron came around Cumberland Head, the British army moved forward and attempted to force their way across the Saranac at the sites of the two bridges. After a desperate but short conflict, with varying fortunes for both parties, the British were repulsed by the gallant men led by Macomb and Mooers. The Americans were driving back some of the enemy who had forced their way across the river near the site of the upper bridge, when tidings came that the British fleet had just surrendered. The Americans gave hearty cheers, and the enemy wavered. Prevost was disheartened by the disaster to the navy, and, naturally timid in the presence of danger, saw with alarm the gathering of the neighboring militia, who threatened his flanks and rear. He ceased fighting at twilight, and prepared for a retreat. At a little past midnight he fled in such haste toward Canada, that he left his sick and wounded and a vast amount of stores behind. Light troops, militia and volunteers, started in pursuit, but heavy rains compelled them to give up the chase. The British loss, in killed, wounded and deserted, from the 6th to the 11th, was about twenty-five hundred men; that of the Americans, only one hundred and twenty. Throughout the land the victory was applauded with the greatest enthusiasm, and Macomb and Macdonough were highly honored, each having a gold medal awarded to him by Congress.

With the flight of Prevost and his army from Lake Champlain ended the military movements of importance on the northern frontier. Hostilities soon afterward ceased, as we have observed, on the Niagara frontier; and during a greater portion of the season Commodore Chauncey, one of the most vigilant and active of naval officers, had been compelled by circumstances to remain almost inactive at Sackett's Harbor. He was blockaded by a British squadron; and when he was ready to go out and fight the blockaders, by having the armament of a large vessel completed, he was prostrated by severe illness. It was the last of July before his squadron was fully ready for sea. On the 31st of that month he was carried, in a convalescent state on board of his flag-ship, the *Superior*, and the squadron sailed out on a cruise. It blockaded the harbor of Kingston, and Chauncey vainly tried to draw Sir James Yeo out for combat. At the close of September, Chauncey was informed that the *St. Lawrence*, a frigate pierced for one hundred and twelve guns, which had been built at Kingston, was ready for sea, when the commodore prudently raised the blockade and returned to

Sackett's Harbor. The *St. Lawrence* sailed in October with more than a thousand men, accompanied by other vessels-of-war; and with his big ship, Sir James was really lord of the lake. The Americans determined to match the *St. Lawrence*, and the keels of two first-class frigates were laid. One of them, the *New Orleans*, began at Sackett's Harbor and partly finished when peace came early in 1815, may yet be seen housed on the stocks as she was left by the builders more than sixty years ago. Chauncey expected Yeo would attack his squadron in the Harbor, but he did not; and when frost had closed the lake, the war ended on the northern frontier.

We have observed that the military-station on the island of Mackinaw was captured by the British just before the fall of Detroit in 1812. This station was the key to the vast fur-trade of the Northwest, and a land and naval expedition was planned, in the spring of 1814, for its recapture. A little squadron under Commander St. Clair, and a land force led by Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan of Fort Stephenson fame, were prepared, and they left Detroit at the beginning of July. A part of this force proceeded against the post of the Northwest Fur Company, at the Falls of St. Mary, the agents of which were among the most active of the British emissaries in inciting the Indians to make war on the Americans. When the armament appeared before the post, the keepers of it fled. Everything valuable that could not be carried away was destroyed, when the whole expedition started for Mackinaw. The post there was too strongly garrisoned to be taken by this small American force, and after an attempt to do so, the enterprise was abandoned. Some vessels of the squadron cruised in those waters for a time, and after some exciting experiences the expedition returned to Detroit late in August, 1814. No further military movements were undertaken in that region afterward, excepting a terrifying raid which General McArthur, with about seven hundred mounted men from Kentucky and Ohio, made through western Canada, to create a diversion in favor of the American army on the Niagara frontier. It was one of the boldest operations of the war, on land. McArthur skurried throughout the region from the western end of Lake Ontario to the Detroit River, destroying property that might benefit the enemy, frightening the people everywhere, and keeping the militia from joining Drummond's ranks.

While the events recorded in this chapter were securing the northern frontiers of the Union, and the general results were inspiring to the Americans, there was uneasiness, confusion, and alarm along the Atlantic seaboard, in consequence of the presence of British blockading squadrons and menacing fleets. New England had experienced very little of actual war within its borders so far, yet it felt its pressure heavily in the paralysis of

its peculiar industries, the continued drain upon its wealth of men and money, and the wasting excitement caused by continually impending menaces and a sense of insecurity. From the spring of 1813 to the close of the contest, British squadrons were hovering along its coasts, and, in connection with the Embargo acts, were double-barring its seaports against commerce, and threatening the destruction of its maritime cities and villages.

The year 1814 was a peculiarly trying one for New England. The blockade of New London, began in 1813, was kept up until the close of the war. In the spring of 1814, Commodore Lewis appeared in Long Island Sound with thirteen American gun-boats, to protect the coast trade of Connecticut against British privateers. He convoyed merchant-vessels safely into the Thames, and he boldly attacked the blockading squadron there. Early in June, British vessels began depredations on the coast of Massachusetts, under an order issued by Admiral Cochrane to "destroy the seaport towns and devastate the country." At Wareham, on Buzzard's Bay, they destroyed vessels and other property valued at \$40,000. In the same month despoilers appeared on the coast of Maine. Fifty armed men, in five large barges, entered the Saco River and destroyed property to the amount of about \$20,000. New Bedford and Fair Haven were threatened by British cruisers; and an unsuccessful attempt was made by the commanders of two blockaders there, to destroy the last-named village and seize the fort on the point, then commanded by Lieutenant Selleck Osborne, the poet. Formidable squadrons blockaded the Delaware, New York, New London, and Boston. Eastport and Castin, in Maine, were captured by the British; and Stonington, a little east of New London, became the scene of stirring events.

Early in July (1814) Sir Thomas M. Hardy sailed from Halifax with a considerable force for service on sea and land, in accordance with the orders of Cochrane. The country from Passamaquoddy Bay to the Penobscot speedily passed under British rule, and continued so until the end of the war. After capturing Eastport, Hardy sailed westward and threatened Portsmouth and other places, and an attack upon Boston was confidently expected. That city was almost defenceless, and would have offered a rich harvest for plunderers. It was the place where ships were built for the war: and being the capital of New England, its capture would have a moral effect much to be desired by the enemy. When real danger impended, the inhabitants were aroused to intense action, and men of all classes were seen with implements of labor working daily in the construction of a strong fort on Noddles' Island, now East Boston. "I remember," wrote one of the eye-witnesses, "the venerable Dr. Lathrop with the deacons and elders of his

church, each shouldering his shovel and doing yeoman's service in digging, shoveling, and carrying sods in wheel-barrows." The fort was soon built on an elevation (on the crown of the present Webster street, near Belmont square, East Boston), and a heavy battery was planted on Dorchester Heights. Informed of these preparations and the enthusiasm of the people, the British blockading squadron did not venture to enter the harbor of Boston.



CITIZENS AT WORK ON FORTIFICATIONS.

New York was equally excited, when news came of the operations of a powerful British squadron in Chesapeake Bay. This city was, like Boston, almost defenceless. De Witt Clinton, then mayor, issued a stirring appeal to the citizens, and there, too, men of every rank in society worked daily in building fortifications at Brooklyn and Harlem. Members of various churches and of social and benevolent organizations went out in groups, as such, to the patriotic task; so also did different craftsmen under their respective banners, such as were described as follows, by Samuel Woodworth: "Plumbers, founders, dyers, tinnerns, tanners, shavers, sweeps, clerks and criers, jewellers, engravers, clothiers, drapers, players, cartmen, hatters, tailors, gaugers, sealers, weighers, carpenters, and sailors."

The enthusiasm of the people was intense, and New York was soon well defended by fortifications and numerous militia. The citizens then felt secure, and Woodworth concluded a stirring poem with these lines addressed to the British :

“Better not invade ; recollect the spirit
Which our dads displayed and their sons inherit.
If you still advance, friendly caution slighting,
You may get, by chance, a belly-full of fighting.
Pick-axe, shovel, spade, crowbar, hoe and barrow,—
Better not invade ; Yankees have the marrow.”

Hardy rejoined the blockading squadron off the mouth of the Thames and proceeded to execute Cochrane's terrible order, yet with reluctance on his part, for he was a humane officer. Great Britain had determined to make the war sharp and decisive, and this order to injure innocent people was a part of the plan. On the 9th of August, Hardy appeared before Stonington with three large vessels and a bomb-ship. He sent word to the magistrates of the borough that he intended to destroy the village, and gave the inhabitants one hour in which to leave it. He would grant no alternative, and the magistrates replied : “We shall defend the place to the last extremity ; should it be destroyed, we will perish in its ruins.” Nearly all the inhabitants incapable of bearing arms left the place, and that evening the bomb-ship *Terror* and some launches rained shells and rockets upon the village without doing serious damage.

During that bombardment some bold spirits in Stonington cast up a sort of redoubt on the extremity of the peninsula on which the borough stands, and placed upon it, in battery, 6-pound and 18-pound iron cannon ; and from these they hurled solid balls upon the assailants with so much effect, that the bomb-ship and her consorts withdrew to the larger vessels. Some men gathered at Stonington the next day, but they were of little service ; but a few brave men from Mystic, led by Captain Jeremiah Holmes, flew to the aid of their neighbors, and did gallant service at the redoubt. Captain Holmes, who was a good gunner, took charge of the 18-pounder, and with it he fought the ships of the enemy until his ammunition was exhausted and no more could be found. Then the borough seemed to be completely at the mercy of the invaders, and some timid citizens proposed to the captain to haul down the American flag that floated over the battery and surrender. “No !” shouted the captain, “that flag shall never come down while I am alive !” and it did not, in submission to a foe. When the wind died away and it hung drooping by the side of the staff, the brave captain held out the flag at the point of a bayonet, that the British might see it.

While it was in that position, several shots passed through it. To prevent its being struck by some coward, the captain nailed it to the staff.

The old cannon was not long silent. Some powder was found in a place of concealment. Double-shotting his piece, the captain kept the enemy at bay until a competent force of militia, under General Isham, were collected to prevent the British landing; and on the 12th, after a sharp bombardment, the blockading squadron, discomfited, withdrew. Not a single life had been lost in the village during the assault, and but one person was mortally and fifty or sixty were slightly wounded. About forty buildings were more or less injured, and two or three were nearly ruined.



HOLDING UP THE FLAG.

We have observed that the region between Passamaquoddy Bay and the Penobscot was seized and held by the British. That was after Hardy captured Eastport. A strong squadron under Admiral Griffith, bearing about four thousand troops led by Governor Sherbrooke of Nova Scotia, captured Castin on Penobscot Bay and also Belfast, and went up the Penobscot River to Hampden, a few miles below Bangor, to capture or destroy the American corvette *John Adams*, which, caught in that stream, had gone up so far to escape from the enemy. The militia along the Penobscot gathered at the call of General John Blake, who, with the cannon of the *Adams* posted on a hill, prepared to defend the vessel and the country. But when the British troops landed at Hampden, the militia broke

and fled. The *Adams* was burned by her commander, Captain Morris, and the troops after taking possession of the village, pushed on to Bangor. There, in the course of a stay of about thirty hours, they destroyed several vessels, plundered the inhabitants of property valued at over \$20,000, and retired to Hampden to repeat this conduct there. Then the troops and fleet descended the Penobscot and, after capturing Machias, returned to Halifax, leaving General Gosselin at Castin to hold the country, which he did with dignity and humanity.

CHAPTER XIV.

~~THREATENED DANGERS UNHEEDED—WEAKNESS OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL—TARDINESS OF THE GOVERNMENT—BARNEY'S FLOTILLA—PREPARATIONS TO DEFEND THE CAPITAL—BATTLE AT BLADENSBURG—FLIGHT OF CIVIL OFFICERS—MRS. MADISON—DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY AT WASHINGTON—ALEXANDRIA PLUNDERED—THE BRITISH BEFORE BALTIMORE—BATTLE OF NORTH POINT—BOMBARDMENT OF FORT McHENRY—REPULSE OF THE BRITISH—"THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER"—NAVAL OPERATIONS—PRIVATEERS—CHANGE IN THE THEATRE OF OPERATIONS.~~

WHILE the stirring events just mentioned were occurring on the northern frontier and the New England coast, others of equal importance took place in the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay and the national capital. The Americans had premonition of a determination on the part of the British government to prosecute the war with great vigor. Tokens of danger to the region alluded to were not wanting. First came intelligence, late in January, 1814, that four thousand British troops destined for the United States had landed at Bermuda. This news was followed by the appearance of Admiral Cockburn again in Lynn Haven Bay at the beginning of March, with a strong naval force, to recommence the work laid out by Admiral Cochrane's order to "destroy the seaport towns and ravage the country." At the close of April, a ship from Europe brought an account of the downfall of Napoleon, and soon afterward came the announcement of his abdication, which would probably release a large British force for service in America—a fact that was speedily made manifest in Canada, as we have seen.

At that time the national capital was not prepared for defence against an invasion by land or water. The passage of ships up the Potomac might be disputed only by the guns of Fort Washington on the Maryland side of the river, a few miles below Washington city; but there was little to obstruct the passage of a land force across Maryland from the Chesapeake. On the first of July official intelligence reached the President that "a fleet of transports, with a large force, bound to some port of the United States, probably on the Potomac," was about to sail from Bermuda. In the fourth military district of which the District of Columbia formed a part,

there were only a little more than two thousand effective men under General Winder, and these were scattered at points distant from each other, some as far away as Norfolk. Besides these, there were a company of marines at the barracks in Washington, and a company of artillery in Fort Washington. With a knowledge of this weakness, and the positive signs of impending danger, the government could not be persuaded that the capital would receive any harm. The government organ (*National Intelligencer*) boastingly declared, "We have no idea of the enemy attempting to reach the vicinity of the capes; and if he does, we have no doubt he will meet with such a reception as he had a sample of at Craney Island. The enemy knows better than to trust himself abreast of or on this side of Fort Washington." The folly of this overweening confidence was soon made conspicuous by sad events.

General Winder continually warned the government of danger, and called loudly for troops; and when danger was apparent to the authorities, he was placed, by official orders, at the head of fifteen thousand militia for the defence of the capital. But there was extraordinary tardiness everywhere. The militia lay hidden in official orders; and when, at the middle of August, a powerful British land and naval force appeared in Chesapeake Bay, and there was widespread alarm over Maryland and Virginia, Winder had only a handful of men with whom to defend the capital.

At that juncture Commodore Barney, with an armed schooner and thirteen armed barges, was in the Patuxent River. He had been chased out of Chesapeake Bay and blockaded. The flotilla went far up the Patuxent, out of reach of British vessels, to a position where its men might assist either Baltimore or Washington, whichever city the enemy should decide to attack. The British determined to capture or destroy this flotilla, and for that purpose more than five thousand regulars, marines and negroes, were landed at Benedict, with three cannon. The British commander boasted that they should wipe out Barney's force, and dine in Washington city the next Sunday. This determination of the enemy being known, great exertions were put forth for the defence of the capital. The obstinate Secretary of War (Armstrong), who had disregarded Winder's warnings, now gave him full authority to exercise his judgment in the matter of defending the capital. Winder called upon General Smith of Baltimore to bring out his division of militia, and General Van Ness was requested to station two brigades of the militia of the District of Columbia at Alexandria. He also called for volunteers from all the militia districts of Maryland. These measures the alarmed Secretary of War approved, and General Smith promptly responded.

Meanwhile the British had pressed forward in barges in pursuit of Barney, who blew up his flotilla at Pig Point, and with his soldiers hastened to the head-quarters of Winder. Finding the American flotilla a smoking ruin, General Ross, the commander of the British land forces and one of the most active of Wellington's officers, marched to Upper Marlborough with the troops, where a road led directly to Washington city, leaving Cockburn in charge of the British flotilla. To oppose this strong force Winder had less than three thousand effective men, most of them undisciplined; and he prudently retreated toward Washington, followed by Ross (who had been joined by Cockburn and his seamen), on the afternoon of the 23d. The British encamped that night within ten miles of the capital, where great excitement prevailed and sleepless watching by soldiers and civilians was the rule. Uncertain whether Washington city or Fort Washington was the destination of the foe, Winder had left a force near Bladensburg, about four miles from the capital, and with other troops he watched the highways leading in other directions.

The President and his cabinet did not sleep that night, and on the morning of the 24th, while Winder was in consultation with them, a courier came in great haste to tell them that the British were marching on Bladensburg. Winder immediately sent troops to join those already there, and he speedily followed in person. His little army was evidently in great peril, for the invaders had overwhelming numbers. He must either fight or surrender, for to retreat would be equally perilous. He chose to fight, and at a little past noon a sharp battle began in sight of the village of Bladensburg. The militia soon broke and fled in confusion; and the brave Barney and his gallant men, who stood fire, sustained the brunt of the battle until that leader was severely wounded, when Winder, seeing no sign of a hope of winning a victory, ordered a general retreat. The troops which had not already dispersed, retreated toward Montgomery Court-House, in Maryland, leaving the battle-field in possession of the invaders. The latter had gained the advantage at the fearful cost of the loss of more than five hundred men killed and wounded, among them several officers of distinction. The battle lasted almost four hours, when it was ended and the retreat began. President Madison, Secretary of State Monroe, Secretary of War Armstrong and other civil officers, who went out to see the fight and give assistance if possible, hastened back to the city as fast as fleet horses could carry them, and were the pioneers of a considerable multitude who followed. This race created much merriment afterward, especially among the opposition. A writer in a New York newspaper said: "Should some Walter Scott [his *Marmion* was then very popular] in the next century write a poem and call

it *Madison, or the Battle of Bladensburg*, we should suggest the following lines for the conclusion :

"Fly, Monroe, fly ! run, Armstrong, run !
Were the last words of Madison."

The President and his party of fugitives announced the startling intelligence that the British, victorious, were probably marching on

the town. Mrs. Madison, at the White House, had already been apprised of danger, by a messenger sent by her husband, when the militia fled. She had ordered her carriage to be at the door ready for flight, and had sent away to a place of safety silver-plate and other valuable articles. While anxiously waiting for her husband, and at the moment when she had cut out of the frame, for preservation, a full length portrait of Washington by Stuart, the late Jacob Barker and another gentleman entered the house and bade her fly, for the enemy were near. "Save that picture!" she said, as it lay prone upon the floor; "save or destroy it, but do not let it fall into the hands of the British." Then snatching up the precious parchment on which the Declaration of Independence was written, and which contained the names of the fifty-six signers of that document,

she entered her carriage with her sister and one or two others, and was borne away to a place of safety beyond the Potomac. The picture was saved, and it now adorns one of the reception-rooms in the White House.

The British entered Washington on the evening of the 24th (August, 1814), and at once proceeded to plunder and destroy. The Capitol, President's house, Treasury buildings, Arsenal and barracks were burned, and of the public buildings only the Patent-office was saved. Some private houses



MRS. DOLLY PAYNE MADISON.

were plundered and others were burned. While these buildings were blazing in the city, the public vessels and other government property at the Navy-Yard were in flames, for Commodore Tingey, who was in command there, had been ordered to destroy this property in case it was likely to fall into the hands of the invaders. The value of the property destroyed by the Americans and British at that time, was estimated at about two million



SAVING THE PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

dollars. Right-minded Englishmen deplored the barbarism of their troops in burning the national buildings. "Willingly," said the London *Statesman* newspaper, "would we throw a veil of oblivion over our transactions at Washington. The Cossacks spared Paris, but we spared not the capital of America." While the people of England loudly condemned the act, the British government caused the tower-guns to be fired in honor of Ross's victory; and on his death a few weeks later, his government decreed him a monument in Westminster Abbey.

The events at Washington caused intense excitement throughout the country. The disaster was followed by another humiliating occurrence, and then by a glorious triumph. While Ross was crossing Maryland to the national capital a part of the British fleet, under Commodore Gordon, had gone up the Potomac River, and in defiance of the guns of Fort Washington, appeared before Alexandria on the evening of the 27th. Meanwhile the British at Washington, apprehending a large gathering of the militia, had stolen away from the capital very secretly on the night of the 25th, and re-embarked on their transports. Alexandria was almost defenceless; and when Gordon demanded an enormous amount of property as a ransom for the doomed city from destruction, the town and its inhabitants were at the mercy of the invaders. The inhabitants were allowed only an hour to consider the terms. Of course they had to submit; and the British squadron sailed down the river with a large amount of plunder, annoyed some of the way by the batteries planted on the shores.

While Washington was suffering, Baltimore was threatened. Indeed all the shores of the Chesapeake Bay were menaced with plunder and devastation. After resting and recruiting several days at the mouth of the Patuxent, the British sailed for the mouth of the Patapsco River, on the banks of which Baltimore stands, ten miles from the Chesapeake. The fleet spread terror along the entire coasts of the bay, the people fleeing from their dwellings; and at every light-house and signal-station alarm-guns were fired. On Sunday, the 11th of September, the British vessels appeared off Patapsco Bay, having at least six thousand fighting men on board; and victorious Ross boasted that he would make Baltimore his winter-quarters. It was a city of forty thousand inhabitants at that time. It had sent out so many clipper-built vessels as privateers, that the British held a grudge against the place, and resolved to capture or destroy it.

The citizens of Baltimore, wiser than those of some other places, had cast up defences before the enemy were at their doors. When they heard of the capture of Washington, they turned out in force to strengthen these defences. A large number of troops were gathered around the city. Fort McHenry, that commands the harbor, was garrisoned by about a thousand men, under Major Armistead, and was supported by redoubts. Such were the preparations for receiving the enemy, who, that evening (September 11, 1814,) appeared off Patapsco Bay, and before sunrise on the 12th had landed, nine thousand strong, at North Point, twelve miles from Baltimore. At the same time the fleet entered the harbor to attack Fort McHenry. When news came that the British were landing on North Point, General Smith, who had about nine thousand men under his command, sent

General Stricker, with more than three thousand of them, to watch the enemy and act as circumstances might require.

Feeling confident of success, Ross and Cockburn were riding gayly in front of their troops, who were marching on Baltimore, when a rifle-ball from a small number of Stricker's advance troops, concealed in a hollow, mortally wounded the general. Ross died before his bearers could reach the



GENERAL ROSS MORTALLY WOUNDED.

boats, living only long enough "to name his wife and to commend his family to the care of his country." The command now devolved upon Colonel Brooke, who pressed forward and met Stricker's advance troops seven or eight miles from Baltimore. There a severe engagement occurred lasting about two hours, when Stricker ordered a retreat to his reserve corps. There he re-formed his brigade and fell steadily back toward the city, as far as Worthington's Mill, where he was joined by General Winder with some fresh troops. The British bivouacked on the battle-field that night.

Early on the morning of the 12th, frigates, schooners, sloops, bomb-ketches and rocket-vessels entered the harbor of Baltimore and moved up toward Fort McHenry. They anchored out of reach of its moderate-sized guns until evening. Then the fleet were so disposed as to bombard Fort McHenry and batteries not far off on the next morning, when Brooke should move forward with the land forces to attack the city. At the time specified the bomb-vessels opened a heavy fire upon the American works. Armistead immediately opened the batteries of Fort McHenry upon the fleet, but his missiles falling short, were harmless. The garrison was exposed to a tremendous shower of shells for several hours, without power to check the firing of the antagonist. Finally, to the delight of Armistead, the bomb-vessels moved nearer the fort to make their shells more effective, when his turn came for inflicting injury. He ordered a cannonade and bombardment from every part of the fort. The intruders were punished so severely that in the course of half an hour they withdrew to their former anchorage very much bruised.

All that day and the following night—twenty-five hours—the fleet bombarded Fort McHenry. Meanwhile Colonel Brooke, with the land forces, had been trying to reach Baltimore, but was foiled by Stricker and Winder. On the evening of the 13th, finding it impossible to accomplish his object, and learning that the bombardment had very little effect, Brooke obtained an interview with Cochrane, when they concluded that the efforts of the combined forces to capture Baltimore was already a failure. They resolved to relinquish the enterprise, and the bombardment suddenly ceased early on the morning of the 14th. The troops had begun their retreat in a heavy rain and intense darkness, at three o'clock that morning. They were taken on board the fleet the same evening; and on the morning of the 15th, the entire land and naval forces of the invaders went down the bay crest-fallen and badly punished. This discomfiture of the enemy made the alarmed citizens of Philadelphia and New York breathe freer.

This gallant defence of Baltimore revived the spirits of the Americans, which were drooping because of the sad events at their capital. The disappointment of the enemy was very great. After the capture of Washington, Ross felt that the taking of Baltimore would be like a holiday pastime. Sir George Prevost postponed public rejoicing at Montreal because of the capture of Washington, until the capture of Baltimore should be accomplished, when both events might be celebrated at the same time. On the very day when Ross anchored off North Point (September 11, 1814), Prevost was vanquished at Plattsburg, and made to fly back to Canada.

When the British retreated to their ships from Washington, they carried

with them Dr. Beans, a beloved physician of Upper Marlborough, as a prisoner. Francis S. Key, a gentleman of culture and great affability of manner, consented to go with a flag to the British squadron, and endeavor to procure the release of Beans. Key went with Mr. Skinner of Baltimore and found the fleet at the mouth of the Potomac. As the invaders were preparing to attack Baltimore, they refused to allow either of the three to return then, and they witnessed the bombardment of Fort McHenry from one of the British ships with the greatest anxiety, especially on the night of the 13th. The fort was silent, and they did not know whether it had surrendered or not. In the dim light of early morning their hearts were gladdened, for they saw that "our flag was still there." It was while pacing the deck of the British vessel in great anxiety, that Key composed that song, "The Star-Spangled Banner," which immortalized him. When the ships withdrew, Key and his friends were restored to liberty.

The naval operations on the sea, though not so important in immediate results as those of the two preceding years, fully sustained the character of the American war marine. Several new war-vessels were built and sent to sea during the first half of that year. The *John Adams*, which was cut down to a corvette of 28 guns, late in 1813, started on a cruise from the Washington Navy-Yard, under the command of Captain Morris, early in 1814, and eluding the blockading fleet in Lynn Haven Bay, went to sea. Her cruise was unsuccessful, and in August, with a sick crew and a damaged vessel, Captain Morris went into the Penobscot River, where he destroyed the corvette to prevent her falling into the hands of the British. In May of that year, Captain Johnston Blakely crossed the ocean in the *Wasp*, 18, and spread terror, like the *Argus*, among the shipping in the British channel. On the 28th of June, after a conflict of half an hour, the *Wasp* captured the British sloop *Reindeer*, and as she was a wreck, Blakely burned her. On the first of September, the *Wasp* had a sharp engagement in intense darkness, and compelled her antagonist, the *Avon*, to surrender. Three consorts of the *Avon* coming up, compelled the *Wasp* to relinquish her prize. She afterward captured several prizes; but during that autumn she was lost somewhere, with all her people, for she was never heard of afterward.

In March, 1814, the sloop-of-war *Peacock*, 18, Captain Warrington, sailed on a cruise from New York, and on the 29th of April she had a severe conflict of forty minutes with the *Epervier*, 18, and captured her. She was a valuable prize, having \$118,000 in specie on board, and the vessel sold for \$55,000. In another cruise to the shores of Portugal, the *Peacock* captured fourteen vessels and returned to New York in October. When Bainbridge relinquished the command of the *Constitution*, 44, in 1813, she was thor-

oughly repaired. She went to sea again under the command of Captain Charles Stewart, late in 1813, and early in February following she was on the coast of Surinam. On the 14th of that month she captured the *Picton*, 16, and returning to the New England coast early in April, she was chased into the harbor of Marblehead by two powerful British frigates. The *Constitution* afterward went to Salem and thence to Boston, where she remained until December, 1814. At the close of that month she put to sea, crossed the Atlantic to the Bay of Biscay, and then cruised off the harbor of Lisbon. Stewart sailed southward toward Cape St. Vincent, and on the 20th of February, 1815, he discovered two strange sails, which, toward evening, flung out the British flag, when he displayed the American colors. By skillful management, he secured an advantageous position, when he began an action with both of them; and after a severe combat, he captured both of them. One of these vessels was the frigate *Cyane*, 36, and the other was the sloop *Levant*, 18. In this engagement the *Constitution* was so little damaged, that three hours after the battle she was ready for another. These exploits of the *Constitution* were performed after peace had been proclaimed. After one or two more stirring adventures, Stewart crossed the Atlantic, landed many of his prisoners on the coast of Brazil, and at Porto Rico he first heard of the proclamation of peace. He arrived at New York at the middle of May, and gave the first intelligence of the capture of the *Cyane* and *Levant*. Honors were showered upon him. Congress gave him thanks and a gold medal. The Common Council of the city of New York gave him the freedom of the city in a gold box and honored him with a public banquet, and the Legislature of Pennsylvania presented him, in the name of the State, with a gold-hilted sword. The *Constitution* was ever afterward known as *Old Ironsides*, and Stewart bore the same title until his death in November, 1869, when he was in the ninety-second year of his age.

In the summer of 1814, Commodore Decatur, whose vessels had been long blockaded in the Thames, above New London, was transferred to the command of the *President*, and a little squadron composed of his flag-ship the *Peacock*, Captain Warrington; the *Hornet*, Captain Biddle; and the *Tom Bowline*, store-ship. The destination of the squadron was the East Indies, to spread havoc among the British shipping there. The *President* left her moorings first, and eluding the blockaders off Sandy Hook, put to sea. She had not proceeded far before she was chased by four British ships-of-war. Heavily laden for a long cruise, she could not sail fast, and after a protracted chase and running fight she was compelled to strike her colors. Decatur delivered his sword to Captain Hayes of the *Majestic*, the first vessel that came alongside the *President* after she struck.

Late in January, the remainder of Decatur's squadron put to sea, their commander being ignorant of the fate of the flag-ship. The commodore had designated one of a group of islands in the South Atlantic Ocean as the place of rendezvous, and toward this the squadron sailed. The *Peacock* and *Tom Bowline* arrived there early in March, but were driven away by a storm; the *Hornet* was about to cast anchor there on the 23d of March, when a strange vessel was discerned near. Biddle spread his sails and went seaward to reconnoitre. The stranger was the British sloop *Penguin*, 18. They fought desperately, and at the end of twenty minutes the *Hornet* won the victory. This action was regarded as one of the most creditable of the war. Biddle was honored by Congress with a gold medal, and citizens of Philadelphia gave him a service of beautiful silver plate. Afterward the *Hornet* was closely chased by a heavy line-of-battle-ship; but by consummate seamanship and casting everything overboard to lighten her, she escaped and reached New York in June, 1815, without boat or anchor.

Captain Warrington captured the *Nautilus* in the Straits of Sunda (between the islands of Sumatra and Java of the East Indian archipelago), on the 30th of June, 1815. Being informed the next day of the ratification of peace, Warrington gave up the *Nautilus* and returned home, bearing the honor of having fired the last shot in the second war for independence. Every cruiser, public and private, had returned to port when Warrington arrived, and the war was over. He, too, was honored by Congress with thanks and a gold medal. During the war, as we have observed, the American privateersmen did good service for themselves and their country. They swarmed upon the ocean, and were the terror of British commerce. The romantic story of their doings have filled a large volume (*Coggeshall's History of American Privateers*), and yet the half has not been told. Their exploits were but a repetition of those of the regular service. After the first six months of the war, the bulk of the naval conflicts was carried on upon the ocean, on the part of the Americans, by private armed vessels, which, as we have observed, "took, burned and destroyed *sixteen hundred* British merchantmen of all classes, in the space of three years."

"The navy," says Cooper, "came out of this struggle with a vast increase of reputation. The brilliant style in which the ships had been carried into action, the steadiness and rapidity with which they had been handled, and the fatal accuracy of their fire on nearly every occasion, produced a new era in naval warfare. Most of the frigate actions had been as soon decided as circumstances would at all allow; and in no instance was it found necessary to keep up the fire of a sloop-of-war an hour when singly engaged. Most of the combats of the latter, indeed, were decided in about

half that time. The execution done in these short conflicts was often equal to that made by the largest vessels of Europe in general actions, and in some of them the slain and wounded comprised a very large proportion of the crews. It is not easy to say in which nation this unlooked for result created the most surprise. . . . The ablest and wisest captain of the English fleet was ready to admit that a new power was about to appear on the ocean, and that it was not improbable the battle for the mastery of the sea would have to be fought over again."

The triumphs of the American navy gave great satisfaction to our people, and were themes for oratory, toast and song. That satisfaction was manifested in various ways, sometimes by a little harmless boasting as in the following verses of an ode to "The American Tar," which was very popular at the close of the war:

"The Goddess of Freedom, borne down by oppression,
In Europe's famed regions no longer found rest ;
She wept at the heart-rending, wide desolation,
And languishing looked for relief from the West.
She heard that Columbia was rearing a temple,
Where she would be worshipp'd in peace and in war ;
Old Neptune confirm'd it—cried 'Here is a sample.'
Presenting with pride an American Tar.

"Cease weeping, then, goddess, to thee I've consigned him ,
He loves thee, and he thy protector will be ;
Believe me, a more gallant youth you will find him
Than e'er bore your banners through ocean and sea.
When his galley he trims—firm, resolv'd for the onset,
Woe, woe, to that foe who his prowess shall dare ;
Long will his country lament that he e'er met
And brav'd the avenging American Tar.

We have now come to a consideration of the closing events of the war in connection with the military operations. These almost ceased at the north after the stirring events at Washington, Baltimore, and Plattsburg. There were some significant political movements in New England in the autumn of 1814, which attracted very wide attention, created considerable alarm, and called forth severe animadversions. The chief theatre of military operations was transferred to the Gulf region.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CREEK INDIANS—THE BRITISH AT PENSACOLA AND FORT BOWYER—GENERAL JACKSON DRIVES THE BRITISH FROM PENSACOLA—IS CALLED TO NEW ORLEANS—INVASION OF LOUISIANA CONTEMPLATED—LAFITTE AND HIS BAND OF OUTLAWS—JACKSON IN NEW ORLEANS—THE BRITISH IN THE GULF—EVENTS ON LAKE BORGNE—BATTLE BELOW NEW ORLEANS—PAKENHAM AND HIS TROOPS—JACKSON'S LINE OF DEFENCE—BATTLE NEAR NEW ORLEANS—DEFEAT AND RETREAT OF THE BRITISH—HONORS TO JACKSON—THE GENERAL FINED FOR CONTEMPT OF COURT—TREATY OF PEACE—ITS EFFECTS—EFFECTS OF THE WAR—THE HARTFORD CONVENTION, ITS CAUSE, DESIGNS AND DOINGS—ADJUSTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS—RESULT OF THE WAR—THE BARBARY POWERS HUMBLLED.

JACKSON had crushed the military power of the Creek Indians in Alabama, in the spring of 1814, and in the course of the ensuing summer he wrung from them a treaty which extinguished them, politically, as a nation. A large portion of their beautiful and fertile country was added to the United States as indemnity for the expenses of the war. They agreed to allow the national government to build roads across their domain, and not to hold any communication with British or Spanish posts. It then was believed that the war in the South was ended. Suddenly the British appeared in force in the Gulf of Mexico, and were favored and sheltered by the Spanish authorities at Pensacola. Informed of this, some of the Creek chiefs indulged a hope of having their lost power restored to them, and for awhile the obligations of the treaty bore lightly upon their consciences.

By permission of the Spanish governor of Florida, the British took possession of one of the forts at Pensacola, where they fitted out an expedition for the capture of Fort Bowyer (now Fort Morgan), on the eastern shore of the entrance to Mobile Bay. The fort was commanded by Major William Lawrence with a band of one hundred and thirty resolute men. The English squadron bearing land troops appeared off Mobile Point; and on the 15th of September, after some land troops had disembarked, an attack was begun, on land and sea, simultaneously. The twenty pieces of artillery with which Fort Bowyer was armed were brought to bear upon the enemy so skillfully that the British were soon repulsed, with the loss of a

ship-of-war and many men. Among the land troops were two hundred Creek warriors who had violated the treaty.

General Jackson's head-quarters were then at Mobile. He was a major-general in the regular army, and the commander of the southwestern military district, which extended from Tennessee to the Gulf of Mexico and included New Orleans. He had learned that the Spanish governor had



TROOPS CHARGING INTO PENSACOLA.

not only given shelter to the British, but had invited a large number of the Creek warriors to Pensacola, to be enrolled into the British service. The general took the responsibility of calling that official to account for his conduct, but he could not obtain any satisfactory guaranty that the unfriendly act would not be repeated; he therefore determined to march to Pensacola and compel the British to leave that harbor. When volunteers from Tennessee had arrived early in November, he advanced with about four thousand men, and on the 6th encamped within two miles of the Florida capital. An officer was sent with a flag to demand the surrender of the

forts, when the British fired upon it. The next day Jackson's troops charged into the town, when the frightened governor offered to surrender the forts. This was done; whereupon the British abandoned the forts, blew up one of them (Barrancas), and sailed away with the garrison and a considerable number of Indians. These events so impressed the Creeks with a sense of the power of Jackson and his government, that they ever afterward kept quiet.

- On his return to Mobile, Jackson found messages from New Orleans, urging him to hasten to the defence of that city. The unwise commander of the British in the Gulf had proclaimed his intention to invade Louisiana, and had sent an inflammatory proclamation among the inhabitants of that State. He had also tried to engage the services of a band of outlaws near the mouth of the Mississippi River, led by Jean Lafitte, who has been called the "Pirate of the Gulf." Lafitte was a shrewd Frenchman, and he and his band had been outlawed by legal proceedings, though his crimes were not against humanity, only violations of the revenue and neutrality laws of the United States. When the invitation was put into his hands, he feigned compliance; but as soon as the bearer had departed, he called his followers around him on the border of the sea and said in substance: "Comrades, I am an adopted citizen of the United States, and will never violate the confidence placed in me by serving the enemies of this country. We have been outlawed; perhaps we deserve it by our irregularities. No matter; I am ready to serve my adopted country, and ask you to join me. What say you, comrades?" His brawny followers then threw up their hats and exclaimed, "We will! we will!" and they were afterward accepted as volunteers in the defence of New Orleans. Lafitte immediately sent the despatches received from the British commander to the governor of Louisiana, and so the people were forewarned of approaching danger.

Jackson arrived at New Orleans on the 2d of December, and found that city utterly defenceless, and the people filled with alarm and distracted by petty factions.

Real danger was imminent. The British troops that left Chesapeake Bay after their repulse at Baltimore had gone to the West Indies, where they were joined by about four thousand veterans under the brave Irish general Keane. The combined forces sailed in the direction of New Orleans late in November. The wives of many of the officers accompanied them, for not a man doubted that the speedy conquest of Louisiana would be the result of the expedition. The dullness of the voyage was enlivened by music and dancing, and all anticipated exquisite pleasures to be found in the paradise before them. The presence of Jackson allayed the fears of the

people, and his vigorous measures inspired them with confidence. He established martial-law, and had so rigorously exercised it that before the British were ready for the invasion, he felt confident of success in defending the city against great odds.

The British forces halted at the entrance to Lake Borgne, between which and the Mississippi River New Orleans stands. On the bosom of that lake the Americans had a patrol of five gun-boats, commanded by Lieutenant (afterward Commodore) T. Ap Catesby Jones. Against these were sent twelve hundred men in about forty boats, who captured the American flotilla on the 14th of December, and so secured complete command of the lake. Meanwhile Jackson was carrying on his measures for defence most vigorously; and when he heard of the capture of the flotilla, he sent couriers to General Coffee and others at the head of Tennessee and Kentucky troops, urging them to hasten to New Orleans. His efforts were timely, for on the 22d of December, General Keane, with more than two thousand five hundred men, reached the banks of the Mississippi through a bayou nine miles below the city, and prepared to take New Orleans by surprise. Vigilant eyes were watching his movements; and a prisoner whom he had taken and who had escaped, hastened to New Orleans and gave General Jackson notice of the near approach of the foe. At the same time Coffee and Carroll arrived with Tennesseans, and Jackson put a column in motion to meet the invaders. Early on the evening of the 23d they marched, eighteen hundred strong, led by Jackson in person, and at the same time the armed schooner *Carolina* dropped down the river to within musket range of the British camp. Shots from that vessel first revealed the fact to the British that their presence was known at New Orleans, and these missiles soon broke up their camp, when they were attacked in the dark by Jackson and his followers. The combat that ensued was indecisive, except in making the invaders more cautious and discreet. In this night-conflict the Americans lost about two hundred men, and the British lost four hundred.

New Orleans was saved from capture by surprise; now it had to be saved from open invasion. The events of the 23d dispirited the British, and in this condition General Pakenham found the troops on his arrival on Christmas day, with reinforcements, to take the chief command. He was a veteran fresh from the Spanish peninsula, and was delighted to find under his control some of the best of Wellington's regiments. He immediately prepared to effect the capture of New Orleans and the subjugation of Louisiana without delay. With hot-shot the annoying *Carolina* was burned, and the *Louisiana* was the only American naval force left in the river. Meanwhile Jackson had been casting up a line of intrenchments from the



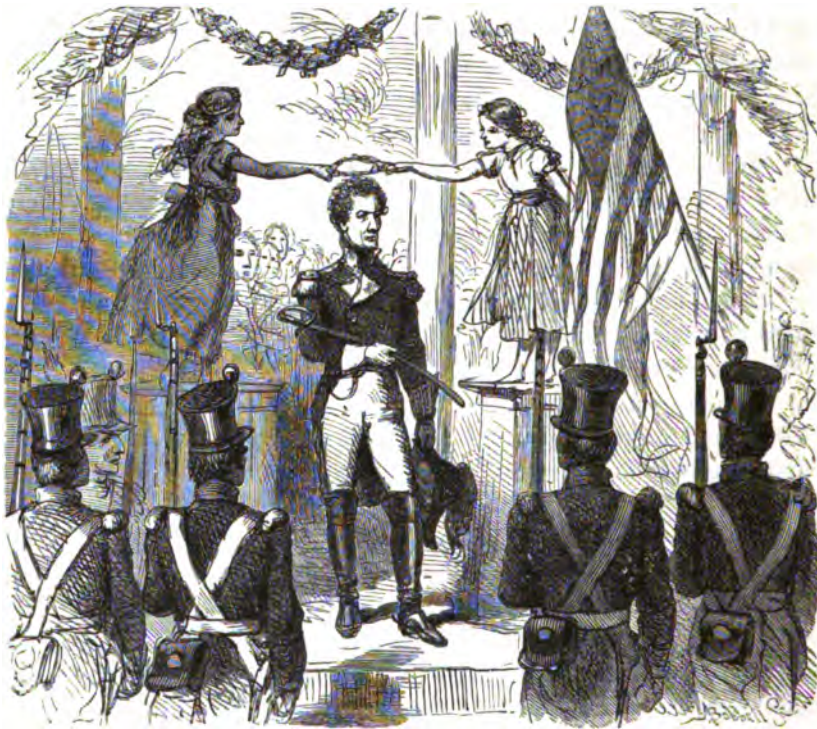
BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS—DEATH OF GENERAL PAKENHAM.

banks of the Mississippi to an almost impregnable swamp in the rear, four miles below New Orleans. Near this line indecisive engagements occurred. Finally a battle was fought which, without the negotiations for peace that resulted in a treaty, would have ended the war.

On the morning of the 8th of January, 1815, full six thousand expert sharpshooters, mostly from Tennessee under Coffee and Carroll, and from Kentucky under General Adair, lay behind Jackson's intrenchments almost wholly concealed from the enemy encamped on the plain that stretched away to the southward. Pakenham, who had twelve thousand effective men, had resolved to carry this line by storm, satisfied that his overwhelming numbers of regulars might easily crush the American militia gathered on both sides of the Mississippi. With about nine thousand troops he pressed forward for the purpose as soon as a heavy fog was dispersed, leaving the remainder as a reserve, under General Lambert. An ominous silence prevailed along the American line until the enemy approached within short cannon-range of Jackson's batteries. These were opened with terrible effect, cutting fearful lanes through the ranks of the British. Yet the invaders continued to advance steadily until they came within range of the American rifles, when volley after volley poured a deadly storm of lead upon the British. Whole platoons were mown down as with a scythe; but the gallant army continued to press forward until officer after officer was killed, and Pakenham himself fell, bleeding and dying, into the arms of the late Sir Duncan McDougall, his favorite aid, who performed a similar service for General Ross when he was mortally wounded near Baltimore a few months before. Very soon afterward the whole of the assailants broke and fled back across the plain of Chalmette in great confusion. Lambert, with the reserve, covered the retreat. On the west side of the Mississippi the assailants had also retreated. The slaughter and maiming before Jackson's lines had been fearful. The fugitives left seven hundred dead and fourteen hundred wounded on the field, and suffered a further loss by having five hundred of their companions made prisoners—a loss of twenty-six hundred. The Americans lost only eight killed and thirteen wounded. They were thoroughly protected by breastworks, while the invaders were exposed on an open plain. The bodies of the slain British officers were taken to Villere's plantation, where they were buried that night by torchlight, excepting those of Pakenham and three or four general officers, which were sent to England in casks of rum. The British troops under General Lambert stole noiselessly away on the night of the 19th across Lake Borgne, in small transports, and escaped to the fleet. They then besieged Fort Bowyer for two days, when Major Lawrence was compelled to surrender, and the

victors were about to push on to Mobile when they were arrested by tidings of peace.

General Jackson, with the main body of his army, entered New Orleans on the 21st of January, where the population, of all ages, greeted them as saviors. Two days later that city was the theatre of an imposing spectacle at the front of the old cathedral, in what is now Jackson Square. That day



JACKSON CROWNED AT NEW ORLEANS.

had been appointed by the apostolic prefect of Louisiana for the public offering, in the cathedral, of thanks to the Almighty for the great deliverance; and Jackson, with his staff, were to be in attendance. Preparations were made for the reception of the hero. In the public square was erected a triumphal arch supported by six Corinthian columns, and festooned with evergreens and flowers. Beneath the arch stood two beautiful little girls, each upon a pedestal and holding in her hand a civic crown of laurel. Near them stood two damsels, one personifying *Liberty*, the other *Justice*. From the arch to the cathedral, arranged in two rows, stood beautiful young

maidens dressed in white, each covered with a blue gauze veil, and having a silver star on her forehead. These personified the several States and Territories of the Union. Each carried a basket filled with flowers, and behind each was a lance stuck in the ground, and bearing a shield with the name of the State she represented inscribed upon it.

Jackson and his staff passed on foot through the square between rows of soldiers, and as he stepped upon the slightly raised platform of the arch, the two little girls on the pedestals leaned gently forward and placed the laurel crown upon his head. At the same moment a charming Creole girl (Miss Kerr), as the representative of Louisiana, stepped forward and with great modesty in voice and manner, spoke a few words to the honored chief, in which she expressed the profound gratitude of her people. To this address Jackson made a brief reply, and then passed on to the church, with his pathway strewn with flowers. Therein he was seated near the great altar, and after the apostolic prefect delivered a patriotic discourse, the *Te Deum Laudamus* was chanted by the choir and the people. When the ceremonies were ended Jackson returned to the stern duties of a soldier.

The general was vigilant as well as brave, and he exercised martial law until official tidings of peace reached him. Martial and civil law clashed. An irate judge, whom the general had caused to be arrested and banished beyond the military jurisdiction, summoned Jackson before him to show cause why the general should not be punished for contempt of court. The hero obeyed. The court-room was crowded with citizens indignant at such treatment of the man who had saved their State from invasion and their city from plunder. The judge was alarmed in the presence of the public wrath. "Go on; I will protect you in your duty," said the brave general to the trembling judge. The latter fined the hero a thousand dollars, for which amount the general drew a check before leaving the room. The populace bore him on their shoulders to a carriage in the street, and the citizens soon made up the amount of the fine and tendered it to Jackson. He ordered it to be distributed among the families of the soldiers who had fallen in the battle. Thirteen years afterward the people of the United States elected Andrew Jackson President of the Republic.

We have observed that Great Britain refused to treat for peace under Russian mediation, but the government offered to open negotiations in London or in Gottenburg, Sweden. President Madison, anxious for peace, accepted the proposition, and chose the last-named place for the meeting; but the ancient city of Ghent in the Netherlands (now Belgium) was afterward substituted. There commissioners appointed by the two governments met in August, 1814. The United States was represented by John Quincy

Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell and Albert Gallatin. The British representatives in the commission were Lord Gambier, Henry Goulbourn and William Adams. Christopher Hughes, Jr., of Baltimore, was appointed secretary to the American commissioners. He was then the



JACKSON BEFORE THE COURT.

diplomatic agent of the United States at the Court of Sweden, and was one of the most attractive of men in social life, and unrivalled as a diplomat. When negotiations for peace were opened, a wide difference in the views of the commissioners of the respective nations appeared. Discussions continued several months. A result was not reached until the 24th of December, when a treaty was signed by the respective commissioners and was immediately sent to London, where it was ratified on the 28th by the Prince Regent. It had been borne there by Mr. Baker, secretary of Lord Gambier, and Mr. Carroll, one of the secretaries of the American commis-

sion. The same messengers took it to America in the sloop-of-war *Favorite*, which arrived at New York on the 11th of February. Mr. Hughes, who left Ghent with a copy of the treaty, and embarked for America from the *Texel*, arrived at Annapolis two days after the *Favorite* reached New York, and he put a copy of the treaty into the hands of the President before the ratified copy arrived in Washington. The treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States on the 17th of February, and it was promulgated the next day by a proclamation of the President. As the tidings went slowly over the land, intense joy and satisfaction were manifested in private and in public.

While the news of peace was spreading great joy throughout the country, there was a feeling of disappointment among reflecting men because the treaty did not secure to the Americans that immunity from search and impressment for which they had made war. It left Great Britain free to pursue her haughty course on the high seas, unrestrained by any moral force. The supercilious manner in which the American commissioners had been treated in England while waiting for the British government to determine where negotiations should be held, had left a thorn of irritation in the public sentiment. For months the commissioners had been suffered to remain in England unnoticed by the government; and the ministry, by proposing first one place and then another for the meeting, had shown a spirit of undignified trifling which delayed the result full six months. The treaty stipulated a mutual restoration of all places and possessions taken during the war, or which might be taken after signing the treaty; declared that all captures at sea should be relinquished, if made within specified times thereafter, in different parts of the world; and that each party should mutually put a stop to Indian hostilities, and endeavor to extinguish the traffic in slaves. The boundaries, imperfectly adjusted by the treaty of 1783, were all settled; but the subjects of search and impressment, of paper blockades and orders in council, were all passed by without specific notice in the treaty. These grave omissions were weapons in the hands of the opponents of the war, which they used with vigor. Their newspapers contained some well-pointed epigrams; and the New York *Evening Post*, anticipating this failure, had printed in its "New Year's Address," several weeks before the arrival of the treaty, the following stanza:

"Your commerce is wantonly lost;
Your treasures are wasted and gone;
You've fought to no end, but with millions of cost
And for rivers of blood you've nothing to boast,
But credit and nation undone."

But while the war and the treaty had failed to secure certain immediate and important incidental advantages, the events of that war did secure the far more important advantage of the positive and permanent independence of the United States, for which our people with arms and diplomacy had contended for many years in vain. It secured to posterity a guarantee for the perpetuation and growth of free institutions; and Great Britain was taught the useful lesson, more puissant in its effects upon the topic of search and impressment than any treaty obligation, that the young republic of the West, the offspring of her oppressions, growing more lusty every hour, would no longer tolerate an insult, nor suffer its sovereignty to be questioned without resenting the offence. Great Britain was compelled to sign a bond, as it were, to keep the peace, in the form of an acknowledgment that she had, in this republic, a formidable rival for the supremacy of the seas, which she was bound to respect. The concessions made to the Americans by the treaty were equally offensive to British pride, for it seemed like stooping to "insolent Yankees;" and the spirit of a portion of the London press was manifested by the following "advertisement extraordinary:"

"*Wanted*—The spirit which animated the conduct of Elizabeth, Oliver, and William.

"*Lost*—All idea of national dignity and honor.

"*Found*—That every independent State may insult *That* which used to call herself *Mistress of the Seas*."

The treaty of peace ended the war which had continued two years and eight months; it also modified the partisan warfare in the republic. We have seen how persistently the Federalists opposed the declaration of war when it was proposed, and denounced it during its progress; also how unpatriotic was the conduct of a portion of that party known as the Peace-Faction. The mischievous conduct of that faction ceased only with the conflict of arms, while a more patriotic portion of the opposition adopted a measure which created suspicions of their loyalty at the time, and caused unjust vituperations for many years afterward. The event alluded to is known in history as "The Hartford Convention," the authentic history of which is as follows:

The haughty position assumed by Great Britain during the negotiations at Ghent, in demanding terms of peace humiliating to the Americans, caused our government to prosecute the war with more vigor than ever before, in the autumn of 1814. To do this it was necessary to raise a considerable force by conscription. This measure brought matters to a crisis in New England, where the Peace-Faction was all-powerful. The conduct of

that faction had made the President suspicious of the loyalty of the New Englanders; and in making military arrangements, he had discriminated unfavorably toward that section of the country of which he showed his distrust. In some of the other States, the matter of local defences had been left almost wholly to the discretion of the respective governors; in New England, the President insisted upon his having exclusive control of all military movements there. The Massachusetts government had refused to place its militia under the control of General Dearborn, of the national army, and the national government therefore refused to pay the expenses of defending Massachusetts from the common enemy. Similar action had occurred in the case of Connecticut, and a clamor was instantly raised that New England was abandoned to the enemy by the national government. In a report, the Massachusetts Legislature made a covert threat of independent action on the part of the people of that section, by appropriating their home resources for home defence. A conference of sympathizing States, to consider the proposition and to consult upon a radical reform in the National Constitution, was proposed. That proposition was acceded to, and on the morning of the 15th of December, 1814, a convention, composed of twenty-six delegates representing New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Vermont, assembled at Hartford, Connecticut, and held their sessions in secret. George Cabot of Boston was chosen president of the convention, and Theodore Dwight, secretary. The sessions of that convention continued three weeks, during which time some propositions were made by indiscreet members, which, if carried out, might have been dangerous to the integrity of the Union. A series of topics for discussion, prepared by a committee, all having relation to the best interests of the republic, occupied the greater portion of the time. Late in December the convention adopted the report of a committee, that it would be expedient for that body to prepare a general statement of the unconstitutional attempts of the executive government of the United States to infringe upon the rights of individual States, in regard to the military, etc.; and to recommend to the legislature of the States the adoption of the most effective and decisive measures to protect the militia and the States from the usurpations contained in these proceedings—the drafting of men. Also to prepare a statement concerning the general subject of State defences, and a recommendation that an application be made to the national government for an arrangement with the States by which they could be allowed to retain a portion of the taxes levied by Congress, to be devoted to the expense of self-defence. They also proposed amendments to the National Constitution, to obtain the following results: The restriction of the power of Congress to

declare and make war; a restraint of the exercise of unlimited power by Congress to make new States and admit them into the Union; a restraint of the power of Congress in laying embargoes and restrictions upon commerce; a stipulation that a President of the United States shall not be elected from the same State two consecutive terms; that the same person shall not be elected President a second term, and that alterations be made concerning slave representation and taxation.

The Hartford convention, undoubtedly composed of as wise, loyal and patriotic men as any in the Union, and who represented the conservative sentiment of discontented New-England during a season of great trial, adjourned on the 6th of January, 1815, with an impression that circumstances might compel it to reassemble; therefore the seal of secrecy was not removed. This gave wide scope for conjecture, and the wildest stories of their seditious doings were circulated and believed; and for twenty years the political cry of "a Hartford Convention Federalist!" cast a degree of public odium on the man so denounced.

With the advent of peace very important duties were presented to the national administration, in the adjustment of public affairs in accordance with the new order of things. Plans were considered for the maintenance of the public credit and the extinguishment of the national debt, then amounting to over \$120,000,000. Appropriations were made for rebuilding the public edifices destroyed by the British. The army was reduced to a peace establishment of ten thousand men; and the various acts necessary for the public good during a state of war were repealed. The naval establishment was fully kept up, for the necessity of a force in the Mediterranean to protect American commerce from the depredations of Algerian corsairs was apparent. The total cost of the war to the United States government was about \$100,000,000, and the loss of human life by battle and by other casualties incident to war was estimated at thirty thousand. The cost of blood and treasure to the British nation was much greater. The Americans captured during the conflict on the ocean and on the lakes fifty-six British vessels-of-war, mounting eight hundred and eighty-six cannon, and two thousand three hundred and sixty merchant-vessels, mounting eight thousand guns. There were also lost on the American coast, during the war, by wreck or otherwise, twenty-nine British ships-of-war, mounting eight hundred guns; while the Americans lost only twenty-five vessels-of-war, and a much less number of merchant-ships than the British.

As soon as the war with Great Britain was ended, the United States felt impelled to engage in another with Algiers. Offended because he had not

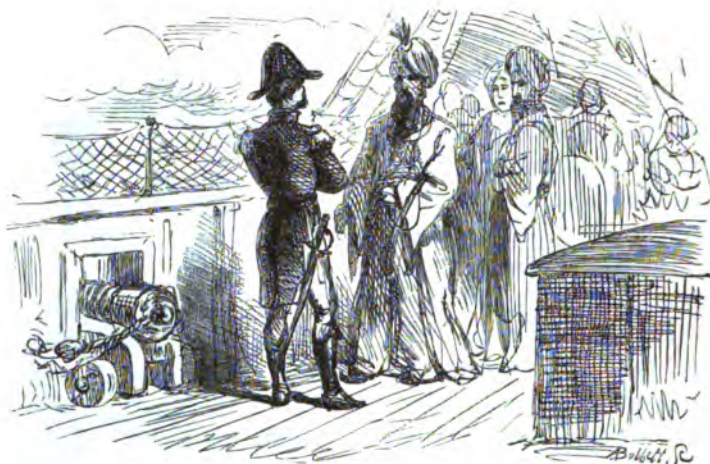
received from the American government, as tribute, precisely the articles which he had demanded, the semi-barbarian Dey of Algiers, in 1812, uncere- moniously dismissed Mr. Lear, the American consul, and declared war; and afterward his corsairs captured an American vessel, and the crew were reduced to slavery. Mr. Lear was compelled to pay the Dey \$27,000 for the safety of himself and family, and a few Americans who were there, to save them all from being made slaves. Believing that the United States navy had been almost annihilated by the British in the late contest, this North African robber renewed depredations upon American com- merce in violation of treaty obli- gations. Determined to pay tri- bute no longer to this insolent ruler, the American government accepted his challenge for war, and in May, 1815, sent Commodore Decatur to the Mediterranean, with a squadron, to humble the Dey. When Decatur passed the straits of Gibraltar, he found the Algerine pirate fleet cruising in search of American vessels. On the 17th of June, Decatur met the flag-ship of the Algerine admiral (a frigate of 44 guns), and after a brief engagement captured her, also another pirate ship with almost six hundred men. With these prizes he immediately sailed for the bay of Algiers, and on the 28th of June, he demanded the instant surrender of all the American prisoners, full indemnification for all property destroyed, and absolute relinquishment of all claims to tribute from the United States thereafter.

When the Dey of Algiers heard of the fate of a part of his fleet, that terrified robber hastened to comply with Decatur's demands; and in obe- dience to the commodore's requirements, the haughty chief appeared on the quarter-deck of the *Guerriere* (the flag-ship) with some of his officers of state and accompanied by the captives he was to release. There, on the 30th of June, he signed a treaty in accordance with the demands of Decatur, and departed deeply humiliated. From Algiers, after this triumph, the



STEPHEN DECATUR.

commodore sailed for Tunis, and demanded and received from the Bashaw or ruler of that state \$46,000, in payment for American vessels which he had allowed the British to capture in his harbor. This was in July. Then Decatur proceeded to Tripoli, the capital of another of the Barbary States, and in August demanded from the Bey, its ruler, \$25,000 for the same kind



BEY OF ALGIERS BEFORE DECATUR

of injury to property and the release of prisoners. The treasury of the Bey being nearly empty, Decatur accepted, in lieu of cash, the release from captivity of eight Danish and two Neapolitan seamen, who were held as slaves. This cruise in the Mediterranean sea gave full security to American commerce in these waters, and greatly elevated the character of the United States in the opinion of Europeans. During this cruise of about two months, in the summer of 1815, the navy of the United States accomplished, in the way of humbling the North African robbers, what the combined powers of Europe dared not to attempt.



CHAPTER XVI.

BANKS—FINANCES OF THE GOVERNMENT—A NATIONAL BANK—TROUBLES ABOUT BOUNDARIES IN THE GULF REGION—BEGINNING OF MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION—HIS CABINET—STATE OF THE REPUBLIC AND ITS INDUSTRIES—THE WEST AND ITS GROWTH—CHICAGO—THE PRESIDENT'S TOUR—THE SLAVE SYSTEM—COLONIZATION SOCIETIES—LIBERIA FOUNDED—PIRATES AND SLAVE DEALERS—TROUBLE WITH THE INDIANS—JACKSON IN FLORIDA—DOINGS AT PENSACOLA—FLORIDA ADDED TO THE UNION—MISSOURI TERRITORY—ADMISSION OF MISSOURI AS A STATE—VIOLENT DEBATES ON SLAVERY—ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENTS—PIRATES SUBDUED—EFFECTS OF WHITNEY'S COTTON-GIN—THE "MONROE DOCTRINE"—VISIT OF LAFAYETTE—LAFAYETTE AT THE TOMB OF WASHINGTON—MEASURES OF MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION—STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

THE eventful administration of President Madison drew to a close in 1816. During that year the efforts of the government were put forth to complete the readjustment of the finances of the country after the derangements produced by a state of war. Direct taxation was reduced one-half, and other changes were made. The Bank of the United States had expired by the limitation of its charter in 1811, and banks authorized by the several States had appeared in all parts of the Union. At the close of 1815, there were one hundred and twenty of these institutions, with an aggregate capital of \$40,000,000, and an emission of notes estimated at \$200,000,000. The finances of the government were then in a wretched condition. The public credit had been depressed by the unpatriotic action of the Peace-Faction, and from the same cause there was a general suspension of specie payments by the banks, the notes of which were greatly depreciated—twenty per cent in Baltimore and fifteen in New York. In this state of things the friends of a national bank pressed its claims upon Congress, and in the spring of 1816 a second bank of the United States was chartered for twenty years with a capital of \$35,000,000, the United States subscribing for stock to the amount of \$7,000,000. The creation of this bank gave an impetus to general business. The State banks were compelled to resume specie payments. Some of them were aided in their efforts by the national bank, while more feeble ones were finally obliged to close their doors. The government bank went into operation early in 1817, and receiving on deposit the funds of the national government,

it soon became a powerful financial institution. It was so powerful that when President Jackson was inaugurated in 1829 he evinced hostility to it, and waged war upon it as a dangerous institution until it expired by the limitation of its charter, in 1836, which was never renewed by Congress. The bank was re-chartered by the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1836, but made a final suspension four years afterward, when, on winding up its business, there remained nothing for the stockholders—the whole capital was gone.

During Madison's administration Louisiana and Indiana were admitted into the Union as States—the former in April, 1812, and the latter in December, 1816. There had been warm discussions on the subject of the admission of Louisiana, the Federalists strongly opposing the measure. The question of boundary between the possessions of Spain and the United States, in that region, was a serious one. Eastward of the vast territory which, under the title of Louisiana, had been ceded to the United States, and bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, was a region in possession of the Spaniards, known as East and West Florida, the dividing line between them being the Perdido River, now the line between Florida and Alabama. The western portion was claimed by the United States as included in the cession, while the Spanish authorities asserted that their possession extended to the Mississippi. With the act for the admission of Louisiana was passed another act, annexing to that State that part of West Florida lying between the Mississippi and Pearl Rivers, and all eastward of that stream to the Perdido was annexed to the Territory of Mississippi. This measure produced unpleasant relations between the United States and Spain, which continued several years; and the dispute was not settled until after the retirement of Mr. Madison from the Presidency. The latter event occurred on the 4th of March, 1817. James Monroe, his Secretary of State, was his successor, having received an almost unanimous vote for the high office in the electoral colleges. At the same time Daniel D. Tompkins of New York was elected Vice-President by a large majority. Monroe was the fifth President of the United States, and he entered upon the duties of his office under favorable auspices for himself and his country. His inaugural address was liberal in its tone and gave general satisfaction, and the beginning of his administration was regarded as the dawning of an era of good feeling. The Federal party was declining in strength, and from the dominant party which had elected him, the President chose his cabinet-ministers, composed of John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Secretary of War. These were all aspirants for the Presidential chair.

B. W. Crowninshield was continued Secretary of the Navy, and William Wirt was appointed Attorney-General. The President was thus surrounded by some of the ablest men of the republic as his constitutional advisers.

Mr. Monroe was conservative, judicious, and conciliatory; just such a man as was then needed in the place which he filled. It was a critical time in the history of the republic, for the country was in a transition state from that of war to one of peace. The demand for domestic manufactures and the high prices obtained for them during the war, had stimulated that particular industry, and many manufacturing establishments had been nurtured into vigorous life. When the war was ended and European manufactures came like a flood in quantity and at low prices, that industry was suddenly overwhelmed in disaster. Thousands of men and women were compelled to seek other employments, and many turned their eyes and their hopes to the millions of fertile acres beyond the Alleghany Mountains, where sure wealth, or at least a competence, awaited the tiller's industry and skill. Bankrupts sought and found relief in the pursuits of agriculture. Homes in the east were left by swarms of sturdy people. Emigration flowed over the mountains in a broad and continuous stream;

and before the close of Monroe's administration, the Great West had begun its wonderful career. That administration was marked by an immense expansion in the material growth of the United States. Five independent States had been created and added to the Union, namely, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine in 1820, and Missouri in 1821.

The growth of "The West" in wealth and population has been marvelous. The five great lakes are over fifteen hundred miles in aggregate length, and drain a region estimated to be nearly thirty-six thousand square miles in extent. The regions around these lakes (especially the more west-



JAMES MONROE.

ern ones), less than fifty years ago, were almost a wilderness. In 1830, there were less than five thousand white people in the vast region between Lake Michigan and the Pacific Ocean; now there are millions, and populous States and Territories exist where, within a generation, the buffalo and the Indian hunter were lords of the soil. On the borders of these lakes now cluster great commercial centres. Chicago is a model for illustration. It was first surveyed and a small village was marked out there in 1831. A small garrison depended for grain-food upon Mackinaw. Now Chicago is a city of over three hundred thousand inhabitants, and it is the greatest grain market in the world. Its commerce amounts to \$450,000,000 annually.

Monroe determined to know more of the country and the people he was called upon to preside over, and sixty days after he was seated in the chair of state he left the capital for an extensive tour. He was clad in the undress uniform worn by officers of the Revolution—a blue coat of domestic manufacture, light waistcoat and breeches, high top-boots known as “Wellingtons,” and a cocked-hat. He journeyed to far-eastern New England, and thence passed through the sparsely settled country to Vermont. He visited Plattsburg, and journeyed through the forests to the St. Lawrence, where he embarked for Lake Ontario. He halted at Sackett’s Harbor, Fort Niagara and Buffalo, and then sailed over Lake Erie to Detroit. From that then remote region he journeyed through the woods of Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Maryland, and reached the capital after an absence of more than three months. In the journey the President became acquainted with leading men of all parties, and was cordially received everywhere with civic and military escorts and the profound respect of the people. The effect of that tour was every way beneficial. Partisan asperity was softened, and genuine patriotism filled the hearts of the people. There was then an almost perfect union of sentiment throughout the country; but the slave system soon awakened the most bitter sectional feeling that disturbed the repose of the people for about forty years.

Congress had passed laws, after the year 1808, prohibiting the African slave trade in our country; but after the war, the rapid increase in the cultivation of cotton made the demand for slave labor greater than the supply, and the African slave trade was reopened on the southern coasts in violation of law. There was also a brisk inter-state slave-trade act established, which continued until the breaking out of the late civil war. At that time (1860) the inhabitants of Virginia were receiving many millions of dollars from the sale of persons born on the soil of that State and sent to the cotton-growing States.

Before the Revolution the unpleasant situation of free colored people

among the slaves on account of their social disabilities had attracted the attention of benevolent persons, and efforts had been made to form a settlement for them in Africa. Nothing of great importance was accomplished until about the beginning of Monroe's administration, when the American Colonization Society was formed for that purpose, and for sending to such settlements slaves who had been unlawfully brought to the United States. The society founded the Republic of Liberia on the western coast of Africa, which, since 1848, has been an independent state governed by its own people.



FERTILE FIELDS OF THE WEST.

At this period, several of the Spanish-American colonies had declared their independence. East Florida was then in possession of Spain. A bold Scotchman named McGregor, bearing a commission (as he asserted) from several of the revolted Spanish colonies, was at the head of a band of desperate men, and took possession of Amelia Island off the northern part of the coast of Florida. He declared St. Augustine in a state of blockade, pretended to be engaged in the liberation of Florida from the Spanish yoke, sheltered privateers and pirates, and carried on a brisk trade in African slaves who were smuggled into the United States. At the same time a similar establishment was set up at Galveston, on the coast of Texas, for the

same purposes, to which some of the late followers of Lafitte resorted. The President determined to break up these nests. Late in November, 1817, a body of United States troops took possession of Amelia Island, and the Galveston establishment soon disappeared for want of support.

Meanwhile a mixed host composed of Seminole Indians in Florida, Creeks who were dissatisfied with the treaty of 1814, and runaway slaves, had commenced murderous forays upon the frontier settlers in Georgia and the Territory of Alabama, carved out of Mississippi. It was ascertained that these depredators were incited by British subjects residing in Florida under the protection of the Spanish authorities there. General Gaines was sent by our government to suppress these outrages and to remove any Indian from the territory ceded by the Creeks to the United States. His presence aroused the fierce anger of the Indians. They flew to arms, and for awhile Gaines was in great peril. General Jackson hastened to his relief, in time, with a thousand Tennessee volunteers. He arrived in December. Very little was done during the winter; but in March (1818) Jackson invaded Florida, took possession of the Spanish fort of St. Marks, at the head of Appalachee Bay, and sent the civil authorities and troops to Pensacola.

At St. Marks, Jackson found two of the most active inciters of the Indians to make forays into the settlements, and they were arrested. One was a Scotch trader from the Bermudas named Arbuthnot, and the other was a young Englishman named Ambrister, twenty-one years of age, who had borne a lieutenant's commission in the British service, and had led the motley gang of plunderers into Alabama. The general called these men before him, sternly accused them of their misdeeds, which they did not disclaim, and ordered them to be bound and tried by a court-martial. They were speedily found guilty, and speedily hanged. Jackson soon afterward marched toward Pensacola, where the Spanish authorities who cherished the enemies of the United States and encouraged the Indians to make war on the white people, resided. On Jackson's approach, the governor sent a protest against the invasion of the country of a friendly power, and a threat of repelling the intruders "force by force." Jackson pushed on to Pensacola. The governor and a few friends fled on horseback to Fort Barrancas, where he refused to give a guaranty for the peace of the frontier or to surrender the fort. Jackson drew up a 9-pounder field-piece and five 8-inch howitzers before the fort, and had scaling ladders ready, when a white flag appeared over the ramparts and a surrender took place. Jackson sent the governor and the garrison to Havana, and afterward wrote: "All I regret is that I did not storm the works, capture the governor, put him on his trial for the murder of Stokes and his family, and hang him for the deed."

Jackson was severely censured, in some circles, for these high-handed proceedings. His justification was a care for the public safety which could not be secured in any other way. The government and the voice of the people sustained him; but it was perceived that a general and thorough settlement of affairs on the southern boundary was a pressing necessity. A treaty was soon made (February 22, 1819) by which Spain ceded to the United States the whole of the Floridas and the adjacent islands. Just two



HUNTING THE BUFFALO.

years afterward that country was erected into a Territory of the United States, and in March, 1821, General Jackson was appointed the first governor over the newly acquired domain.

The vast region known as Louisiana, which was ceded to the United States by France, was divided into two Territories called respectively the "Territory of New Orleans" and the "District of Louisiana." The first named, when it was admitted as a State in 1812, assumed the original name of Louisiana, and the Territory north of it received the name of Missouri. In 1819, the southern portion of the latter Territory was formed into a separate government and called Arkansas. At the same time the Territories of Maine and Missouri were making overtures for admission into the Union.

Now began the first earnest debate in Congress on the subject of the extension of the slave-labor system in our country. The first effort to check that extension was, as we have observed, in 1787, when the North-western Territory was organized. The subject was only briefly considered incidentally, from time to time, until 1819, when the inhabitants of the Missouri Territory asked for its admission into the Union as a State. A bill for that purpose was introduced into Congress which contained a provision forbidding the existence of slavery in the new State when admitted. This caused one of the most violent debates in the House of Representatives on the subject of slavery that had ever occurred in the national legislature. Extreme doctrines and foolish threats were uttered on both sides; and there was much adroit management by the party leaders, who used great dexterity in trying to avoid a compromise which had been agreed to at a previous session, when the subject was before the House. One party wished to have Missouri enter the Union as a slave-labor State, and the other party desired its admission as a free-labor State.

As compromise seemed to be the only door through which Missouri might enter the Union, at that time, Henry Clay, who then first assumed the character of a pacificator, moved a joint committee to consider whether or not it was expedient to admit Missouri into the Union, and if not, what provision adapted to her actual condition ought to be made. This motion was adopted, a committee was appointed, but the final result, which was a compromise, was not reached until early in 1821. During the session of 1820-21, the discussions were sometimes very angry. The whole country, in the meantime, had become violently agitated by disputes on the subject, and a cry went forth from unwise and unpatriotic lips at the North and in the South for a dissolution of the Union. Then for the first time the people of the Union were vehemently and decisively divided on the subject of slavery. A member of Congress from Georgia prophetically said in the course of the debate; "A fire has been kindled which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out, and which only seas of blood can extinguish." A compromise was effected by the adoption of a provision in the bill (February, 1821) for the admission of Missouri, that in all territory south of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude (the southern boundary of the State of Missouri) slavery might exist, but was prohibited in the region north of that line. This agreement, known as the "Missouri Compromise" (by which that Territory was admitted as a free-labor State), was respected for more than thirty years, when, in 1854, it was violated in favor of the slaveholders. Maine was admitted in 1820.

By this compromise the "fire" was smothered, but not extinguished.

It was kept alive by philanthropists and politicians in the North, who soon reproduced the anti-slavery societies which had existed at an early period in the history of the nation. So early as 1775, Dr. Franklin was president of an anti-slavery society, whose objects were approved by Washington and other leading patriots. The New York Manumission Society was established in 1785, with John Jay president; and similar societies were founded in other States, including Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, and these efforts resulted in the final abolition of slavery in all the States north of those just named. But the cotton-gin, invented by Eli Whitney in the closing decade of the last century, had made the cultivation of cotton so profitable, that there was a large increase in the demand for slave-labor and a consequent enhancement in the value of slaves. This change in the commercial aspect of the cotton plant and slave labor caused the dying institution of slavery to revive and assume extraordinary vigor.

Opposition to it practically ceased at the South, while at the North, the slave-system being unprofitable, that opposition continued, though for many years in a state of repose. It was aroused to action by the debates on the Missouri question. That agitation was succeeded by repose for ten years, when William Lloyd Garrison began the publication of *The Liberator* (1831) in Boston, which advocated the emancipation of the slaves as the duty of every master and the right of every bondman, and denounced slave-holding as a "sin against God and a crime against humanity." Arnold Buffum, a member of the Society of Friends, and some others, formed an anti-slavery society in Boston in 1832; and in 1833 a similar society was formed in Philadelphia by Arthur Tappan and others. Violent agitations ensued. By lectures, tracts and newspapers, the anti-slavery doctrine was disseminated all over the land; and so perilous to the



THE APPEAL.

Union seemed these proceedings, that official efforts were made to prevent anti-slavery publications being carried in the mail-bags of the United States. This stimulated the Abolitionists to more vigorous action, and the friends and opponents of their causes threatened the dissolution of the Union. Churches were dismembered, and political parties were formed with the great question of slavery as the central point of action. The Liberal Party was formed in 1840, and in 1848 it was absorbed by the Free-Soil Party. This, in turn, was absorbed by the Republican Party formed in 1856, which still exists, and which carried on the contest against the institution of slavery until it was utterly extinguished at the close of the late civil war. Thus the prophecy of the Georgian was fulfilled—the “fire” was extinguished by “seas of blood.”

The commerce of the United States was greatly injured by swarms of privateers under Spanish-American flags, who had degenerated into pirates and so become outlaws, subject to chastisement by any nation. They infested the West Indian seas and the northern coasts of South America. Against these pirates and to protect American commerce, our government sent Commodore Perry, with two ships-of-war, in the spring of 1819. Perry died of yellow fever in the performance of his duty, and very little was then done toward suppressing the pirates; but in 1822 a small American squadron destroyed more than twenty piratical vessels on the coasts of Cuba; and the next year Commodore Porter, with a larger force, completed the good work. It was the policy of the government of the United States to favor the revolt of the Spanish-American provinces, whose flag these pirates had dishonored, as a means for preventing the establishment, in the future, of monarchical powers on the American continent. The latter policy was avowed by the President, and has never been lost sight of by our government, and is known in history as the “Monroe Doctrine.” Accordingly, on the recommendation of the President, Congress, early in 1822, resolved by an almost unanimous vote to recognize the independence of five of the revolted colonies, and appropriated \$100,000 to defray the expenses of envoys to the seat of government of each, whom the President soon afterwards appointed.

While the Missouri question was pending, an election for President of the United States occurred. Never was a canvass carried on more quietly than this, and Monroe and Tompkins were re-elected by an almost unanimous vote, the old Federal party as a political organization being nearly extinct. Mr. Monroe's second term was not marked by any very important public occurrences, but a pleasing incident in our history distinguished the last year of his administration. It was the visit of General Lafayette to the

United States as the "nation's guest," he having been invited to come, by the President at the request of Congress. He declined the offer of a ship-of-the-line for his conveyance to this country, and with his son (George Washington) and his secretary he sailed from Havre for New York, where he arrived on the 15th of August, 1824. In the space of about eleven months he made a tour of about five thousand miles through the principal portions of the United States, and was everywhere greeted with the greatest enthusiasm. His journey was like an almost continual triumphal procession. Congress voted him \$200,000 and a township of land, "in consideration of his important services and expenditures during the American Revolution;" and when he was ready to return to France, an American frigate named the *Brandywine*, in compliment to him (the first battle for our independence in which he was engaged having been fought on the banks of the Brandywine in September, 1777), was sent by our government to convey him back. He had witnessed the greatness of the American republic; on his return he experienced the littleness of the Bourbon dynasty in France, for when on his arrival in Havre, a great concourse of the people assembled to make a demonstration in his honor, they were dispersed by the police.

Many interesting incidents occurred during Lafayette's tour through the country. A touching one was related to the writer, many years ago, by George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of General Washington. In October, 1824, Lafayette visited Mount Vernon and the tomb of Washington. He was conveyed to the shore from a steamboat in a barge, accompanied by his son (who had lived at Mount Vernon with Custis when they were boys), Secretary John C. Calhoun, and Mr. Custis. At the shore he was received by Lawrence Lewis, a nephew of Washington, and the family of Judge Bushrod Washington, who was absent on official business. He was conducted to the mansion where, forty years before, he took his last leave of the Patriot, whom he most sincerely loved as a father. Then the company proceeded to the tomb of Washington (the old one on the brow of the hill), when Mr. Custis, after a brief speech, presented the general with a gold ring containing a lock of Washington's hair. Lafayette received it with emotion, and after thanking the donor, he affectionately embraced him and the other gentlemen present. Then he fervently pressed his lips to the door of the vault. It was opened, and there were displayed the coffins of Washington and his wife, decorated with flowers. The general descended the steps, kissed the leaden caskets while tears suffused his cheeks, and then reverently retired.

When Monroe's administration of eight years was drawing to a close, the task of choosing his successor devolved upon the people. There were

several prominent men spoken of as candidates, and the choice was not a political but a personal affair. The nomination, in the state of political parties at that time, if done with unanimity, would be equivalent to an election. But candidates were too numerous to insure unanimity. The principal ones were William H. Crawford, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Andrew Jackson. The elections held in the autumn of 1824, showed conclusively that not one of the candidates would be elected by the popular vote, and that the choice would devolve upon the House of Representatives. This was determined by the vote of the electoral colleges; and in February, 1825, the House of Representatives chose John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts for President, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina for Vice President, by the votes of thirteen States.

The administration of Mr. Monroe, which ended on the 4th of March, 1825, was not marked by any very important events besides those already mentioned, excepting the passage of an act making provision, in a degree, by pensions, for the widows and children of deceased soldiers of the War for Independence and of 1812-15; also an arrangement with Great Britain by which American citizens were allowed to share with those of that realm in the valuable Newfoundland fisheries. At about the same time the boundary between the United States and the American-British possessions from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains was defined. The industries of the country were readjusted. In New England, in which capital had been chiefly employed in commerce, navigation and the fisheries, manufactures soon became a favorite pursuit, and under the stimulating influence of high tariffs established in 1816 and 1818, was amply remunerative. The business of the country was generally very prosperous. The population had rapidly increased; the paper currency of the country was contracted and restored to a specie basis. Cotton had become the staple production of the Southern States; the manufactures of the country had increased tenfold, and the tonnage threefold; the national debt had dwindled from \$127,000,000 in 1816, to less than \$80,000,000, and the banking capital of the country was \$127,000,000. Such was the general condition of our country when John Quincy Adams, then fifty-seven years of age, was elevated to the office of President of the republic.



CHAPTER XVII.

PRESIDENT JOHN QUINCY ADAMS—THE GEORGIANS AND THE INDIANS—THE ERIE CANAL—WEDDING THE LAKES AND THE SEA—DEATH OF ADAMS AND JEFFERSON—SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS—THE AMERICAN SYSTEM—A NATIONAL CONVENTION AND ITS RESULTS—ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT ADAMS—PRESIDENT JACKSON'S INAUGURATION, CHARACTER AND POLICY—REMOVAL OF THE CHEROKEES—UNITED STATES BANK—BLACK HAWK WAR—STATE SUPREMACY AND NULLIFICATION—WAR ON THE UNITED STATES BANK—SPECULATION AND THE CREDIT SYSTEM—WAR WITH THE SEMINOLES—INTERCOURSE WITH FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS—INDEMNITIES SETTLED—COMMERCIAL TREATIES—NEW STATES—JACKSON'S LAST OFFICIAL ACT.

JOHAN QUINCY ADAMS, son of the second President of the United States, entered upon the duties of that high office on the 4th of March, 1825. He was small in stature, a thorough republican in principles, and with political views consonant with those held by Mr. Monroe. The Senate was in session at the time of his inauguration, and that body, by unanimous vote, immediately confirmed Mr. Adams's nominations for cabinet ministers, excepting Henry Clay, against whose confirmation fourteen votes were cast. It had been charged that Mr. Clay, seeing little chance for his own election to the Presidency, had used his influence in favor of Adams and against Jackson with the understanding that he was to be appointed Secretary of State. This alleged "bargain" was the cause of opposition to Clay's confirmation. He was appointed Secretary of State; Richard Rush, Secretary of the Treasury; James Barbour, Secretary of War; Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, and William Wirt, Attorney-General.

Mr. Adams's administration began under the most pleasant auspices. The country was at peace with all nations, and no serious domestic trouble appeared, while general prosperity reigned in the land and there seemed to be nothing that would disturb the serenity of public affairs. This quietude prevailed, in a degree, during the whole of Mr. Adams's administration of four years, which were the least conspicuous for stirring events in the history of the republic. The discords engendered by the late exciting election had produced healthful agitation, but measures were adopted that caused stormy times in the administration that followed.

A threatening cloud appeared in the firmament at the beginning of Adams's administration. When Georgia relinquished her claim to a considerable portion of the Mississippi Territory, the national government agreed to purchase for that State the Indian lands within its borders "whenever it could be peaceably done upon reasonable terms." The Creeks and the Cherokees, who were practising the arts of civilized life, refused to sell their lands and remove into an uncultivated wilderness. The Georgians were impatient, and their governor demanded of the United States the

instant fulfillment of the contract, by a removal of the Indians. He ordered a survey of their lands to be made, and he prepared to distribute their possessions among the citizens of Georgia; and because the national government seemed tardy, he assumed the right to remove the Indians himself. Our government took the just position of defenders of the Indians, and for awhile the matter bore a serious aspect. The difficulties were finally settled, and in the course of a few years the Creeks and Cherokees were settled on lands beyond the Mississippi River.

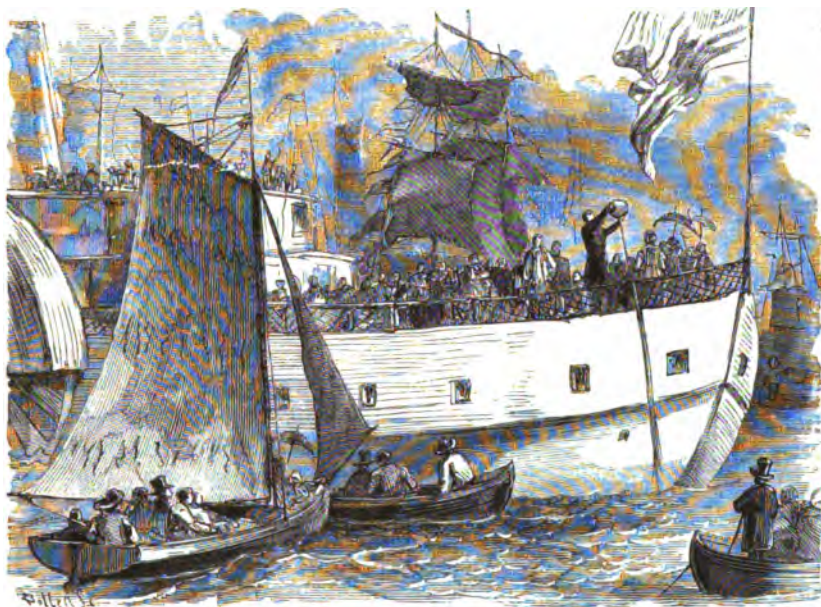


JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

It was at the beginning of Mr. Adams's administration that the greatest work of internal im-

provement ever undertaken in our country, in the interest of commerce, was completed. It was the Erie Canal, which traverses the State of New York in an east and west line three hundred and sixty-three miles, between Buffalo and Albany, and connects the water of the great upper lakes and those of the Hudson River by a navigable stream. It was constructed by the State of New York at a cost of \$7,600,000; and it was the consummation of a scheme which General Philip Schuyler (the father of the American canal system), Elkanah Watson, Gouverneur Morris, Jesse Hawley, De Witt Clinton and others had cherished for years. It was the grand result of a suggestion made by Gouverneur Morris twenty-five years before. When the canal was completed in 1825, it was formally

opened to commerce after a grand "celebration," which consisted of an aquatic procession from Albany to the sea, in November of that year. The flotilla, led by the steamboat *Chancellor Livingston*, with De Witt Clinton (then governor of New York) and State officers on board, was composed of steamers and canal-boats. It halted at the city of New York; and on a cool and brilliant November morning, the whole fleet, accompanied by other vessels, went down the bay, everywhere greeted by the roar of cannon



WEDDING OF THE LAKES WITH THE OCEAN.

and the unfurling of banners, and passing out the Narrows, were soon floating on the bosom of the Atlantic Ocean near Sandy Hook. There the *Chancellor Livingston* was anchored, with a swarm of other vessels around her, which were gayly decorated with flags and crowded with people. At a proper time Governor Clinton advanced to the taffrail of the *Chancellor Livingston*, and holding up a keg containing water of Lake Erie, which had been brought from Buffalo in a canal-boat, and pouring the liquid into the sea, completed the nuptials of the Ocean and the Great Lakes—nuptial ceremonies more important and significant than were ever performed in the wedding of the Doge of Venice and the Adriatic. That great work of internal improvement gave rise to similar ones elsewhere, and was of vast

benefit to the whole country. The Erie Canal continues to be the channel of a wonderful outflow of the agricultural products of the West to the seaboard, and of the inflow of the merchandise from the Atlantic ports to the interior. During the year 1872 (the year before the great depression in the business of the country began), the value of the property that was transported on that canal was \$168,000,000; notwithstanding a three-track railway, carrying an immense amount of freight, is laid parallel to it in its entire length.

The venerable father of the President, John Adams, died at Quincy, Massachusetts, on the 4th of July, 1826, just fifty years, almost to an hour, after the Declaration of Independence was adopted. On the same day and almost at the same hour, Thomas Jefferson expired, at Monticello, in Virginia. Mr. Adams was about ninety-one years of age, and Mr. Jefferson about eighty-three. They were both members of the committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Jefferson was its literary author, and Mr. Adams was its chief supporter in the Congress. The death, simultaneously, of these two of the chief founders of the republic, produced a profound sensation; and in many places throughout the Union, eulogies and funeral orations were pronounced.

The most important movement in the foreign policy of Adams's administration was the appointment of commissioners to attend a congress of representatives of the South American Republics, which assembled at Panama, on the Pacific coast, on the 22d of June, 1826. The result of that congress was not very important; but the policy of sending to it representatives of the government of the United States, caused much discussion here.

The *American System*, as it was called (a system of protection and encouragement for American manufacturing establishments, by means of high duties imposed on fabrics made abroad and imported into the United States), was fully developed and assumed the form of a national policy late in the administration of Mr. Adams. On account of the illiberal commercial policy of Great Britain, tariff laws were enacted in 1816 as retaliative measures; and in 1824 imposts were laid on foreign fabrics imported into our country, for the avowed purpose of encouraging home manufactures. These movements were opposed by the cotton-growers, as inimical to their interests; and to a national convention assembled at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1826, to discuss the general subject of tariffs and manufactures, only four of the slave-labor States sent delegates. That convention petitioned Congress to increase the duties on foreign fabrics that were specified, and it was done in the spring of 1828. The measure pleased the manufacturing interest, and displeased the cotton-growing interest. It

was denounced in some of the Southern States as oppressive and unconstitutional, and resistance to the law was suggested.

In the autumn of 1828, John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson were rival candidates for the Presidency of the United States. Jackson was elected, with John C. Calhoun as Vice-President, by a very large majority, after a most exciting canvass, during which, a stranger to our institutions, looking on, would have believed the nation to be on the verge of civil war. Mr. Adams's administration closed on the 4th of March, 1829. It had been marked by great tranquillity and unexampled national prosperity. Peaceful relations with foreign nations existed, and the national debt had been diminished at the rate of more than \$7,000,000 a year, it being at the time of his retirement about \$58,000,000. This real prosperity he bequeathed to his successor, and he left the chair of state blessed with the grateful benedictions of the survivors of two wars and their families, to whom had been distributed in pensions, during the four years, more than \$5,000,000.

Jackson, when a lad, had served as a soldier in the old war for independence; and when he proceeded from his lodgings, in Washington city, to the Capitol, to be inaugurated on the 4th of March,

1829, he was escorted by surviving officers and soldiers of that war. His valorous deeds in the second war for independence (1812-'15) were remembered by the soldiers of the latter war, and they thronged the national capital on that day to witness the exaltation of the chief.

President Jackson was honest, brave, and true to his moral convictions. He began his administration with an audacity of conduct that amazed his political friends, and alarmed his enemies. He swept his political opponents out of the various offices; but in making new appointments, he aimed to



ANDREW JACKSON.

have the incumbent answer the searching queries in the affirmative—"Is he capable? Is he honest?" His foreign policy was indicated in his instructions to Louis McLane, his first minister to England, in which he said: "Ask nothing but what is right, and submit to nothing that is wrong." Jackson was so decided in his opinions and actions—so positive in character—that he was thoroughly loved or thoroughly hated; and for eight years he braved the fierce tempests that arose out of partisan strifes, domestic perplexities and foreign arrogance, with a skill and courage that challenge our profound admiration.

At the beginning of Jackson's administration, the government of Georgia renewed its demand for the removal of the powerful Cherokee nation from that State. The President favored the demand, and white people proceeded to take possession of Cherokee estates which had been assigned to them. These Indians were then advanced in civilization, many of them being successful agriculturists. They had churches and schools, and a printing-press; and as they were disposed to defend their rights, civil war appeared inevitable for awhile. In 1832, the Supreme Court of the United States decided against the claim of Georgia, when that State, supported by the President, resisted the decision. An amicable settlement was finally reached; and under the mild coercion of General Winfield Scott and several thousand troops, the Cherokees left Georgia in 1838, and went to lands assigned them well toward the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, where they still remain, with Creeks, Choctaws and others as their neighbors.

In his first annual message, President Jackson took strong ground against a renewal of the charter of the United States Bank, which would expire in 1836. As we have observed, that charter was never renewed by Congress. The discussions on the subject, for several years, kept the commercial community in a state of feverish excitement. It was occasionally varied by some contra-excitement, like that of the "Black Hawk War" in 1832. At that time the region now known as the State of Wisconsin was an almost unbroken wilderness. Several Indian tribes inhabited it; and these, led by Black Hawk, a fierce Sac chief, made war upon the frontier settlers of Illinois in April, 1832. After some skirmishes with United States troops and the militia of Illinois, the Indians were driven beyond the Mississippi, and their leader, made captive, was taken to eastern cities, that he might be impressed with the folly of contending with a nation so numerous and strong.

Now began a conflict which shook the republic to its very centre. The doctrine of State sovereignty, or State supremacy, formulated in the first constitution of the republic known as the *Articles of Confederation*, and

discarded in the second constitution, yet prevailed, especially in South Carolina, where John C. Calhoun was its most earnest exponent. The discontents alluded to growing out of the tariff acts, and crystallized by the alchemy of this doctrine, assumed the concrete form of incipient rebellion against the national government when, in the spring of 1832, an act of Congress was passed imposing additional duties on imported textile fabrics. A State convention of delegates was held in South Carolina in November following, at which it was declared that the tariff acts were unconstitutional and therefore null and void; and it was resolved that no duties should be collected in the port of Charleston by the national government. It was also proclaimed that any attempt to enforce the law would be resisted by the people in arms, and would cause the secession of South Carolina from the Union. The State Legislature that met soon afterward passed laws in support of this declaration, and military preparations were made for that purpose. Civil war seemed to be inevitable, but the President met the exigency with his usual promptness and vigor. On the 10th of December he issued a proclamation (written by Louis McLane, Secretary of the Treasury), in which he denied the right of any State to nullify an act of the national government, and warned those engaged in the movement in South Carolina that the laws of the United States would be enforced by military power, if necessary. The "nullifiers" yielded to necessity for the moment, but their zeal and determination were not abated. Great anxiety filled the public mind for a time, until Henry Clay, one of the most earnest promoters of the *American System*, appeared as a pacificator, by offering a bill (February 12, 1833) which provided for a gradual reduction of the obnoxious duties during the next ten years. This compromise was accepted by both parties, and the bill became a law in March. Discord ceased, and the dark cloud gave way to sunshine. President Jackson had been re-elected to the Chief Magistracy in the autumn of 1832, with Martin Van Buren as Vice-President. The latter had been Secretary of State, and was appointed by the President, during the recess of Congress, to succeed Mr. McLane as minister to England. The Senate afterward refused to ratify the appointment, and Van Buren was recalled. This act was regarded as a gratuitous indignity offered to the administration. Its friends made use of it to create sympathy for the rejected minister, and he was elected to preside over the body which had declared him to be unfit to represent the republic at the British court. The result completely alienated Calhoun from the administration.

While the country was agitated by the movements of the nullifiers, the President himself produced equal excitement by beginning a series of acts

in his warfare upon the United States Bank which were denounced as high-handed and tyrannical. In his annual message in December, 1832, the President recommended Congress to authorize the removal from that institution of the government moneys deposited in it, and to sell the stock of the bank owned by the United States. Congress refused to do so. After the adjournment of that body, the President took the responsibility of ordering Mr. Duane, the Secretary of the Treasury, to withdraw the public funds (amounting to about \$10,000,000) from the bank, and deposit them in certain State banks. The Secretary refused, when the President removed him from office, and put in his place R. B. Taney, then the Attorney-General and afterward Chief-Justice, who obeyed his superior. The removal of the funds began in October, 1833, and a large portion of them were drawn out in the course of four months; the remainder, by the end of nine months. This transaction produced great public excitement and much commercial distress. The amount of loans of the bank was over \$60,000,000 on the first of October, when the removal was begun; and so intricate were the relations of that institution with the business of the country, that when the functions of the bank were paralyzed, all commercial operations felt a deadening shock. This fact confirmed the opinion of the President that it was a dangerous institution, and he refused to listen favorably to all prayers for a modification of his measures, or for action for relief made by numerous committees of merchants, manufacturers and mechanics, who waited upon him. To all of them he said, in substance: "The government can give no relief nor provide a remedy; the banks are the occasion of the evils which exist, and those who have suffered by trading largely on borrowed capital ought to break; you have no one to blame but yourselves." The State banks received the government funds on deposit, and loaned them freely. The panic subsided; confidence was gradually restored, and apparent general prosperity returned.

The appearance was deceptive. Speculation was stimulated by the freedom with which the banks loaned the public funds, and the credit system was enormously expanded. Trade was brisk; the shipping interest was prosperous; prices ruled high; luxury abounded, and nobody seemed to perceive the under-current of disaster that was surely wasting the foundations of the absurd credit system and the real prosperity of the nation. It collapsed at the touch of the Ithurian spear of Necessity. A failure of the grain crop of England caused a large demand for corn to pay for food products abroad. The Bank of England, seeing exchanges running high and higher against that country, contracted its loans and admonished houses who were giving long and extensive credits to the Americans, by the use of

money borrowed from the bank, to curtail that hazardous business. At about the same time the famous "Specie Circular" went out from our Treasury Department (July, 1836), directing all collectors of the public revenue to receive nothing but coin. From the parlor of the Bank of England and from the Treasury of the United States went forth the unwelcome fiat, Pay up! American houses in London failed for many millions; and every bank in the United States suspended specie payments in 1837, but resumed in 1839. Then the United States Bank, chartered by the legislature of Pennsylvania, fell into hopeless ruin, and with it went down a very large number of the State banks of the country. A general bankrupt law, passed in 1841, relieved of debt almost forty thousand persons, whose liabilities amounted in the aggregate to about \$441,000,000.

These financial troubles were preceded by the breaking out of war with the Seminole Indians in East Florida, a consequence of an attempt to remove them, by force, to the wilderness west of the Mississippi River. Led by Micanopy, their principal sachem and chief, they began a most distressing warfare upon the frontier settlements of Florida, in which Osceola, a chief superior in ability to Micanopy (for he possessed the cunning of Tecumtha and the heroism of a Metacomet), was an active leader for awhile, for he had private wrongs to revenge.

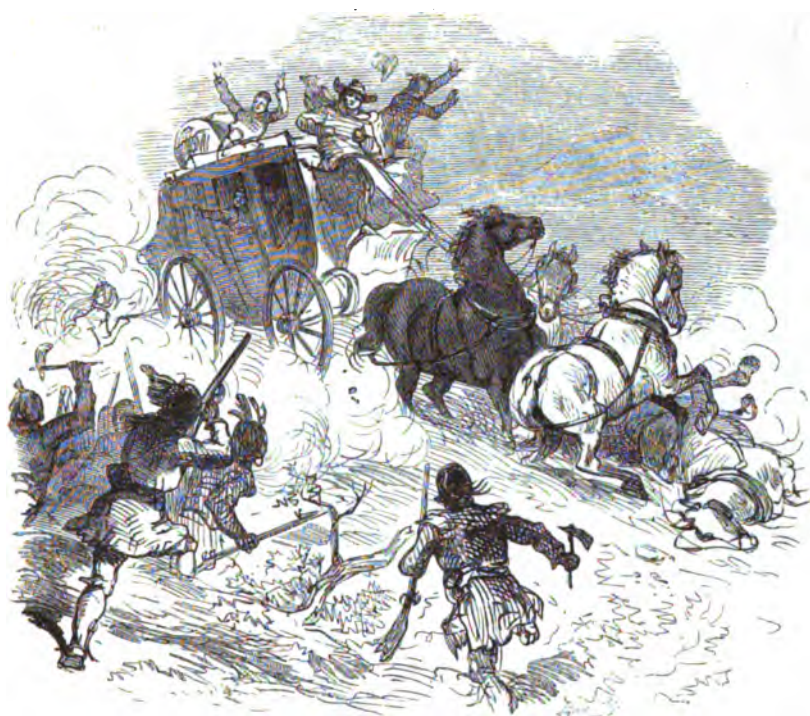
In the spring of 1832, some of the Seminole chiefs, in council, agreed to leave Florida, and made a treaty to that effect. Other chiefs (among whom was Osceola) and the great body of the nation resolved to stay, declaring that the treaty was not binding upon them. At length, in 1834, General Wiley Thompson was sent to Florida with troops to prepare for a forcible removal of the Indians. Osceola stirred up the nation to resistance. One day his insolent bearing and offensive words in the presence of Thompson caused that general to put the chief in irons and in a prison for a day. Osceola's wounded pride called for vengeance, and it was fearfully wrought during a war that lasted about seven years. By bravery, skill, strategies and treachery, he over-matched the United States troops sent against him and commanded by some of the best officers in the service.

The first blow was struck in December, 1835. Osceola had agreed to send some horses and cattle to General Thompson; but at the very time he was to do so, the savage was, with a small war party, murdering the unsuspecting inhabitants on the borders of the everglades—a region mostly covered with water and grass, and affording a secure hiding-place for the Indians. At that time General Clinch was occupying Fort Drane with a small body of troops. That post was in the interior of Florida, forty miles eastward of the mouth of the Withlacoochee River, and the garrison was

now exposed to much danger from the hostilities of the Indians. Major Dade, with over a hundred soldiers, was sent from Fort Brooke, at the head of Tampa Bay, to the relief of Clinch; and on the 28th of December (1835) he fell into an ambush, when himself and his followers were all massacred excepting four men, who afterward died from the effects of the encounter. That sad event occurred near Wahoo Swamp, on the upper waters of the Withlacoochee. On the same day Osceola and a small war party stole unobserved up to a store a few yards from Fort King (about sixty miles southwest of St. Augustine), where General Thompson and five of his friends were dining, and murdered them. Osceola killed and scalped General Thompson with his own hand, and so he enjoyed the revenge he had sought. Three days later, General Clinch had a sharp fight with the Seminoles on the Withlacoochee; and on the last day of February, 1836, General Gaines was assailed at the same place.

The Creeks helped their brethren in Florida by attacking white settlers within their ancient domain, in the spring of 1836. Made bold by success, they extended their depredations and murderous forays into Georgia and other parts of Alabama, attacking mail-carriers on horseback, stage-coaches on the land, and steamboats on the rivers; and finally they assailed villages, until thousands of men, women and children, were seen flying for their lives from place to place to escape the tomahawk, the bullet, and the scalping-knife. General Winfield Scott was now in chief command in the South, and he prosecuted the war with so much vigor that the Creeks were speedily subdued; and during the summer of 1836, thousands of them were removed to the wilderness west of the Mississippi. At mid-autumn, General Call of Georgia led about two thousand militia and volunteers from that State against the Seminoles. Near the place of the massacre of Dade's command, a detachment of them, about five hundred in number, had a severe battle with the savages on the 25th of November; but like all other encounters with these Indians in their swampy fastnesses, it was not decisive. In that region the United States troops suffered dreadfully from miasmatic fevers, the bites of venomous serpents, and the stings of insects; and the year 1836 closed with no prospect of peace. Indeed the war continued all the winter; but finally, in March, 1837, several chiefs appeared before General Jesup, then in chief command there, at his quarters at Fort Dade, and signed a treaty, which was intended to secure an immediate peace and the instant departure of the Seminoles to the new home prepared for them. The wily Osceola caused this treaty to be violated. The war was renewed; and during the summer of 1837, many more troops perished in the swamps while pursuing the savages. At length the treacherous chief became a

prisoner in the hands of General Jesup. That officer received Osceola and other chiefs, with a train of seventy warriors, under a flag of truce, in a grove of magnolias in the dark swamp. As the chief arose to speak, Jesup gave a signal, when two or three of his soldiers rushed forward and seized and bound Osceola with strong cords. He made no resistance; but several of his excited followers drew their gleaming hatchets from their belts. The muskets and bayonets of Jesup's troops restrained them, and



INDIANS ATTACKING MAIL-CARRIAGES.

they were dismissed without their leader, who was sent to Charleston and confined in Fort Moultrie. There he died of a fever, and a small monument was erected over his grave near the main entrance to the fort. Jesup was severely censured for this violation of the sanctity of a flag; his plea in his justification was that it was the only way to stop the distressing war, for Osceola could not be held by the most solemn obligations of a treaty. Osceola's captivity was a severe blow to the Seminoles; but under other leaders they continued to resist. notwithstanding almost nine thousand

United States troops were in their territory at the close of 1837. Their fastnesses in the everglades could not be penetrated by the troops and they defied them, even after they received a severe chastisement from six hundred national soldiers under Colonel Zachary Taylor (afterward President of the United States), who had succeeded General Jesup. This chastisement was given them in a battle fought on Christmas day, on the northern border of Macaco Lake. For more than two years afterward Taylor and his men endured great hardships in trying to bring the war to a close. A treaty for that purpose was made in May, 1839, but so lightly did its obligations bind the Indians that they continued their depredations. It was not until 1842 that a permanent peace was secured, when scores of valuable lives and millions of treasure had been wasted in a war that had its origin in the injustice of the white man toward his dusky neighbor.

In the intercourse of President Jackson's administration with foreign governments, his instructions given to Minister McLane, already alluded to, formed the basis of action. He demanded what was right with vigor, and refused to submit to what was wrong on all occasions; and by this course he secured to our republic the profound respect of the nations of the globe. At the end of his first term, the foreign relations of our government were very satisfactory, excepting with France. That government, by a treaty which he had vigorously pressed to a conclusion, had agreed to pay to the United States \$5,000,000, by instalments, as indemnity for injury to American commerce, which the operations of the various decrees of Napoleon from 1806 until 1811 had inflicted. The legislative branch of the French government did not promptly comply with the provisions of the treaty, and the President assumed a hostile attitude. The affair was finally settled in 1836, before Jackson left the chair of state. Similar claims were made against Portugal, and payment obtained; and for similar reasons the king of Naples agreed to pay to the United States \$1,720,000. Commercial treaties were made with several European states and with the Sultan of Turkey; and when Jackson retired from office in the spring of 1837, our republic, with its national debt extinguished, was more respected than ever by the powers of the earth.

During the administration of President Jackson, of eight years, two new States were admitted into the Union, making the whole number twenty-six. These were Arkansas and Michigan. The former was admitted in June, 1836, and the latter in January, 1837. At that time Jackson's administration was drawing to a close. Martin Van Buren, who had been nominated for the Presidency, with the understanding that if elected he would continue the general policy of Jackson, was chosen to that office by a very

large majority of the popular vote. The people failed to elect a Vice-President, when the Senate chose Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky for that office.

President Jackson offended a large class of the people of the United States by his last official act. So loud was the public clamor against the "Specie Circular," that a bill for the partial repeal of the measure was



SEIZURE OF OSCEOLA.

passed by both Houses of Congress at near the close of the session in 1837. The President refused to sign this bill; and to prevent its becoming a law by a two-thirds vote after he should veto it, he kept it in his hands until Congress had adjourned. His message giving his reasons for withholding his signature was dated "March 3d, 1837, a quarter before 12 P. M."

President Jackson now retired to his seat "The Hermitage," in Tennessee. He was then seventy years of age. He never entered public life again; and there, at that beautiful retreat, he died in June, 1845, when he was more than seventy-eight years of age.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INAUGURATION OF MR. VAN BUREN—A COMMERCIAL REVULSION—EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS—
INSURRECTION IN THE CANADAS—BURNING OF THE CAROLINE—NORTHEASTERN BOUNDARY
TROUBLES—THE ASHBURTON TREATY—"HARD CIDER CAMPAIGN"—GENERAL HARRISON
ELECTED PRESIDENT—DIVORCE OF BANKS AND STATE—HARRISON'S INAUGURATION AND
DEATH—JOHN TYLER BECOMES PRESIDENT—HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES—EXTRA SESSION
OF CONGRESS—BILLS FOR A NATIONAL BANK PASSED AND VETOED—DISSOLUTION OF THE
CABINET—SOUTH SEA EXPLORING EXPEDITION—SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION—TROUBLE IN
RHODE ISLAND—TEXAS AND ITS ANNEXATION—A SAD ACCIDENT—OREGON—PRESIDENT
TYLER'S RETIREMENT.

IT seemed to be the opening of a new era in the history of our Republic, when, on the 4th of March, 1837, Martin Van Buren of New York, of Dutch descent, was inaugurated the eighth President of the United States. His predecessors in that office were all of British stock, and had been personally engaged in the events of the old war for independence; he was born at near the close of that war, and was in the fifty-fifth year of his age when he entered the chair of state. The day of his inauguration was bright and serene, and he rode from the Presidential mansion to the Capitol by the side of the venerable Jackson, in a phaeton made largely of wood of the frigate *Constitution*, which the political friends of the general had presented to him. They were escorted by the military, horse and foot, and the new President, when he had taken the oath of office and delivered his inaugural address, was warmly greeted by the shouts of a great multitude of people.

Mr. Van Buren's administration began at an inauspicious time, for the fearful commercial revulsion, already alluded to, had just begun. During March and April, 1837, there were mercantile failures in the city of New York to the amount of more than one hundred million dollars. Only fifteen months before, property to the amount of more than twenty million dollars had been consumed by a great fire, which occurred in December, 1835, when more than five hundred buildings were destroyed. The effects of these losses and failures at the commercial emporium were felt in every part of the Union, and business confidence received a paralyzing shock. A deputation of merchants and bankers of New York waited upon the President in May with a petition praying him to defer the collection of duties, rescind

the "Specie Circular," and call an extraordinary session of Congress. Their prayer was rejected, and when that fact became known nearly all the banks in the country suspended specie payment. This movement embarrassed the government, for it was unable to obtain coin wherewith to discharge its own financial obligations. So situated, the public good demanded legislative relief, and the President called an extraordinary session of Congress on the 4th of September. In his message to that body, he proposed the establishment of an independent treasury for the public funds, totally disconnected with all banking institutions; but during a session of forty-three days, Congress did very little for the general relief, excepting the authorizing of an issue of treasury notes, in amount not exceeding ten million dollars. The independent treasury scheme met with violent opposition, but a bill to that effect became a law in July, 1840, and the "Sub-Treasury System" was put into operation.

Peaceful relations between the United States and Great Britain, which had then existed many years, were somewhat disturbed in 1837 and 1838 by events connected with a revolutionary movement that broke out in Canada, the avowed object being to achieve the independence of the provinces of British rule. In this effort our people sympathized, and gave the insurgents all possible aid and comfort. Individuals and organized companies went across the border and joined the insurgents; and refugees from Canada were protected here. The agitation and the outbreak occurred simultaneously in Upper and Lower Canada, but local jealousies prevented a unity of action, and the scheme failed. The active sympathy of the people of the "States," and especially along the northern frontier, irritated the British government. The President issued a proclamation, warning Americans not to violate neutrality and international laws; and he sent General Winfield Scott to the northern frontier to preserve order. It was not permanently effected until at the end of about four years.



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Many stirring incidents occurred on the frontier during that outbreak in the Canadas, the most conspicuous of which was on the bosom of the Niagara River. A party of Americans, seven hundred in number, with twenty cannon, took possession of Navy Island, in that stream, two miles above the Great Falls. They had a small steamboat named *Caroline*, that plied between the Island and Schollosser, on the New York shore. One dark night in December, 1837, a party of royalists crossed the river from Canada, set the *Caroline* on fire, cut her loose from her moorings, and allowed her to go blazing down the fearful rapids and over the crown of the mighty cataract

into the seething gulf below. It was believed that some persons were on board the *Caroline*, and perished with her.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Another cause for unpleasant feeling between the governments of the United States and Great Britain was a long-standing dispute concerning the true boundary between the State of Maine and the British province of New Brunswick. The inhabitants of each frontier had become so exasperated, that at the close of 1838 they were preparing for actual war. General Scott was sent to the scene of strife as a pacificator in the winter of 1839, and the dispute was settled by a treaty negotiated by Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton, the same year.

Provision was made in the same

treaty for the co-operation of the two governments in the suppression of the African slave trade; also for the giving up of fugitives from justice, in certain cases. This is known in history as the Ashburton Treaty.

Mr. Van Buren was a candidate for the Presidency a second time, and was nominated for that office by the unanimous vote of the Democratic convention assembled at Baltimore in 1840. In December, 1839, a national Whig convention, held at Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, nominated General William Henry Harrison of Ohio for President and John Tyler of Virginia for Vice-President. The canvass was a very exciting one, and the method

of carrying it on by one party was exceedingly demoralizing. Because Harrison lived in the West and his residence was formerly a log-cabin, such a structure became the symbol of his party; and because of his proverbial hospitality, that quality was symbolized by a barrel of cider. Log-cabins were erected all over the country as places for political gatherings, and seas of cider were drank in them. Young and old partook freely of the beverage, and the meetings were often mere drunken carousals that were injurious to all, and especially to youth. Many a drunkard afterward sadly charged his departure from the path of sobriety to the "Hard Cider" campaign of 1840. Demagogues, as usual, had made the people believe that a change in administration would restore prosperity to the country, and they adroitly held the administration of Van Buren responsible for nearly all the woes the country was suffering. The consequence was that Harrison and Tyler were elected by overwhelming majorities; and in the spring of 1841, Mr. Van Buren surrendered the Presidential chair to the popular soldier of the West.

Fifty years had now elapsed since the formation of the government under the new constitution. The number of the States had doubled, and the population had reached about seventeen million souls. The resources of the country had been largely developed, especially its mineral treasures of coal and iron. The railway system was fairly established, and the settlement of the West was in rapid progress. From the beginning of the career of the republic, the State and banking institutions had been closely wedded; the chief event of Mr. Van Buren's administration was their absolute divorce. They were reunited during the late civil war, and their nuptials, under better auspices, have been fruitful of blessings to the country.

General Harrison was an old man—sixty-eight years of age—when he



THE HARD CIDER CAMPAIGN.

entered upon the duties of chief magistrate of the nation. He seemed vigorous in mind and body when he delivered his inaugural address from the eastern portico of the Capitol. It was received with favor by all parties, for it was full of wisdom; and confidence was half restored in the commercial world, when it was known that he had chosen Daniel Webster for Secretary of State; Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Treasury; John Bell, Secretary of War; George E. Badger, Secretary of the Navy; Francis Granger, Postmaster-General, and John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General. This beginning gave omen of the dawn of a day of prosperity for the land, and there were glad hearts everywhere. But the anthems of the inaugural day were speedily changed into solemn dirges. The hopes centred in the new President were extinguished; for precisely one month after he took the oath of office from Chief-Justice Taney, he died. He had performed only one official act of great importance during his brief administration, and that was the issuing of a proclamation on the 17th of March, calling an extraordinary session of Congress in May to consider the subjects of finance and revenue.

John Tyler, the Vice-President, became the constitutional successor of President Harrison. He was called to Washington from Williamsburg in Virginia, by a message sent by Harrison's cabinet-ministers on the 4th of April (the day on which the President died), and he was in the national capital at four o'clock on the morning of the 6th. At noon, the cabinet-ministers called upon him in a body, and he took the oath of office, administered by Judge Cranch. To the gentlemen present, after alluding to the deceased President, Mr. Tyler said, "You have only exchanged one Whig for another." He had been a Democrat of the school of strict constructionists of the Constitution, but when he was a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, he had avowed himself to be a firm and decided Whig. It seems proper here, in order to better understand the brief record of events that follow, to give an outline sketch of political parties in the United States at that time.

We have seen that the Federal party was cast into a minority on the election of Mr. Jefferson in 1800, and continued in opposition until the close of Madison's administration in 1817, when they soon afterward became extinct as a national party; the administration of Mr. Monroe being so generally satisfactory, that opposition practically ceased. When, in 1824, Adams and Jackson, Crawford and Clay, became rival candidates for the Presidency, separate political organizations of a personal nature were formed, composed of Federalists and Democrats intermingled; but when Jackson was elected to the chief magistracy in 1828, his supporters claimed the name of Democrats. His opponents took the name of National Republicans, but when in

1833 and 1834 they were joined by seceders of the Democratic party, they took the title of Whigs. At the accession of Mr. Van Buren in 1837, the great national parties into which the people were divided were known respectively as Democrats and Whigs. Several minor parties (some of them local in their organization), such as the Anti-Masons in the Eastern States; the State-Rights men in the South, who were opposed to the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank; and the supporters of Jackson in Georgia, Tennessee and other States, who were opposed to Van Buren, generally acted with the Whig party.

Even before the elevation of Mr. Van Buren to the Presidency, the Democratic party had been divided in the Northern and Middle States. There arose in its ranks, in 1835, in the city of New York, a combination opposed to all moneyed institutions and monopolies of every sort. They were the successor of the defunct Workingmen's party, formed in 1829, and called themselves the "Equal Rights Party." They acted with much caution and secrecy in their opposition to the powerful National Democratic party. They never rose above the dignity of a faction, and their first decided demonstration was made in Tammany Hall, one evening at the close of October, 1835, when the "Equal Rights" men objected to some names on the ticket to be put before the people. There was a struggle for the chair, which the "regulars" obtained, declared their ticket and resolutions adopted, and then attempted to adjourn the meeting and put out the lights. The opposition were prepared for this emergency by having "loco-foco" or friction matches in their pockets, with which they immediately restored light to the room, placed their leader in the chair, adopted an "Equal Rights" Democratic ticket, and passed strong resolutions against all monopolies. The faction was ever afterward known as the Loco-Focos, and the name was finally applied by the Whigs to the whole Democratic party. This faction became formidable, and the regulars endeavored to conciliate the irregulars by nominating Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, their favorite candidate for the Presidency, for Vice-President, with Mr. Van Buren. The advocacy of an extensive specie currency by the latter, and his proposition for a sub-treasury, alienated another portion of the Democratic party, and they formed a powerful faction known as "Conservatives." This faction finally joined the Whigs, and in 1840 aided in the election of Harrison and Tyler.

The first extraordinary session of the Twenty-seventh Congress began on the 31st of May, 1841, and continued until the 13th of September following. Subjects of grave importance to the nation were presented to that body, chief of which was that of the finances of the country. The Secretary of

the Treasury (Mr. Ewing) strongly urged the necessity of a national bank, and recommended Congress to charter one with a capital of thirty-million dollars. At the request of Congress (whose action was suggested by the President), the Secretary reported a plan of a "Fiscal Bank of the United States," with a bill for its incorporation. He endeavored to free the plan from the constitutional objections to preceding institutions of a similar nature. It was known that the President had decided constitutional objections to the old bank and had assisted Jackson in his warfare upon it; and a bill was finally framed, partly upon the plan proposed by the Secretary, and partly by one proposed in the Senate by Mr. Clay, which the President, it was said, had declared met his views. It was passed on the 6th of August, as eminently the great Whig measure of the session, and one which was to restore confidence to the business community and inaugurate a day of national prosperity. It was sent to the President for his signature, when, to the great disappointment of his political friends, he returned it with his objections ten days after its passage. The Whigs in Congress were bewildered, and great anxiety was felt throughout the country. There was not a sufficient number of its supporters in Congress to enable them to carry the measure over the President's veto, and they hastened to construct a new bill that would meet his views. He was visited by two members deputed for the purpose, and a bill in accordance with his wishes was drawn up and submitted to Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State, who laid it before Mr. Tyler. The latter approved it, and it was sent to the House of Representatives and passed by that body. In conformity to his wishes the name of "Bank" was omitted in the latter.

While the second bill was pending in Congress, a private letter written by the late John M. Botts of Virginia, concerning the veto, was made public. He charged the President with infidelity to the party in power, saying: "One Captain Tyler is making a desperate effort to set himself up with the Loco-Focos, but he'll be headed yet, and, I regret to say, it will end badly for him. He will be an object of execration with both parties. . . . He has refused to listen to the admonitions of his best friends, and looked only to the whisperings of ambitious and designing mischief-makers who have collected around him." This letter so irritated the President that, allowing his personal feelings to control his public action, he resolved to oppose any bank bill that might be offered at that session. The second bill, which the President had approved, was passed without alteration on the 3d of September. He had expressed a strong desire, at the beginning of the session, to have the matter postponed until the regular session, but the friends of the measure in Congress and throughout the country demanded immediate

action. The bill was submitted to the President for his signature, and pursuant to his resolve, he vetoed it on the 9th—six days after its adoption. In consequence of this act, the Whigs, who had elevated Mr. Tyler to his high dignity, were greatly exasperated, and he was denounced as unfaithful to solemn pledges and as a secret enemy, who was playing into the hands of his late associates, the Democrats. All of Mr. Tyler's cabinet-ministers resigned excepting Mr. Webster, who patriotically remained at his post because grave public interests connected with his department required it. In fact, Mr. Webster felt that the bank matter had been pushed with too much haste and persistency, considering the state of the President's mind, "since there was reason to believe that the President would be glad of time for information and reflection before being called on to form an opinion on another plan for a bank—a plan somewhat new to the country." Mr. Webster wrote, "I thought his known wishes ought to be complied with. I think so still. I think this is a course just to the President and wise in behalf of the Whig party." But such counsels did not prevail, and there was a decided alienation between the President



and the Whig party from the time of the resignation of his cabinet. The two principal motives attributed to Mr. Tyler as the cause of his vetoes of the bank bills were, first, his constitutional scruples, with a determination to preserve his character for consistency; and, second, having set his heart upon a second term for the Presidency, he was charged with endeavoring to ingratiate himself with his recent party friends, the Democrats, by his bank vetoes, and thus become the candidate for re-election in 1844. But neither party nominated him, and he accepted that honor from a convention of delegates composed chiefly of office-holders, but perceiving that his election would be impossible, he withdrew in August, and he and his friends gave their influence to the Democratic party.

During that extraordinary session of Congress, other important measures

were adopted. The wants of the treasury were supplied, provision was made for fortifications, the sub-treasury act was repealed, and a bankrupt act, which Mr. Webster spoke of as "a great measure of justice and benevolence," was passed. By the latter act, thousands of honest and industrious men who had been prostrated by the tempest of business disaster which had swept over the land, and were hopelessly in debt, were enabled to stand on their feet again and give their energies to the promotion of the various industries of the country. It bore hard upon the creditor class; and when rogues sought its shelter while cheating honest men, the law was repealed.

The second year of Mr. Tyler's administration (1842) was distinguished by the return of an expedition which the government sent out late in the summer of 1838 under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, to explore the great Southern Ocean. That expedition cruised along what was supposed to be the shores of a Southern continent, seventeen hundred miles in the vicinity of latitude 66°. Much valuable scientific information was obtained, for able scientists and artists accompanied the expedition; but owing to the imperfect methods of the publications of the results, that knowledge has not been properly diffused among the people. At the end of a voyage of about ninety thousand miles, the expedition presented to the nation a large collection of specimens of the natural history and curiosities of the islands of the South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. A greater portion of these are preserved in the custody of the National Institute, in the building of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington city. The last-named institution was founded with funds bequeathed to the United States government by James Smithson of England, in trust, to be used for "the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The sum bequeathed, when received in 1838, was more than half a million dollars in gold, and in 1865, a residuary legacy of over \$26,000 was received. That institution is carrying out the benevolent views of Mr. Smithson in an admirable manner, under the direction of Professor Joseph Henry, who was appointed secretary of the board of managers in 1846.

During President Tyler's administration, a spark of civil war appeared in Rhode Island, which seemed to demand the interference of the national government. The constitution of Rhode Island was the old charter granted by Charles the Second, and under it the people had prospered until 1842, when it was proposed to abandon it and make a new constitution. There was a wide difference of opinion as to the method to be pursued in making the change. A "Suffrage," or Radical party, and a "Law and Order," or Conservative party were formed. Each adopted a constitution and elected a governor and legislature under it; and in May and June, 1843,

both parties were armed in support of their respective claims. The State was on the verge of civil war, when the interference of national troops was invoked. The constitution of the "Law and Order" party was sustained, and no further trouble ensued.

This local agitation was followed by a national one. On the South-western borders of our Republic was a sovereign State called Texas, a part of the domain of ancient Mexico that was conquered by the Spaniards. The Mexicans revolted and set up an independent government, which became a Republic under a constitution similar to that of the United States, and was divided into nineteen States and five Territories; Texas was one of the former. The Mexican government encouraged emigration into that State, and in 1833, full ten thousand Americans were settled there. Santa Anna, a restless, unscrupulous and selfish intriguer and revolutionist, had made himself military dictator of Mexico. The people of Texas, unwilling to submit to his arbitrary rule, revolted, and in 1836 that State was declared to be independent. Santa Anna was then in that country with a heavy military force; but at a battle near the San Jacinto River, late in April, he was defeated by General Houston and made a prisoner. This ended the war for Texan independence, and that independence was acknowledged by the United States in the spring of 1837. But the people of Texas were continually harassed by Mexican marauders; and when in 1843 President Tyler made a proposition to the President of that Republic for its annexation to the United States, it was gladly accepted. A treaty to that effect was negotiated, and it was signed in April, 1844, by the Texan commissioner and John C. Calhoun, who was then Secretary of State; but the Senate rejected it.

The country was soon afterward violently agitated by discussions on the subject of annexation. The chief point of antagonism lay in the slavery question, the friends of that institution being all in favor of the measure, while its opponents were firmly opposed to it, for they regarded it as a plan for strengthening the political power of the slave-labor States; also because it would surely lead to a war with Mexico, for that government had never given up its claim to Texas as one of the States of the Republic. This question entered largely into the canvass for the Presidency in 1844. For that high office James K. Polk of Tennessee, who was warmly in favor of the annexation of Texas, was nominated by the Democrats, and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania was named for Vice-President. They were elected over the opposing Whig candidates, Henry Clay of Kentucky and Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey.

During the following winter, President Tyler was deprived of the

services of two of his most trusted cabinet officers. Late in February, 1845, he, with all his cabinet, many members of Congress and other distinguished citizens, with several ladies, were on board the United States steamship of war *Princeton*, on a trial trip down the Potomac. When they were opposite Mount Vernon, one of the largest guns of the *Princeton* was fired, when it bursted. Its fragments killed the Secretary of State, Abel P. Upshur, and T. W. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy; also David Gardiner of New York, whose daughter the President soon afterward married. John C. Calhoun was appointed to succeed Secretary Upshur, and John Y. Mason was made successor of Secretary Gilmer. Mr. Calhoun urged forward the Texas annexation scheme with great zeal and ability.

The region known as Oregon had been a matter of dispute at an early day between the United States and Great Britain. In the year 1792, Captain Gray of Boston, in the ship *Columbia*, entered the mouth of the great river of that region and gave the name of his vessel to the stream. When a report of this fact was pressed upon the attention of President Jefferson, he sent Captains Lewis and Clark on an overland expedition to the Pacific Coast at the mouth of that river. The exploration was accomplished in 1804-1806; and this transaction, with the discovery by Captain Gray, gave to the United States a title to the region watered by the Columbia River, according to the British interpretation of the law of nations. The region so watered extended to the parallel of $54^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude. By the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, the United States acquired whatever title to that domain France had possessed. But the British government, instigated by the Hudson's Bay Company, claimed Oregon. Finally, by a treaty made in 1818, it was agreed that citizens of both nations should jointly occupy it for ten years. This was renewed for an indefinite period, each party having the right to end the agreement at any time by giving twelve months notice to the other. Such notice was given by the United States in 1839, and preparations were made for the occupation of the territory by American citizens. Great Britain then claimed the whole of Oregon. The United States offered to compromise by drawing the northern line of its possessions there, along the parallel of $49^{\circ} 40'$. The British persisted in their claim, and during the political canvass of 1844, "Texas" and "Oregon" became a part of the battle-cry of the Democrats. At their convention in Baltimore they had declared by resolution "that our title to the whole of the territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power; and that the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas [it had been claimed as a part of Louisiana, purchased of France] at the earliest practicable period, are great

American measures which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the democracy of the Union." The former proposition was popular in the North, and the latter was popular in the South and secured the election of Polk and Dallas. The war-cry of "Fifty-four forty, or fight!" was often heard during the canvass. A compromise was finally effected with Great Britain. The northern boundary of our Republic in that region was fixed at the parallel of 49°; and in 1848 the Territory of Oregon was organized. In February, 1859, it was admitted into the Union as a State.

The closing act of Mr. Tyler's administration was an imitation of President Jackson's "pocket veto." A bill making appropriations for certain harbors and rivers had passed both houses at near the close of the session, and was sent to the President for his signature. He retained it until the session had closed; and so, without formally vetoing it, he prevented its becoming a law.

At the close of his administration, on the 4th of March, 1845, Mr. Tyler, the tenth President of the United States, and then fifty-five years of age, retired to private life, where he remained a greatly respected "private citizen" until the civil war broke out, when he took an active part with the enemies of the Republic. He died at Richmond, Virginia, in January, 1862.



CHAPTER XIX.

PRESIDENT POLK—RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO—ANNEXATION OF TEXAS—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—BARGAIN WITH SANTA ANNA AND ITS RESULT—ARMY OF OCCUPATION IN TEXAS—GENERAL TAYLOR AND TROOPS ON THE RIO GRANDE—GENERALS AMPUDIA AND TAYLOR—FORT BROWN CONSTRUCTED—FIRST BLOODSHED—A MEXICAN FORCE IN TEXAS—ATTACK ON FORT BROWN—BATTLES OF PALO ALTO AND RESACA DE LA PALMA—GENERAL TAYLOR ENTERS MEXICO—DECLARATIONS OF WAR BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS—PLAN OF A CAMPAIGN—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF MONTEREY—SANTA ANNA IN MEXICO—GENERAL WOOL IN MEXICO—CONQUESTS BY THE NAVY—GENERAL SCOTT CALLS FOR TAYLOR'S TROOPS—BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA—MOVEMENTS OF GENERAL TAYLOR—EVENTS IN NORTHERN MEXICO—CONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA.

MR. POLK, the eleventh President of the United States, was a native of North Carolina, but was a citizen of Tennessee from early childhood; and from 1825, when he was thirty years of age, he was almost constantly a representative of that State, in Congress, until he was elected to the Presidency, a period of twenty years. He entered upon the duties of that high office at a critical period in the history of our country, for it was on the verge of a war with the sister republic of Mexico, chiefly on account of the annexation of the revolted province of Texas, the independence of which had been acknowledged by the United States, France and England, and which that State had maintained nine years.

The friendship between the United States and Mexico had been extinguished some years before the annexation of Texas, because of repeated aggressions which had been made by the many succeeding rulers of our unfortunate neighbor, against the property of American citizens on the soil of that country or on vessels on the Gulf of Mexico. Redress had been frequently sought in vain. Our government generously forbore to use its power because Mexico was weak and distracted, and the latter seemed to consider that forbearance as an evidence of cowardice. Our government claimed six million dollars for spoliations of American property; Mexico acknowledged two million as a just claim, but after repeated postponements of the payment of this amount, the government of Mexico virtually refused to settle the claim. This conduct alienated the confidence and respect of our government and people for Mexico; and yet, in all the discussions con-

cerning the annexation of Texas, propositions were made with special reference to the good faith of treaties made with Mexico. That government, conscious of its inability to hold Texas, had offered to acknowledge its independence, provided it would not become annexed to our Union. Such was the situation when the joint resolution providing for the annexation of Texas was adopted by both Houses of Congress on the 28th of February, 1845, and was signed by President Tyler on the first day of March.

Two days after the inauguration of President Polk, General Almonte, the Mexican minister at Washington, asked and received his passports, and diplomatic relations between the governments ceased. The President of Mexico, Herrera, issued a proclamation in June following, declaring that the annexation of Texas in no wise destroyed the rights of Mexico, and that they would be maintained by force of arms. Both governments prepared for war when, on the 4th of July, 1845, Texas became a State of our Union. Satisfied that war was inevitable, President Polk ordered brevet Brigadier-General Zachary Taylor, then in command of national troops in the southwest, to enter Texas and take a position as near the Rio Grande as prudence would allow. His little force of fifteen hundred men were called an "Army of Occupation" for the defence of the newly-acquired State.



JAMES KNOX POLK

At the same time Commodore Conner, of the United States navy, was sent with a strong squadron into the Gulf of Mexico to protect American interests in that region, ashore and afloat.

At that time, Santa Anna was an irritated exile in Cuba, having been banished from Mexico for ten years, and President Polk made a secret bargain with him for the betrayal of his country into the hands of the government of the United States. The plan that was agreed upon was simple. The President was to send a strong force toward the frontier of Mexico. Santa Anna was to go into his own country, where an army

gathered near that frontier would be sure to "pronounce" for him as their leader, and then the war was to begin. The President was to furnish a force sufficient to give Santa Anna a decent excuse for surrendering his army to it; and so the Americans might easily take possession of Mexico. For this important act Santa Anna was to receive a very large sum of money from the secret service fund in the hands of the President. The Army of Occupation or Observation, as it was alternately called, was sent into Texas, as we have seen, and A. Slidell McKenzie, of the United States navy, was sent to Cuba to perfect the arrangement with Santa Anna, who was living a few miles from Havana. Instead of going secretly to the retreat of the exile, the vain McKenzie, dressed in the full uniform of our naval officers, entered a *volante* in Havana, at noon-day, and in sight of all the people rode out to the dwelling-place of Santa Anna. This fully disconcerted the whole plan. After this public visit from an officer of our navy, the exile could not fulfill his bargain in Mexico, for the act would make his treason palpable.

General Taylor landed with his troops on the Island of St. Joseph, where the flag of the United States was first unfurled in power over the soil of Texas; for from the moment of the act of annexation, our government regarded Texas as part of our domain, and entitled to the full security which our flag could give. From St. Joseph's, General Taylor sailed with his troops to Corpus Christi, a Mexican village on the main, beyond the Neuces and not far from its mouth, and there, in September (1845), he formed a camp and tarried during the autumn and the ensuing winter. At the same time, President Polk inquired of the Mexican government whether it would receive a minister from the United States. President Herrera, who sincerely desired peace, gave an affirmative answer, when his countrymen, who were in favor of war, offended by this act, revolted and elected General Paredes in his place. This revolution was going on when our minister arrived, and Paredes, when elected, refused to receive him.

Soon after Taylor reached Corpus Christi, he was reinforced by seven companies of infantry under Major Brown, and two companies of volunteer artillery under Major Gally. Early in the following year (1846) he was ordered to take a position on the left bank of the Rio Grande, opposite the Mexican city of Matamoras, for it was observed that Mexican troops were gathering there with the evident intention of invading Texas. The region on the left bank of the Rio Grande, fronting the State of Tamaulipas, was disputed territory, the boundary line between that State and Texas not having been defined. Mexico claimed it as a part of Tamaulipas, while the United States claimed it as a part of Texas. General Taylor obeyed his orders and went into that territory, landing at Point Isabel, about twenty-

eight miles from Matamoras, where he formed a camp, despite the warnings of the Mexicans that he was on foreign soil. Leaving his stores and a part of his army there, he proceeded with the remainder of his force to the bank of the Rio Grande opposite Matamoras, and there began the construction of a fort large enough to accommodate about two thousand men. It was called Fort Brown in compliment to Major Brown, who was left in command there.

Paredes, the successor of Herrera, immediately sent General Ampudia with a considerable force to drive Taylor beyond the Neuces. On the day after his arrival (April 12, 1846) Ampudia sent a letter to Taylor, demanding the withdrawal of his troops within twenty-four hours, and saying: "If you insist in remaining upon the soil of the department of Tamaulipas, it will clearly result that arms, and arms alone, must decide the question." This General Taylor refused to do, as he was upon the soil of the United States. Ampudia hesitated, and twelve days afterward he was succeeded in the chief command there by the more energetic General Arista, chief of the northern division of the army of Mexico. It being reported that Arista had been reinforced, the work on Fort Brown was carried on most vigorously. A week after Ampudia's demand, General Taylor was informed that two vessels laden with supplies for the Mexicans were about to enter the Rio Grande, when he ordered the river to be blockaded by a brig and a revenue cutter. Arista regarded this as an act of war, and prepared to attack Fort Brown. Meanwhile parties of Mexicans had crossed the river and gotten between General Taylor and Point Isabel, cutting off all communication with his stores there. It was known that Arista's army was hourly increasing in strength, and other armed parties of Mexicans were trying to cross the river, above Taylor's encampment. The latter sent a party under Captain Thornton to reconnoitre, and nearly the whole command of that officer were surprised and captured. Thornton escaped only by the extraordinary leap of his horse over a thick hedge, followed by harmless bullets. Lieutenant Mason was killed, and his was the first blood shed in the war with Mexico. That was on the 24th of April, 1846.

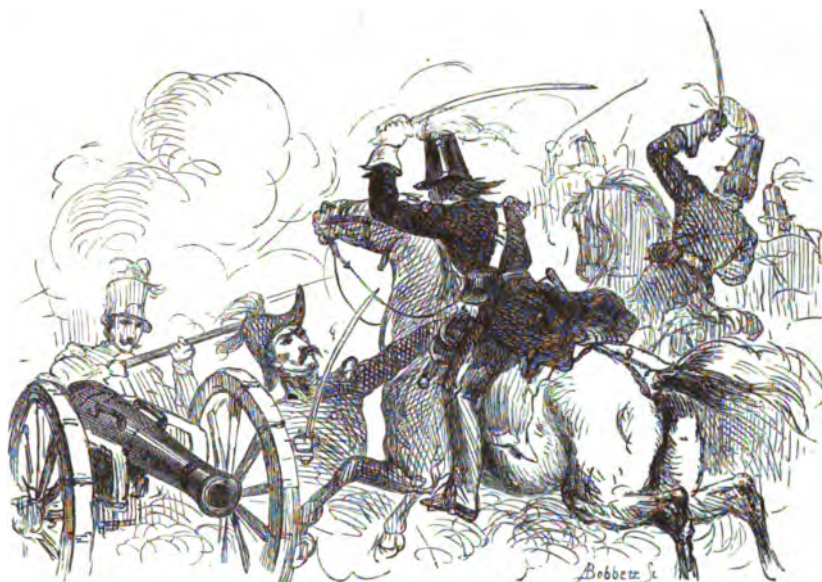
General Taylor was satisfied from reports that reached him, that a Mexican force was gathering on the Texas side of the Rio Grande, to attempt a capture of his supplies at Point Isabel; and on the first of May, having nearly finished Fort Brown, he placed a competent garrison in it under Major Brown, and with the remainder of his army made a forced march in the direction of his stores. He arrived at Point Isabel the same day, without molestation. Supposing this movement to be a retreat, Arista ordered troops to cross the river and gain the rear of Fort Brown. This

was done, and on the night of the 4th of May, the Mexicans erected a battery behind the fort; and early the next morning they opened a tremendous fire from it upon the fortification. At the same time batteries at Matamoros, which had fired upon the fort on the 3d, hurled shot and shell with very little effect, for Major Brown had erected strong bomb-proof shelters; yet almost at the beginning, that gallant officer was killed. The bombardment continued about thirty-six hours, when Arista sent a summons for a surrender. This was refused, and toward the evening of the 6th, another storm of shot and shell was poured upon the fort.

General Taylor ordered Major Brown to fire heavy signal guns if the fort seemed to be in peril. These were fired on the evening of the 6th of May, and on the following evening, Taylor, with more than two thousand men, marched from Point Isabel to relieve Fort Brown. He had been reinforced by Texan volunteers and marines from the fleet. At noon on the 8th they encountered a Mexican army six thousand strong, led by General Arista, upon a portion of a prairie flanked by ponds of water and beautified by tall trees, which gave it the name of "Palo Alto." Nothing daunted, Taylor and his men attacked this superior force, and fought them so desperately for five hours, that at twilight the Mexicans gave way and fled in great disorder. The victory for Taylor was thorough and complete; and when the battle was ended, the victors sank, exhausted, upon the ground. They had lost in killed and wounded, fifty-three men; the Mexicans had lost about six hundred. During the engagement, Major Ringgold, commander of the American flying artillery which did terrible work in the Mexican ranks, was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball that passed through one thigh, the body of his horse, and the other thigh. Rider and steed fell to the ground. The latter was dead; the Major died at Point Isabel four days afterward. Meanwhile Fort Brown had defied the shot and shell from the Mexican batteries; and when, on the 8th, the thunder of cannon at Palo Alto announced Taylor's approach, the garrison took fresh courage and held out. Their works had endured a cannonade and bombardment for about one hundred and sixty hours without receiving much hurt.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 9th of May, Taylor's army were awakened from their slumbers on the battle-field to resume their march for Fort Brown. Their leader prepared for an attack on the way, for the broken forces of the enemy had been rallied; but he saw no traces of the enemy until toward evening, when, as the Americans emerged from a dense thicket, the Mexicans were discovered strongly posted in battle order in a broad ravine that indented a prairie, called Resaca de la Palma or "Dry River of Palms." The ravine was about four feet deep and two hundred feet wide,

and was fringed with palmetto trees. It was the bed of continuous pools of water in the rainy season, but was dusty in the dry season. Within that trench the Mexicans had planted a battery that swept the road over which the Americans were marching. Taylor pressed forward, and after some severe skirmishing, in which a part of his army was engaged, he ordered Captain May, leader of dragoons, to charge upon the battery. That gallant officer instantly obeyed. Rising in his stirrups, he called out to his troops: "Remember your regiment! Men, follow!" and dashing forward in the



THE CHARGE OF CAPTAIN MAY.

face of a shower of balls from the battery, he made his powerful black horse leap the parapet. He was followed by a few of his men, whose steeds made the fearful leap. The gunners were killed, and General La Vega (who was about to apply a match to one of the pieces) and a hundred men were seized by the troopers, made prisoners, and were borne away in triumph within the American lines. The battle went on, growing hotter every moment. The almost impenetrable thicket was alive with Mexicans, and blazed with the fire of their muskets. The strife was terrible for some time; but at length the camp and headquarters of General Arista, the commander-in-chief, were captured, and the enemy were completely routed. Arista saved himself by flight, and, unattended, he made his way across the Rio Grande. So sudden

was his discomfiture and departure that the plate and other private property of Arista, with correspondence, arms, ammunition and equipments for several thousand men, and two thousand horses, fell into the hands of the victors. La Vega and a few other captive officers were sent on parole to New Orleans. It was estimated that the Mexicans had over seven thousand men on that battle-field: the Americans had less than two thousand. The former lost about a thousand men: the latter one hundred and ten. The Mexican army was completely broken up.

Leaving the battle-field of Resaca de la Palma, General Taylor returned to Point Isabel to make arrangements with Commodore Connor for future work, and then proceeded to Fort Brown to commence offensive operations there. The terrified Mexicans trembled for the safety of Matamoras, when Arista sent a deputation to Taylor to ask for an armistice until the two governments should arrange the dispute. The latter would not trust the treacherous Mexican, and refused the boon. It was afterward ascertained that during the conference Arista had removed a large quantity of ammunition and stores, and during the succeeding night (May 17, 1846) retreated with his troops which he had rallied, to the open country toward Monterey. Hearing of this, Taylor crossed the river (May 18) with his army, and, for the first time, unfurled the American flag over undisputed Mexican soil.

When news of the attack on Captain Thornton and his party on Texas soil, on the 24th of April, and a knowledge of the critical situation of the Army of Occupation, spread over the country, the people were aroused; and before the two brilliant victories of Taylor were known at Washington, Congress (then in session) had declared that "by the act of the republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that government and the United States." They authorized the President to accept fifty thousand volunteers, and appropriated ten million dollars for carrying on the contest. This declaration of war was made on the 13th of May, and on the 23d of the same month, the government of Mexico made a formal declaration of war against the United States. The American Secretary of War (Wm. L. Marcy) and General Winfield Scott, then general-in-chief of the armies of the United States, immediately made a magnificent plan for prosecuting the war. A fleet was to sweep around Cape Horn and attack the Pacific coast of Mexico; an "Army of the West" was to gather at Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri River, to invade New Mexico and co-operate with the Pacific fleet, and an "Army of the Centre" was to rendezvous at San Antonio de Bexar, in the heart of Texas, to invade old Mexico from the north.

The news of Taylor's victories produced great joy in the United States. Illuminations, bonfires and cannon-peals in all the chief cities, were the out-



THE TAKING OF MONTEREY.

ward demonstrations of delight, and, for the moment, the war was generally popular. Meanwhile General Taylor, who was called "Rough and Ready" by his soldiers, was preparing for the achievement of other victories in the land he had invaded. He remained at Matamoras until the beginning of September waiting for instructions from his government, and reinforcements for his army. Then the first division of his troops under General W. J. Worth moved toward Monterey, the strongly fortified capital of New Leon, which was then defended by about nine thousand troops commanded by General Ampudia. Taylor joined Worth, and, on the 19th of September, they encamped within three miles of that city with almost seven thousand men. On the night of the 20th, Worth moved nearer the town, and on the following day he attacked it. Joined by other divisions of the army, the assault became general on the 23d, and a conflict in the streets was dreadful. From the strong stone houses, the Mexicans poured volleys of musketry upon the invaders, and the carnage was severe. Finally, on the 4th day of the siege, Ampudia asked for a truce. It was granted, and he proposed to evacuate the city. Taylor would grant no other terms than absolute *surrender*, which was done on the 24th of September. Leaving General Worth in command at Monterey, Taylor encamped at Walnut Springs, a few miles from that city, and there awaited further orders from his government. Santa Anna had gone into Mexico, and was now at the head of its army; and having given assurances that he desired peace, Taylor agreed to a cessation of hostilities for eight weeks, if permitted by his government. In the siege of Monterey, the Americans lost over five hundred men, and the Mexicans about double that number.

Congress had directed General John E. Wool to muster and prepare for service the rapidly gathering volunteers authorized by that body, at San Antonio. So promptly did he perform that duty, that by the middle of July twelve thousand of them had been inspected and mustered into the service. Of these, nine thousand were sent to the Rio Grande to reinforce General Taylor's army, and the remainder were disciplined by Wool preparatory to an invasion of Chihuahua, one of the richest provinces of Mexico. With them, three thousand in number, Wool went up the Rio Grande, and on the last day of October (1846) he was at Monclova, seventy miles northwest from Monterey, where his kind treatment of the inhabitants won their confidence and esteem, and they regarded him as a friend instead of an enemy. There Wool heard of the capture of Monterey, and acting upon the advice of General Taylor, he abandoned the project of penetrating Chihuahua and marched to the fertile district of Parras in Coahuila, where he obtained an abundance of supplies for the two armies.

When General Taylor informed his government of the capture of Monterey, he called for reinforcements for his own army, and recommended the landing of twenty-five thousand troops at Vera Cruz. He received such instructions from the Secretary of War, that he gave notice that the armistice at Monterey would cease on the 13th of November. General Worth marched on the 12th with nine hundred men for Saltillo, the capital of Coahuila, and was followed the next day by General Taylor, who left General Butler in command at the conquered city. Saltillo was taken possession of on the 15th of November, and just a month afterward Taylor set out for Victoria, the capital of Tamaulipas, with a considerable force, intending to march upon and attack Tampico, on the coast. Commodore Conner had already captured that place (November 14), and Commodore Perry had also taken possession of Tobasco and Tuspan. Being informed of a rumor that Santa Anna, who had entered Mexico, was collecting a large force at San Luis Potosi to attack Worth at Saltillo, Taylor marched to Monterey to reinforce that officer, if necessary. There he received word that General Wool had reached Saltillo with his division, when Taylor again marched for Victoria, which place he occupied on the 29th of December.

Just as General Taylor was preparing to enter upon a vigorous winter campaign, he was compelled to endure a severe trial of his patience, temper, and patriotism. In accordance with his recommendation, his government had sent General Scott, with a considerable force, to attempt the capture of Vera Cruz, and from that point to penetrate to the Mexican capital. Scott arrived off Vera Cruz in January, 1847, and being the senior officer of the army, he assumed the chief command of the American armies in Mexico. To effect the work which his government had ordered him to do, he felt compelled to draw from General Taylor's army a large number of his best officers, and a greater portion of his regular troops, leaving him with only about five thousand effective men, including the division of General Wool; and of them only five hundred were regulars. Like a true soldier, Taylor, though greatly mortified, instantly obeyed the chief's order to that effect. At that time Santa Anna had gathered an army of twenty thousand men at San Luis Potosi. He had also been elected Provisional President of Mexico in December, and his followers were full of enthusiasm when, on the first of February, he began a march toward Saltillo, with the avowed intention of drawing the Americans beyond the Rio Grande. General Wool, at Saltillo, had kept his commander advised of the movements of Santa Anna; and when Taylor was assured that the Mexicans were really moving against him, he resolved, weak as he was in numbers, to fight them. On the 31st

of January he left Monterey with all his troops, and reached Saltillo on the 2d of February. He pushed on to Aqua Nueva, twenty miles south of Saltillo, on the San Luis road, and encamped until the 21st, when he fell back to Augustina, a narrow defile in the mountains facing the estate of Buena Vista, and there encamped in battle order to await the approach of Santa Anna. His position was well chosen. It was near a narrow gorge in the mountains, through which the approaching Mexican army must pass—a sort of Thermopylæ.

On the morning of the 22d of February (1847), Santa Anna and his army were within two miles of Taylor's line of battle, when the Mexican chief sent the following note to the American leader:

"You are surrounded by 20,000 men, and cannot, in any human probability, avoid suffering a rout, and being cut to pieces, with your troops; but as you deserve consideration and particular esteem, I wish to save you from such a catastrophe, and for that purpose give you this notice in order that you may surrender at discretion, under the assurance that you will be treated with the consideration belonging to the Mexican character; to which end you will be granted an hour's time to make up your mind, to commence from the moment that my flag of truce arrives at your camp. With this view, I assure you of my particular consideration. God and Liberty!

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA."

General Taylor, who was always "ready," did not take an hour to consider the matter, but immediately replied:

"SIR—In reply to your note of this date, summoning me to surrender my forces at discretion, I beg leave to say that I decline acceding to your request. With high respect, I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR."

Both armies now prepared to fight. The Americans waited for the Mexicans to take the initiative. It was deferred until evening excepting some skirmishing that afternoon and all that night. While the American troops were bivouacked without fire and slept on their arms, the Mexicans were in detachments in the mountains above them, trying to form a cordon of soldiers around the little army of Taylor and Wool, then less than five thousand in number. Early in the morning of the 23d the battle began and continued all day. The struggle was terribly severe, and the slaughter was fearful. Until almost sunset it was doubtful who would triumph. Then the

Mexican leader, after performing the pitiful trick of displaying a flag in token of surrender, to throw Taylor off his guard, made a desperate assault on the American centre, where that officer was in command in person. That centre stood like a rock against the billow. The batteries of Bragg, Washington and Sherman, rolled back the martial wave, and it was not long before the Mexican lines began to waver. General Taylor, standing near the battery of Captain Bragg, saw the signs of weakness and coolly said: "Give them a



"GIVE THEM A LITTLE MORE GRAPE."

little more grape!" Bragg did so, when, just at twilight, the Mexicans gave way and fled in considerable confusion. Night closed the battle; but expecting it to be resumed in the morning, the Americans again slept on their arms; but when the day dawned, no enemy was to be seen. Santa Anna had fallen back to Aqua Nueva, and, in the course of a few days, his large but utterly amazed and dispirited army was almost dissolved. In the flight they had left five hundred of their comrades dead or dying on the field. They had lost in the battle almost two thousand men; the loss of the

Americans in killed, wounded and missing, was seven hundred and forty-six. A son of Henry Clay was among the slain.

On the day of the battle of Buena Vista, Captain Webster, and a small party of Americans, drove General Minon and eight hundred Mexicans from Saltillo. Three days afterward, Colonels Morgan and Irvin defeated some of the enemy in a skirmish at Aqua Frio, and on the 7th of March Major Giddings was victorious in a conflict at Ceralvo. Meanwhile General Taylor had marched for Walnut Springs, near Monterey, where he remained almost inactive, several months, and in September (1847) he returned home, where he was received with the liveliest demonstrations of respect and honor because of his achievements. Three years afterward he was elected President of the United States by the votes of the Whig party.

While these operations were in progress near the Gulf, other events of importance were occurring in the northern part of Mexico. Stephen W. Kearney, of New Jersey, who had been brevetted major-general late in 1846, was placed in command of the "Army of the West" at Fort Leavenworth, in the spring of 1847, with instructions to conquer New Mexico and California. Before this time, Captain John C. Fremont, who had been sent by our government, with about sixty men, to explore portions of New Mexico and California, had become involved in hostilities with the Mexicans on the Pacific coast. When he approached Monterey, on that coast, he was opposed by General Castro and a strong party of Mexicans. Fremont retired to a mountain position, where he called around him the American settlers in that region, and captured a Mexican post at Sonoma Pass (June 15, 1846), with nine cannons and two hundred and fifty muskets. After some more skirmishing, Castro was routed, the Mexicans were driven from that region, and on the 5th of July the Americans there declared themselves independent, and placed Fremont at the head of public affairs. Two days afterward, Commodore Sloat, who was in command of an American squadron on the Pacific coast, bombarded and captured Monterey; and on the 9th, Commodore Montgomery took possession of San Francisco. Almost a week later, Commodore Stockton arrived on that station and succeeded Sloat in command; and on the 17th of August he and Fremont took possession of the city of Los Angeles (city of the angels), near the Pacific coast, now the capital of Los Angeles county, California.

General Kearney left Fort Leavenworth with sixteen hundred men, in June, and on the 18th of August, after a march of almost nine hundred miles, he arrived at Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico. He had traversed great plains and rugged mountain passes, without opposition; and as he approached Santa Fé, the governor and four thousand Mexican troops fled, leaving

the six thousand inhabitants of the city to quietly surrender it. Kearney took formal possession of the State, appointed Charles Bent governor, and then pushed on toward California. He soon met a messenger from Stockton and Fremont, informing him that the conquest of California was already achieved, when Kearney sent the main body of his troops back to Santa Fé, and with one hundred men he pushed on toward Los Angeles. There, on the 27th of December (1846), Kearney met Stockton and Fremont, and these three officers shared in the honors of events which, soon afterward, accomplished the complete conquest and pacification of California. Fremont, the real liberator of California from the Mexican yoke, claimed the right to be governor of the territory, and was supported by Stockton and the people; but General Kearney, his superior officer, would not acquiesce in the arrangement. At Monterey, Kearney, assuming the office of governor, proclaimed (February 8, 1847) the annexation of California to the United States. Fremont refused to obey him, and was ordered home to be tried on a charge of disobedience. His commission of lieutenant-colonel, which he had received, was taken from him, but the President offered to restore it. Fremont refused it, and went again to the wilderness to engage in explorations. Kearney remained in command on the Pacific coast until May (1847), when he returned home, leaving Colonel Mason as military governor of California.

While Kearney was on his march for the Pacific coast, Colonel Doniphan, of his command, at the head of a thousand Missourians, was performing signal services. He compelled the Navajo Indians to make a treaty of peace, late in November (1846), and then he marched toward Chihuahua to join General Wool. At Braceti, in the valley of the Rio del Norte, he encountered a Mexican force under General Ponce de Leon, who sent a black flag to Doniphan and a message, saying:—"We will neither ask nor give quarter." This was immediately followed by the advance of the Mexicans, who fired three volleys. The Americans had all fallen on their faces. Supposing them to be dead, the Mexicans rushed forward to plunder them, when the Americans sprang to their feet, and poured such a deadly fire upon their assailants that two hundred Mexicans were killed. The remainder, astonished, fled in great disorder. Doniphan pressed on, and when within eighteen miles of the capital of Chihuahua, he was confronted by about four thousand Mexicans (February 28, 1847), whom he attacked and dispersed, and then entered the city in triumph. There, in the midst of a population of forty thousand souls, he unfurled the American flag over the citadel. He lost eighteen men in the engagement; and the Mexicans lost about six hundred.

Doniphan rested six weeks in Chihuahua, when he joined Wool at Saltillo late in May. Then he proceeded to New Orleans, having made a march from the Mississippi and back of about five thousand miles. The conquest of all Northern Mexico and California was now complete. Some conspiracies against the new government in New Mexico ripened into revolt in January, 1847, when Governor Bent and others were murdered. Massacres occurred at various places. The insurgents were defeated at Canada, by troops under Colonel Price, and were scattered at the Pass of Embudo. Permanent peace was then secured.

By these conquests New Mexico, one of the places in the interior of the North American continent earliest visited by the Spaniards, became a permanent portion of the domain of our country. It was first traversed by the white race in the persons of Cabeça de Vaca and the remnant of those who followed Narvaez to Florida. They reached New Mexico some time in 1536, when de Vaca sent a report of what he saw to the viceroy of Mexico. Expeditions were sent into that region from Mexico, and one of them penetrated to the Rio Grande. That company were the first Europeans who saw the bison, or buffalo, on our continent. Castaneda, the historian of the expedition, calls the animal "a new kind of ox, wild and fierce, whereof the first day they killed fourscore, which sufficed the army with flesh."



CHAPTER XX.

CAPTURE OF VERA CRUZ—MARCH TOWARD THE CAPITAL OF MEXICO—BATTLE OF CERRO GORDO—FLIGHT OF SANTA ANNA—CAPTURE OF JALAPA, PEROTE, AND PUEBLO—A WONDERFUL CAMPAIGN—PEACE PROPOSITIONS REJECTED—MARCH OVER THE CORDILLERAS—DEFENCES OF THE MEXICAN CAPITAL—BATTLES NEAR THAT CITY—FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE—CONQUEST OF THE EMPIRE—TREATY OF PEACE—GOLD FOUND IN CALIFORNIA—RESULTS OF THE WAR WITH MEXICO—ELECTION AND INAUGURATION OF GENERAL TAYLOR AS PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC—CALIFORNIA SEEKS ADMISSION INTO THE UNION—VIOLENT DEBATES ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY—ITS TEMPORARY SETTLEMENT BY A COMPROMISE—DEATH OF PRESIDENT TAYLOR—ACCESSION OF PRESIDENT FILLMORE—COMPROMISE BILLS PASSED—INVASION OF CUBA.

IN the month of February, 1847, powerful land and naval forces were concentrated in the Gulf of Mexico. The military were under the command of Major-General Winfield Scott, and the vessels were in charge of Commodore Connor, who was afterward succeeded by Commodore M. C. Perry. The troops were gathered at Lobos Island, about one hundred and twenty-five miles north of Vera Cruz; and on the 9th of March about thirteen thousand of them, designed for the conquest of Mexico, were landed near that city, which was considered the key of the country. Upon an island opposite was a very strong fortress, called the Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, which the Mexicans regarded as impregnable. This fortress and the city were completely invested four days after the debarkation, and on the 22d, Scott and Connor were ready to begin the siege. On that day Scott summoned the city and fortress to surrender; and when the demand was refused, shells from seven mortars on land (soon increased to nine) were hurled upon the city. The engineering work for the siege had been skillfully prepared by the late General Totten.

For about four days a furious cannonade and bombardment were kept up on land and water. The Mexicans in the city suffered dreadfully, and on the morning of the 26th the commander made overtures for a surrender. That event occurred on the 29th, when five thousand Mexicans marched out to a plain about a mile from Vera Cruz, and then laid down their arms, gave up their flags, and returned to the interior on parole. The city and fortress, with five hundred pieces of artillery and a large amount of muni-

tions of war, passed into the possession of the Americans. During the siege the victors had lost about eighty men in killed and wounded; the loss of the Mexicans was fearful. About a thousand were killed, and many were wounded. Scott had tried to induce the governor of Vera Cruz to send the women and children and foreign residents out of the city before the bombardment began, but he refused, and many of them perished.

General Scott now made preparations to march for the Mexican capital by way of the Great National Road from Vera Cruz. Leaving General Worth as temporary governor at Vera Cruz, and a sufficient garrison for the castle, he moved forward on the 8th of April with about eight thousand men toward Jalapa, General Twiggs leading his division in advance. Meanwhile General Santa Anna, by extraordinary efforts after the defeat and dispersion of his army at Buena Vista, had gathered a force of about twelve thousand men from among the Sierras of Orizaba, and concentrated them upon the Heights of Cerro Gordo—a difficult mountain-pass at the foot of the eastern slope of the Cordilleras. There he was strongly fortified and was in Scott's path when, on the 13th of April, Twiggs came in sight. Scott arrived the next morning, reconnoitred the position of the enemy, and made preparations to attack him. On the 17th he issued a most remarkable general order to the army, in which he directed movements in the coming battle which, followed, led to victory, making that order appear almost prophetic in its details. The battle occurred on the 18th, and before sunset the Americans were victorious. It was fought at a wild place in the mountains. On one side was a deep dark river, on the other was a frowning declivity of rocks a thousand feet in height, bristling with batteries, while above all arose the strong fortress of Cerro Gordo. The place had to be taken by storm; and the party to do the work was composed of the regulars of Twiggs, led by the gallant Colonel Harney. Victory followed skill and bravery, and Cerro Gordo fell. Velasquez, the commander of the fortress, was killed, and the Mexican standard was hauled down by Sergeant Henry. Santa Anna, with Almonte and other generals, and eight thousand troops, escaped; the remainder were made prisoners. Santa Anna attempted to fly with his carriage, which contained a large amount of specie, but it was overturned, when, mounting a mule taken from his carriage, he escaped to the mountains, leaving behind him his wooden leg. In the vehicle was found his papers, clothing, and a pair of lady's satin slippers. The victory for the Americans was complete and decisive. The trophies were three thousand prisoners, who were paroled, forty-three bronze pieces of artillery cast in Seville, five thousand stand of arms (which were destroyed), and a large amount of munitions of war. The fugitives were pursued with vigor

toward Jalapa. In that battle the Americans lost four hundred and thirty-one men.

General Worth was now with the army, and with his division led the onward march. On the 19th they entered Jalapa; and a few days afterward (April 22d, 1847) Worth unfurled the American flag over the strong castle of Perote, on the summit of the Cordilleras, fifty miles beyond Jalapa. This



ESCAPE OF SANTA ANNA AT CERRO GORDO.

fortress was regarded as the strongest in Mexico after San Juan d'Ulloa. These places had been captured without resistance, for the Mexicans were appalled by the suddenness of the invasion and the swiftness of the conquests of the invaders. At Perote, the spoils were fifty-four pieces of artillery and an immense amount of munitions of war.

Onward the victors swept along the Great National Road over the Cordilleras, and on the 15th of May they halted at the fine "City of the Angels"—Pueblo de los Angeles—where they remained until August. In a campaign of two months, General Scott had made ten thousand Mexican prisoners of war, and captured seven hundred splendid pieces of artillery, ten

thousand muskets, and twenty thousand shots and shells; and yet, when he reached Pueblo, his whole effective marching force for the conquest of the capital did not exceed four thousand five hundred men. The demands for garrison duty and severe sickness had reduced his army about one-half.

While Scott was resting at Pueblo, an opportunity was given to the Mexicans to treat for peace. At Jalapa, the commander-in-chief issued a proclamation to the Mexican people, very conciliatory in character, but closing with this significant paragraph: "I am marching on Pueblo and Mexico; and from those capitals I shall again address you." The government also sent Nicholas P. Trist as a diplomatic agent, with letters to certain persons in Mexico, and clothed with power to treat for peace. He reached the army just as Scott left Jalapa, and went forward with it when it resumed its march. He had made overtures to the Mexican government, which were treated with disdain. The Mexicans foolishly boasted of their patriotism, valor and strength, while losing post after post in rapid succession.

At Pueblo, Scott was reinforced by fresh troops, which had been sent by way of Vera Cruz. There his principal officers were Generals Worth, Quitman, Pillow, Twiggs, Shields, Smith, and Cadwallader; and on the 7th of August, he resumed his march toward the capital, with about eleven thousand men. The road lay nearly along the line of the march of Cortez, more than three hundred years before, over the Anahuac range of mountains, and up the slopes of the great Cordilleras. It was a most beautiful and picturesque region, well watered, clothed with rich verdure, and bathed in the most salubrious air. From the lofty summits of these mountains and almost upon the spot where Cortez stood, Scott and his army beheld, as the Spanish conquerors had there beheld, the great valley of Mexico, with its *intervalles* and lakes, cities and villages, and the waters of Tezcuco embracing the Mexican capital—the ancient metropolis of the Aztec empire—now presenting lofty steeples and spacious domes. Down into that valley the invaders cautiously pressed, for resistance was expected at the mountain-passes. General Twiggs, with his division, led, and on the 11th of August he was encamped at St. Augustine, with the strong fortress of San Antonio before him. Close upon his right were the heights of Churubusco, crowned with embattled walls covered with cannon, and to be reached in front only by a causeway exposed at every point to a raking fire from the batteries. Not far off was the strongly fortified camp of Contreras, containing about six thousand Mexicans under General Valencia; and between it and the capital was Santa Anna with twelve thou-

sand men, who were held in reserve. The whole of the invading army were concentrated in the valley by the 15th, with headquarters on the Acapulco road.

Such was the general disposition of the belligerent forces when General Scott arrived at headquarters on the morning of the 18th, and after surveying the whole scene, made arrangements for attacking the enemy and fighting his way to the gates of the city. That was a difficult task, for the capital was strongly defended at points nearer than those already mentioned, and approaches to it could only be made over narrow causeways through oozy ground, as in the time of Montezuma. Near the city was the hill of Chapultepec, which was strongly fortified and covered by a Military Institute, and at the foot of it, at the King's Mill (Molino del Rey), was a fortified stone wall and a citadel capable of great resistance. Every avenue to the city was guarded, and no point had been neglected. Chapultepec would have to be carried by storm, and so would the position at Molino del Rey and the strongholds of Contreras. San Antonio and Churubusco would have to be carried before these could be reached. To carry these, and capture Chapultepec and Molino del Rey, was now the important business to which Scott addressed himself.

Confronted by the victorious Americans, the Mexicans prepared for a desperate struggle. They strengthened their fortifications and increased their garrisons. The Americans were equally active, and prepared for the attack with great skill under the immediate direction of General Scott, ably assisted by Captain Robert E. Lee (general-in-chief of the Confederate forces in the late Civil War), the chief engineer of the army, whose services at Cerro Gordo and before Mexico won for him the commissions of major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel, in rapid succession.

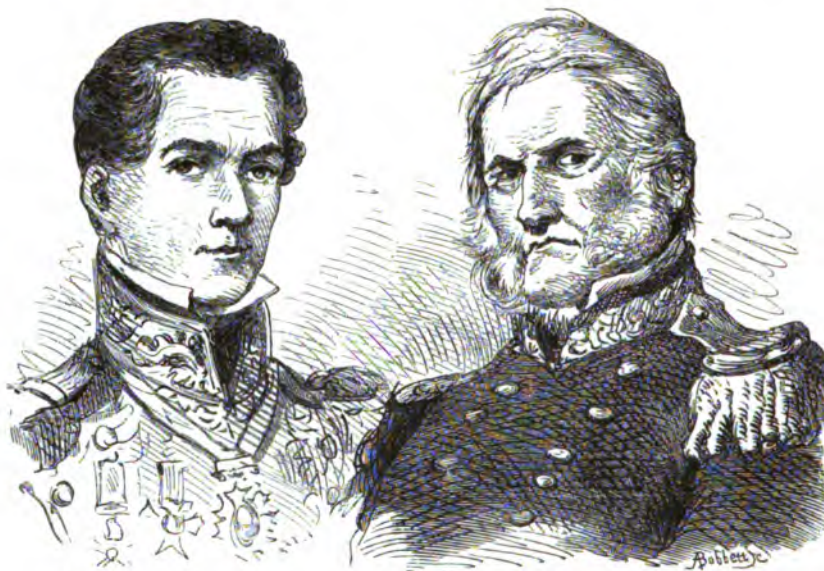
On the evening of the 19th (August, 1847) everything was in readiness on the part of the Americans. The day had been spent in indecisive skirmishing. The night was very dark, rainy, and cold. The American troops stood, drenched, waiting for daylight, and when it appeared, they were led forward to storm the camp. The grand struggle began at sunrise. It was brief, but sharp and sanguinary. The Americans, under cover of darkness, had gained a position close upon the Mexicans, in rear and flank, before they were discovered. Springing up suddenly from behind the crest of a hill, they delivered volleys in quick succession; dashed pell-mell into the intrenchments; captured the batteries; drove out the army of Valencia, and pursued its flying remnants on the road toward Mexico. The conflict lasted only seventeen minutes. Eighty officers and three thousand privates of the Mexicans were made prisoners, and among the trophies were thirty-three

pieces of artillery. Meanwhile Generals Shields and Pierce (the latter afterward President of the United States) had kept Santa Anna's powerful reserve at bay. A similar movement was now made against San Antonio and Churubusco. Santa Anna advanced with his numerous followers, to defend them, and very soon the whole region became a battle-field. The entire American and Mexican armies were engaged. The invaders dealt heavy and successful blows. San Antonio yielded, Churubusco was taken, and the forces of Santa Anna were sent flying toward the capital like chaff before a gale. Prisoners and spoils glutted the hands of the Americans. It was a memorable day in the annals of our military career. In the course of a single day, a Mexican army full thirty thousand strong, had been broken up by another less than one-third its strength in number; full four thousand Mexicans had been killed or wounded; three thousand were made prisoners, and thirty-seven pieces of fine artillery had been captured, with a vast amount of munitions of war. The Americans lost in killed and wounded, on that memorable day, almost eleven hundred men. They might easily have pressed on while the Mexicans were panic-stricken, and taken possession of their capital, but Scott preferred to try negotiations for peace again. He advanced to Tacubaya, on the 21st, within three miles of the capital, and there, and on the way, he was met by a proposition from Santa Anna for an armistice preparatory to negotiations for peace. It was acceded to, and Mr. Trist went into the capital on the 24th for the purpose. At the palace of the Archbishop at Tacubaya, which Scott made his headquarters, the General waited impatiently for the return of Mr. Trist. He came on the 5th of September with the information that his propositions for peace had not only been rejected with scorn, but that Santa Anna had violated the armistice by strengthening the defences of the city. General Scott, disgusted with the treachery of the Mexican chief, declared the armistice at an end on the 7th of September, and prepared to storm the capital.

The castle at Chapultepec, the walls and stone citadel at Molino del Rey, and the fortified gates of Mexico manned by thousands of Mexicans, yet stood between Scott and possession of the capital, and to the capture of these he proceeded on the 8th. The Americans were on one of the main causeways, in full view of the city. General Worth was sent, with between three and four thousand troops, to attack Molino del Rey, and they were repulsed, at first, with great slaughter. Gallantly returning to the assault and fighting desperately for an hour, they drove the enemy before them. Nearly one thousand Mexicans were dead on the field. The loss of the Americans was about eight hundred. Attention was now turned to Chapultepec, the site of the "Halls of the Montezumas," and then the only defence

of the city left, outside of its suburbs. On the night of the 11th of September, Scott erected four heavy batteries, the guns of which might be brought to bear upon the hill. These were opened on the morning of the 12th, and on the following morning the Americans made such a furious charge upon the works, that their occupants were routed with great slaughter and fled to the city along an aqueduct, pursued by General Quitman to the very gates. The pursuers were continually engaged in sharp encounters, at various places.

Santa Anna, thoroughly alarmed and his army hopelessly shattered, fled from the city with the remnant of his troops, and the officers of the civil



ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

government, before daylight on the morning of the 14th; and at dawn a deputation came out from the municipal authorities and begged General Scott to spare the town and propose terms of capitulation. He would make no terms, but ordered Generals Quitman and Worth to move forward and unfurl the American flag over the National Palace. At ten o'clock General Scott, escorted by dragoons, rode into the city in full uniform, on his powerful white charger, and made his way to the Grand Plaza. There he dismounted, took off his hat, and drawing his sword and raising it high above his head, he proclaimed in a loud voice the conquest of Mexico, and took formal possession of the empire.

Quiet soon reigned in the Mexican capital. Santa Anna afterward made feeble and unsuccessful efforts to regain his lost power. After some defeats in skirmishes with American detachments, his troops deserted him, and before the close of October he was a fugitive, flying for personal safety to the shores of the Gulf. The President of the Mexican Congress assumed provisional authority; and on the 2d of February, 1848, that body concluded a



GENERAL SCOTT ENTERING THE CITY OF MEXICO.

treaty of peace with commissioners of the United States, at Guadalupe Hidalgo. It was ratified by both governments, and President Polk proclaimed it on the 4th of July following. That treaty stipulated the evacuation of Mexico by the American army within three months, the payment of three million dollars in hand, and twelve million in four annual installments by the United States to Mexico, for the territory acquired by conquest; and, in addition, to assume debts due certain citizens of our republic

to the amount of three million five hundred thousand dollars. Boundary and other disputes were settled, and New Mexico and California became acknowledged territories of the United States. It was in the very month when the treaty was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, that gold was found at Captain Sutter's Mill on the American fork of the Sacramento River in California; and the official statement of the fact that gold was abundant in that territory, made in the President's message in December following, caused an emigration to the Pacific coast, not only from our States, but from other countries. Since then the yield of the precious metal there has been enormous; and in some of the other Territories in the western portion of our republic, immense quantities of silver, as well as gold, have been discovered.

Mr. Polk's administration, which closed in the spring of 1849, was chiefly distinguished by the events and results of the war with Mexico, and the settlement of the Oregon boundary question, already noticed. The war was very unpopular, at first, with a large proportion of our citizens; but the unparalleled achievements of our little army there first excited the pride of the Americans, and then aroused their enthusiasm, and the war very soon became popular. It was carried through in a manner highly honorable to our country, and its acquisition of territory not only enriched the republic but greatly extended its domain. In May, 1848, Wisconsin was admitted into the Union as a State, making the whole number of States thirty.

The exploits of General Zachary Taylor at an early period of the war with Mexico, made him exceedingly popular throughout the Union, and the Whig National Convention that assembled at Philadelphia on the 1st of June, 1848, nominated him for the Presidency of the republic, with Millard Fillmore for the Vice-Presidency. Both were elected in November following, and on the 5th of March, 1849 (the 4th fell on Sunday), he was inaugurated the twelfth President of the United States, Chief-Justice Taney administering the oath of office. General Taylor was eminently a "plain, blunt man," with no pretensions to polished manners, but with every characteristic of a true gentleman. He chose for his constitutional advisers John M. Clayton for Secretary of State; William M. Meredith, Secretary of the Treasury; George N. Crawford, Secretary of War; William B. Preston, Secretary of the Navy; Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Interior, a department which had just been created; Jacob Collamer, Postmaster-General, and Reverdy Johnson, Attorney-General.

President Taylor's administration was marked by events which led to very important results. In August, 1849, General Riley, then military governor of California, summoned a convention of delegates to meet at Monterey, on the Pacific coast, to form a State constitution. California had

not yet been organized as a Territory ; but it was so rapidly filling up with the elements of a new and powerful State, that its speedy admission into the Union as such seemed probable. These elements were then principally gold-seekers, who were mostly enterprising young men. The convention met, and on the first of September (1849) they adopted a State constitution, an article of which excluded slavery from that Territory forever. This action—



GENERAL SCOTT PROCLAIMING THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

the actual formation of a State by the voice of the people—was accomplished twenty months after gold was first found at Sutter's Mill. It produced warm debates in and out of Congress, and excited a violent controversy throughout the republic on the subject of slavery, which ended only when that institution was utterly destroyed.

Under their State constitution, the Californians elected Edward Gilbert

✓ and G. H. Wright, delegates to the National House of Representatives ; and the State Legislature, at its first session, appointed John Charles Fremont and William M. Gwinn, United States Senators. The latter carried the State constitution with them to Washington city, and in February they presented a petition to Congress, praying for the admission of California into the Union of States. It was perceived that a compromise on the subject of slavery must be effected to avoid serious difficulty, for the supporters of the system of slave-labor boldly declared their intention to dismember the republic, if California should be admitted into the Union with its constitution forbidding the existence of slavery in that domain. A joint resolution was offered for the appointment of a committee of thirteen to consider the subject of territorial governments for California, New Mexico and Deseret (the latter settled chiefly by a Mormon community), with instructions to report a plan of compromise embracing all the questions then arising out of the institution of slavery. The resolution was adopted in April, and Mr. Clay was made chairman of the committee. He had already submitted a plan of compromise to the Senate, and spoke eloquently in favor of it ; and on the 8th of May he, in behalf of the committee of thirteen, reported a bill intended as a pacificator. It provided for the admission of California as a State ; for a territorial government for New Mexico and Deseret or Utah ; for a law which would compel the return, to their masters, of all fugitive slaves ; for the suppression of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and for a settlement of the boundary of Texas. This bill, containing such a variety of important propositions, was called the "Omnibus Bill," but as a whole it was known as the Compromise Act. It was not satisfactory to the slaveholders, notwithstanding its large concessions to their interests ; and in June they held a convention at Nashville, in Tennessee, and by resolutions presented to the country alternatives for the settlement of the controversy, namely, the security, by an enactment of Congress, of protection to their property in slaves, for those who should choose to emigrate into any of the Territories, or a partition of the Territories between the free and slave labor sections of the Union, on the basis of the Missouri Compromise.

For four months a discussion and a controversy, which shook the republic to its very foundations, was carried on in Congress and among the people—a controversy on the slavery question more violent than any which had yet occurred. The Compromise Act was violently opposed in both sections of the Union, but, of course, on opposite grounds. The extreme pro-slavery men regarded it as a surrender of their most vital claims, to the political sentimentality of the North ; and they resolved not to submit to it. Threats

of disunion were loud, violent, and numerous; and opposition to the Compromise took the shape of a political party first in Mississippi, with Jefferson Davis as leader. It spread into other slave-holding States, and appeared formidable. The opposition to the measure in the Northern States was comparatively feeble; but there was a powerful minority in these free-labor States who were strenuously opposed to the Fugitive-Slave law, which formed a part of the Compromise, as unworthy of the sanction of a civilized nation. Yet the majority of the northern people acquiesced in the measure because it promised peace and the maintenance of the commercial prosperity which then prevailed.

In the midst of the excitement occasioned by this controversy, the country was startled by the death of the President, caused by bilious fever, which occurred on the 9th of July, 1850, when he was in the sixty-fifth year of his age. There was much real mourning on account of his death, for the reflecting men of all parties relied upon his justice, integrity and firmness in the right, in that hour of apparent peril to the republic. Millard Fillmore, the Vice-President, became the constitutional successor of President Taylor, and on the day after the death of the latter, Mr. Fillmore took the prescribed oath of office as President of the United States. On the following day, William R. King, of Alabama, was elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and became acting Vice-President.

The several members of the cabinet of President Taylor tendered their resignations to Mr. Fillmore, who accepted them, and immediately nominated others for his constitutional advisers. These were Daniel Webster, Secretary of State; Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury; Charles M. Conrad, Secretary of War; William A. Graham, Secretary of the Navy; Alexander H. H. Stuart, Secretary of the Interior; Nathan K. Hall, Postmaster-General, and John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General. These names impressed the people with confidence in the administration of Mr. Fillmore.

The most important measures of the government that were pending at the death of President Taylor, and which claimed the early attention of President Fillmore, were the several bills included in the Compromise Act. These were all adopted, with slight modifications, and became laws in the month of September, by receiving the signature of the President. Mr. Seward offered an amendment to the act for the suppression of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, which provided "That slavery in the District be entirely abrogated; that its abolition depend on the vote of the inhabitants; and that in case, on such vote being taken, it should be in favor of emancipation, the sum of two hundred thousand dollars be appropriated to pay the owners of the slaves for whatever loss they may suffer."

This amendment, after a brief discussion, was rejected by five yeas to forty-five nays.

During Taylor's administration, some unpleasant feeling had been engendered between the governments of the United States and Spain, by an invasion of Cuba by a military force organized in this country. It will be observed hereafter, that the men and measures connected with these movements, were intimately associated with the actors in, and the preliminary events of the late Civil War. General Lopez, a native of Cuba, who led an expedition to that island from the United States, was backed by many men who were conspicuous in the secession movements ten years later. The avowed object of the invasion was to stir up the Creoles, or native Cubans, to a revolt for the purpose of overthrowing the local government, casting off the Spanish yoke, and forming an independent State. No doubt this was the principal and perhaps the only design of Lopez, but not of the politicians at his back. *Their* chief object undoubtedly was to seize Cuba, and make it a part of a great slave empire of the South—a proposition shamelessly set forth in the discreditable "Ostend Manifesto" of a later day. Lopez and his followers landed at Cardenas, in Cuba, at the middle of April, 1850, where he expected to be joined by some of the Spanish troops and a host of native Cubans, and with them to overthrow the government of the island. He was disappointed. The troops and people did not appear, to co-operate with him, and he returned to the United States to prepare for a more formidable invasion.

The introduction of the Compromise Act, the invasion of Cuba and the admission of one State and three Territories into the Union, were the most prominent features of President Taylor's administration. That State was California; the Territories were New Mexico, Utah, and Minnesota. The name of the latter is the Indian title of the River St. Peter, a large tributary of the Upper Mississippi, and means sky-colored water.



CHAPTER XXI.

THE MORMONS: THEIR ORIGIN AND PROGRESS—THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW—INVASION OF CUBA—TERRITORY BOUGHT OF THE INDIANS—ENLARGEMENT OF THE CAPITOL—KOSSUTH AND HIS CAUSE—DISPUTES ABOUT FISHERIES—RELATIONS WITH JAPAN—TRIPARTITE TREATY—THE OSTEND CONFERENCE—PRESIDENT PIERCE AND HIS CABINET—EXPLORING EXPEDITIONS—UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD—THE SANDWICH ISLANDS—OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS—KANSAS AND NEBRASKA TERRITORIES—CONTROVERSY ABOUT SLAVERY—DIFFICULTIES WITH SPAIN—RAIDS IN CENTRAL AMERICA—WAR WITH INDIANS—VIOLATION OF NEUTRALITY LAWS—CONFLICT BETWEEN FREEDOM AND SLAVERY—POLITICAL STRUGGLES IN KANSAS—A STATE CONSTITUTION ADOPTED—VIOLENCE IN KANSAS—POLITICAL PARTIES.

ALLUSION has been made to the Mormons in Utah. Their history is a most remarkable one. About fifty years ago, a young man named Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont, pretended to have revelations from heaven. In one of these he was directed to go to a hill near Palmyra, New York, where he would find a record of the ancient inhabitants of America and a new gospel for mankind, written centuries before on plates of gold, in unknown characters and languages. From these plates (it was alleged) Smith, sitting behind a blanket to prevent their being seen by profane eyes, read the inscriptions, which were written down by a scribe who was not permitted to see the "leaves of gold." This copy was published under the name of "The Book of Mormon." The true story, as ascertained by investigation, appears to be, that the Rev. Solomon Spaulding, many years before, wrote a work of fiction, founded upon the theory that our continent was peopled by the "lost tribes of Israel;" that the manuscript came, by accident, into the hands of Smith, and that he read to his scribe from the manuscript, and not from any plates containing mysterious characters.

Smith found dupes and followers, and in 1830 he established a "church" with thirty members. He was assisted in his work by Sidney Rigdon, who, it was said, had become possessed of Spaulding's manuscript, and placed it in the hands of Smith. The latter pretended to be governed by continual revelations from heaven; and in accordance with one of them, he led his deluded followers to Kirtland, Ohio, where they built a temple and remained several years, until the conduct of the leaders became so obnoxious that

V they were compelled to leave. They established themselves in Hancock county, Illinois, where they founded the city of Nauvoo, and built a temple. Meanwhile they had attempted to plant themselves in Missouri, but they were expelled by the exasperated people, who were assisted by the civil and military powers. At Kirtland, they were joined by a shrewd young man named Brigham Young, a native of Vermont, who has now been president of the Mormon church more than thirty years. It was at Nauvoo that the

system of polygamy was first practised among them, and Young has ever been foremost among its defenders. That system was established in consequence of the jealousy of Smith's wife because of his intimacies with other women. In justification of his immoral conduct, Smith had a special revelation from heaven, authorizing polygamy, and declaring that the greater number of wives a man possessed, the greater would be his future rewards; also that the women who consented to share the honors of wifehood with others, would thereby be assured of eternal happiness.

This "revelation" led to events which resulted in the imprisonment of Smith and some of his most intimate associates.

The "prophet" and his brother

were shot dead by a mob at the prison; and their followers, in 1845, prepared for an exodus, led by Brigham Young, who had succeeded to the presidency of the Mormon church, on the death of Smith. They finally crossed the Mississippi and penetrated to the valley of the Great Salt Lake, where, in 1848, they seated themselves in a most picturesque region, founded a city, and built a temple. Their numbers have long entitled their domain (which was organized into a Territory with the name of Utah) to admission into the Union as a State. In 1849, President Fillmore appointed Young governor of that Territory; but because of the practice of polygamy by the Mormons, that Territory has never been permitted to enter the Union as a



ZACHARY TAYLOR.

State. The Mormons now number, in our own and other countries, probably, more than two hundred thousand souls. They have, from time to time, given our government considerable trouble, by their defiance of its laws. The speedy extinguishment of their system is probable.

It was believed by superficial thinkers and observers that the Compromise Act of 1850 had quieted, forever, all controversy on the subject of slavery; and during his entire administration, President Fillmore gave his support to all the measures embraced in that act. When his administration closed in the spring of 1853, there seemed to be very little uneasiness in the public mind on the subject of slavery. But it was only the ominous calm that precedes the bursting of a tempest. The moral sense of the people in the free-labor States (and of thousands in the slave-labor States) had been shocked by the passage of the Fugitive-Slave Law, which compelled every person to become a slave-catcher, under certain circumstances, willing or not willing. That law was so much at variance with Christian ethics and the civilization of the age, that a multitude of persons in all parts of the Union yearned to see it wiped from our national statute-books



MILLARD FILLMORE.

as an ugly blot; and, pondering upon it, many persons who had been indifferent, felt a desire to have a check put upon the further expansion of the system of slavery in our republic. This feeling, and the avowed intention of the supporters of that system to make it a national and not a mere sectional institution, produced violent collisions in speech, and, finally, a most sanguinary civil war. The Fugitive-Slave Law, framed by James M. Mason of Virginia, had much to do with bringing on that terrible crisis in our history.

In 1851, General Lopez renewed his attempt to cause an insurrectionary movement in Cuba, by landing a strong military force, organized in this

country, upon its shores. Our government watched these movements and the violation of neutrality laws with great vigilance, detaining vessels and dispersing illegal associations; but in August, Lopez managed to sail from New York, with almost five hundred followers, whom he landed on the northern coast of Cuba. There he left Colonel W. L. Crittenden (son of the Attorney-General of the United States) in command of one hundred soldiers, and with the remainder he pushed into the interior. At that time forty thousand Spanish troops were concentrated in Cuba. Crittenden and his party were soon captured and shot. Again Lopez found the Cubans unwilling to revolt. He became a fugitive, and at near the close of August, he and six of his followers were arrested, taken to Havana, and executed.

At the same time our government was making peaceful acquisitions of territory in the northwest by the purchase from the Sioux Indians of millions of acres of fertile lands beyond the Mississippi, in the newly organized Territory of Minnesota. This had become a necessity, for a stream of population was pouring into that Territory and threatening to overflow the Indian reservation there. At the same time emigration from Europe was flowing in an immense tide over portions of our domain. Territories and States were increasing in number, and swelling the volume of representatives in the national legislature. To accommodate these, the halls of legislation had to be enlarged, and in the summer of 1851, the corner-stone of the extension of the Capitol was laid by President Fillmore, with appropriate Masonic ceremonies. On that occasion Daniel Webster delivered an oration in the presence of a vast multitude of people.

Toward the close of the same year, our government reaffirmed its policy of non-interference with the domestic affairs of European nations, under peculiar circumstances. In December, Louis Kossuth, the exiled governor of Hungary, arrived in the United States to plead the cause of his countrymen, who were struggling for their independence of the rule of Austria, and to ask for material aid from our government. The touching story of his career had preceded and had created here almost universal sympathy for him and his cause. He was received with great enthusiasm, and his mission was the theme of many debates on the floors of Congress. On his arrival at New York he became the guest of the city, and was welcomed by cheers from an immense multitude of citizens, who fringed the streets through which he passed in procession. At Washington he was welcomed by the President, the heads of departments, and the National Congress. The latter gave him a banquet, at which the Acting Vice-President presided. So demonstrative was the welcome, that the Austrian minister formally protested against it, and because his protest was unheeded, he left his post.

The President, however, at his first interview with Kossuth, told him frankly that our policy of non-interference would not allow our government to give him any material aid. This was afforded, to a considerable extent, by private subscriptions.

There was a little ruffling of the good feeling between the governments of the United States and Great Britain, in 1852, in consequence of the alleged violation by American fishers off the coast of British America, of treaty stipulations, which provided that they should not cast their nets nearer such coast than three miles. A new interpretation of that agreement had recently been made by the British government, which claimed that the American fishers had no rights in bays within a line drawn from headland to headland; and that government sent a naval force to support these pretensions. The President sent a naval force to protect our fishermen, and a spark of war seemed inevitable, when the dispute was amicably settled by mutual concessions.

Owing to our increasing intercourse with Asia across the Pacific Ocean, friendly relations with the Japanese was desirable. To establish such amity, our government sent a squadron of seven vessels, commanded by Commodore M. C. Perry, in the summer of 1853, to convey a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan, asking him to consent to the negotiation of a treaty of friendship and commerce between the two governments. The mission was successful, and friendly relations were then established between the two countries which have continually increased in strength and importance. In 1860, a large and imposing embassy from the Empire of Japan, visited the United States, and were welcomed by President Buchanan at a personal interview in the reception-room of the executive mansion. Intercourse between the two nations is now free and cordial.

The sympathy manifested by a large portion of the people of the United States in the efforts of Lopez in Cuba, gave rise to suspicions in Europe that it was the policy of our government to ultimately possess that island and assume control over the Gulf of Mexico (the open door to California) and the West India Islands, which were owned chiefly by France and England. To prevent such a result, the governments of these two countries asked that of the United States to enter into a treaty with them, which should secure Cuba to Spain, by agreeing to disclaim "now and forever hereafter, all intention to obtain possession of the Island of Cuba," and "to discountenance all such attempts, to that effect, on the part of any individual or power whatever." To this invitation our Secretary of State (Edward Everett) replied, in the spirit of the "Monroe Doctrine," that the

question was an American and not an European one, and not properly within the scope of the interference of European cabinets; that the United States did not intend to violate any existing neutrality laws; that the government claimed the right to act in relation to Cuba independent of any other power, and that it could not see with indifference "the island of Cuba fall into the hands of any other power than Spain." France made no rejoinder; Great Britain did; and so ended the diplomatic correspondence on the proposed "Tripartite Treaty," in February, 1853. In the letter of Lord John Russell, the English prime-minister, there was an intimation that England and France would not see with indifference the possession of Cuba by the United States. The suspicion that our government intended to gain possession of that island was confirmed by the act of its agents abroad, the following year. Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Soulé then represented our country, respectively, at the courts of Great Britain, France, and Spain. They met at Ostend, in Belgium, in October, 1854, by direction of President Pierce, to confer upon the best method for settling all difficulties about Cuba and gaining possession of that island. They embodied their views in a letter to our government, in which they recommended the *purchase* of Cuba, if possible; if not, to obtain it by *force*. "If Spain," they said, "actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor, should refuse to sell Cuba to the United States," then "by every law human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power." Honest Americans would gladly blot this letter from our national records, for it is justly regarded as one of the most disgraceful passages in the history of American diplomacy.

When Mr. Fillmore's administration was drawing to a close, nominations for his successor were made. A Democratic national convention assembled at Baltimore, in June, 1852, nominated General Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, for President, and William R. King of Alabama, for Vice-President. A Whig national convention assembled at the same place in the same month, and nominated General Winfield Scott for President, and William A. Graham of North Carolina for Vice-President. The Democratic nominees were elected, and on the 4th of March, 1853, President Fillmore retired to private life. One of the most important of the closing events of his administration was the creation, by act of Congress, of a new Territory called Washington, which was carved out of the northern part of Oregon. The bill for this purpose became a law on the 2d of March, 1853.

General Pierce took the oath of office as President of the United States, upon a platform of New Hampshire pine, which had been erected at the eastern portico of the Capitol. It was administered in the presence of thousands

of people, who stood in a storm of driving sleet as witnesses of the august ceremony. President Pierce chose for his cabinet William L. Marcy, Secretary of State; James Guthrie, Secretary of the Treasury; Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War; James C. Dobbin, Secretary of the Navy; Robert McClelland, Secretary of the Interior; James Campbell, Postmaster-General, and Caleb Cushing, Attorney-General.

Important American explorations by sea and land, in the interests of commerce, marked the earlier portion of Pierce's administration. The acquisition of California opened the way for an immense commercial interest on our Pacific coast; and in the spring of 1853, Congress sent four armed vessels to the eastern shores of Asia, by way of Cape Horn, to explore the region of the Pacific Ocean, which, it was evident, would soon be traversed by American steamships plying between the ports of our western frontier and Japan and China. At the same time plans were maturing for the construction of a railway across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Congress, in the sum-

mer of 1853, sent out four surveying expeditions to explore as many routes along the general course of four degrees of latitude. One of these lines of railway, known as the Union Pacific, was completed in the spring of 1869. On a beautiful day in May, in a grassy valley in mid-continent, and in the presence of a great concourse of spectators, the last spike was driven and the great work was completed. Over that railway passengers may now be carried from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in the course of six or seven days.

At that time the government of the Sandwich Islands was making overtures for the annexation of that ocean-empire to our republic. This aroused the jealousy of France and England, who felt disposed to interfere in the matter. A change of rulers in the islands, put an end to the matter.



FRANKLIN PIERCE.

A dispute in relation to the boundary line between New Mexico and the Province of Chihuahua in old Mexico threatened to produce war, but it was happily diverted by diplomacy. With the government of Austria there were some unpleasant relations about that time, growing out of the protecting power of our government in the case of a naturalized citizen. A Hungarian exile, named Kozta, had become naturalized here. While engaged in business in Smyrna, he was seized by order of the Austrian consul-general and placed on board a brig to be sent to Trieste as a refugee. The *St. Louis*, one of our naval vessels, was then in the harbor of Smyrna, and her commander (Captain Ingraham) claimed Kozta as a citizen of the United States and demanded his release. It was refused, and Ingraham cleared his ship for action. This argument was effectual, and Kozta was delivered up on board the *St. Louis*. Congress showed their approval of the conduct of their servant by voting Ingraham a sword. Austria was offended, but no serious difficulty ensued. This protection of an humble citizen of the United States, in a foreign land, increased the respect for our government and flag abroad.

An unexpected movement now aroused a vehement discussion of the slavery question. In January, 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas presented a bill in the Senate for the erection of two vast Territories in mid-continent, to be called, respectively, Kansas and Nebraska. The bill provided for giving permission to the inhabitants of those Territories to decide for themselves whether slavery should or should not exist within their domain. This proposed nullification of the Missouri Compromise produced rancorous controversies in and out of Congress, and the people of the free-labor States became violently excited. After long and bitter discussions in both Houses of Congress, the bill became a law in May following. The people of the North thought they perceived in this measure a determination to make slavery national; and the boast of Robert Toombs, of Georgia, that he would yet "call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill," seemed likely not to be an idle one. While this irritating subject was under discussion, fresh difficulties with Spain appeared. The Spanish authorities in Cuba seized the American steamship *Black Warrior* and confiscated her cargo, under some pretence of her violating the neutrality laws. Our government, satisfied of the flagrancy of the act, was disposed to suspend those laws. A special messenger was sent to the Spanish government at Madrid to lay the case before the imperial authorities. The Cuban officials, becoming alarmed, proposed to deliver up the vessel and cargo on the payment of a fine, by her owners, of six thousand dollars. It was paid under protest, and the affair was amicably settled by the governments. These occurrences were made

the excuse for the meeting of the American ministers at Ostend, and their disreputable action there.

In the light of historic events, it is clear to-day, that men who afterward appeared as leaders in the war against our government, were then concocting and executing schemes for the extension of the domains of the slave system. It must expand or suffocate. They contrived and put in motion expeditions for conquering neighboring provinces, in the southwest, under various pretexts, and their acts were unrebuked by our government. They formed a design to conquer parts of Mexico, and also Central America; and the theatre of their first practically successful endeavors was on the northern portion of the great isthmus between North and South America. The first movement was an armed "emigration" into Nicaragua, with peaceful professions, led by Colonel H. L. Kinney. This was followed by an armed invasion by Californians led by William Walker, first, of provinces in Mexico, and then of the state of Nicaragua. Walker also made peaceful professions on landing, but the next day he cast off the mask and attempted to capture a town. He was soon driven out by Nicaraguan troops, and escaped in a schooner. He soon reappeared with a stronger force (September, 1855) when the country was in a state of revolution, and pushed his scheme of conquest so vigorously that he seized the capital of the state (Grenada), in October, and placed one of his followers (a Nicaraguan) in the presidential chair. He also strengthened his power by armed "emigrants" who came from the slave-labor States. The other governments on the isthmus were alarmed for their own safety, and in the winter of 1856 they formed an alliance for expelling the invaders. Troops from Costa Rica marched into Nicaragua, but were soon driven out by Walker's forces. So firm was his grasp that he caused himself to be elected President of Nicaragua; and the government at Washington hastened to acknowledge the new "nation," by cordially receiving Walker's ambassador in the person of a Roman Catholic priest named Vigil. For two years this usurper ruled that state with a high hand, and offended commercial nations by his interference with trade. At length the combined powers on the isthmus crushed him. In May, 1857, he was compelled to surrender the remnant of his army, but escaped himself through the interposition of Commodore Davis of our navy. Late in the same year he reappeared in Central America, when he was seized, with his followers, by Commodore Paulding, and sent to New York as an offender against neutrality laws. The President (Buchanan) *privately* commended Paulding for his action, but for "prudential reasons," as he said, he publicly condemned the commander in a message to Congress, for "thus violating the sovereignty of a foreign country." Walker was

allowed to go free, when he fitted out another expedition and sailed from Mobile. He was arrested only for leaving port without a clearance, and was tried and acquitted by the supreme court at New Orleans. Then he went again to Nicaragua, where he made much mischief, and was finally captured and shot at Truxillo.

Settlers in the Territories of Oregon and Washington, on the Pacific coast, had trouble with the Indians there in 1855, who went out in parties to plunder and murder. General Wool, then stationed at San Francisco, went up to Portland, in Oregon, to arrange a campaign against them. The savages were so well organized in both Territories that, at one time, it appeared as if the white settlers would be compelled to abandon the country. The Indians were subdued in 1856, but for a long time restlessness appeared among the tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. It was generally believed that they were incited to hostilities by the employés of the Hudson's Bay Company, in British Columbia. At the same time the friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States were somewhat disturbed by the enlistment, in our country, of recruits for the British army, then operating against Russia in the Crimean Peninsula. This violation of neutrality laws had been done with the sanction of British officials here, among whom was the British minister at Washington. The minister and the British consuls at New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati, were dismissed by our government. There was much irritation felt by the British cabinet for some time; but as our government was clearly in the right, a new minister and new consuls were soon sent hither.

Our country, at this juncture, was approaching that great crisis which appeared in the dreadful aspect of civil war—a tremendous conflict between Freedom and Slavery for supremacy in the republic. With the enactment and enforcement of the Fugitive-Slave Law and the virtual repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act, in the case of Kansas and Nebraska, the important question was forced upon the attention of the whole people of the land, "Shall the domain of our republic be the theatre of all free or all slave labor, with the corresponding civilization of each as a consequence?" The time had come when one or the other of these social systems must prevail in all parts of the land. Part free and part slave was a condition no longer to be tolerated, for it meant perpetual war. The supporters of the slave-system, encouraged by their recent triumphs, had full faith in their ability to win other and more decisive victories, and did not permit themselves to doubt their ultimate possession of the field, so they sounded the trumpet for their hosts to rally and prepare for the struggle. Kansas was the chosen field for the preliminary skinnishing. It lay nearest to the settled States;

it was bordered on the east by a slave-labor State, and it was easy of access from the South. On the surface of society they saw only insignificant ripples of opposition. They began to colonize the Territory; and, flushed with what seemed to be well-assured success, they cast down the gauntlet of defiance at the feet of the friends of free-labor in the nation.

That gauntlet was quickly taken up by their opponents, and champions of freedom seemed to spring from the ground like the harvest from the seed-sowing of dragons' teeth. Enterprising men and women swarmed out of New England to people the virgin soil of Kansas with the hardy children of toil. They were joined by those of other free-labor States in the North and West. The then dominant party in the Union were astonished at the sudden uprising, and clearly perceived that the opponents of slavery would speedily outvote its supporters. Combinations were formed under various names, such as "Blue Lodges," "Friends' Society," "Social Band," "Sons of the South," etc., to counteract the efforts of the "Emigrant Aid Society" of Massachusetts, to gain numerical supremacy in Kansas—a society which had been organized immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The supporters of slavery, conscious that their votes could not secure supremacy in Kansas, where the question of slavery or no slavery was to be decided at the ballot-box, organized physical force in Missouri to oppose this moral force. Associations were formed in Missouri, whose members were pledged to be ready, at all times, to assist, when called upon by the friends of slavery in Kansas, in removing from that Territory by force every person who should attempt to settle there "under the auspices of the Northern Emigrant Aid Society."

In the autumn of 1854, A. H. Reeder was sent to govern the Territory of Kansas. He immediately ordered an election of a Territorial legislature, and with that election the struggle for supremacy there was finally begun. Missourians went into Kansas to assist the supporters of slavery there in carrying the election. They went with tents, artillery and other weapons. There were then eight hundred and thirty-one legal voters in the Territory, but there were more than six thousand votes polled. The members of the Legislature were all supporters of slavery; and when they met at Shawnee, on the borders of Missouri, they proceeded to enact laws for upholding slavery in Kansas. These laws were regularly vetoed by Governor Reeder, who became so obnoxious that President Pierce was asked to recall him. The President did so, and sent Wilson Shannon of Ohio, who was an avowed supporter of slavery, to fill Reeder's place.

The actual settlers in Kansas, who were chiefly from the free-labor States, met in mass convention in September, 1855, and resolved not to recognize

the laws passed by the illegally elected legislature, as binding upon them. They called a delegate convention to assemble at Topeka on the 19th of October, at which time and place the convention framed a State constitution which was approved by the legal voters of the Territory, and which contained an article making provision for constituting Kansas a free-labor State. Under this constitution they asked Congress to admit that Territory into the Union as a State. By this action the contest between Freedom and Slavery was transferred from Kansas to Washington, for awhile. The prospect of success for the opponents of slavery, in Kansas, was beginning to appear bright, when President Pierce gave the supporters of the institution much comfort by a message to Congress in January, 1856, in which he declared the action of the legal voters, in adopting a State constitution, to be open rebellion.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1856, armed men from other States roamed over Kansas, committing many excesses under pretext of compelling obedience to the laws of the illegal legislature. There was much violence and bloodshed; but during the autumn, the Presidential election absorbed so much of the public attention, that Kansas was allowed a season of rest. At that election there were three parties in the field, each of which had a candidate for the Presidency. One was a party composed of men of all political creeds, who were opposed to slavery. It was called the Republican party, and it assumed powerful proportions at the outset. Another powerful political organization was known as the American or Know-Nothing party, whose chief bond of union was opposition to foreign influence and Roman Catholicism. The Democratic party, dating its organization at the period of the election of President Jackson in 1828, was then the dominant party in the Union. The Democratic candidate for the Presidency was James Buchanan of Pennsylvania; of the Republican party, John C. Fremont of California, and of the American party, Ex-President Fillmore. After an exciting canvass, James Buchanan was elected President, with John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, as Vice-President.

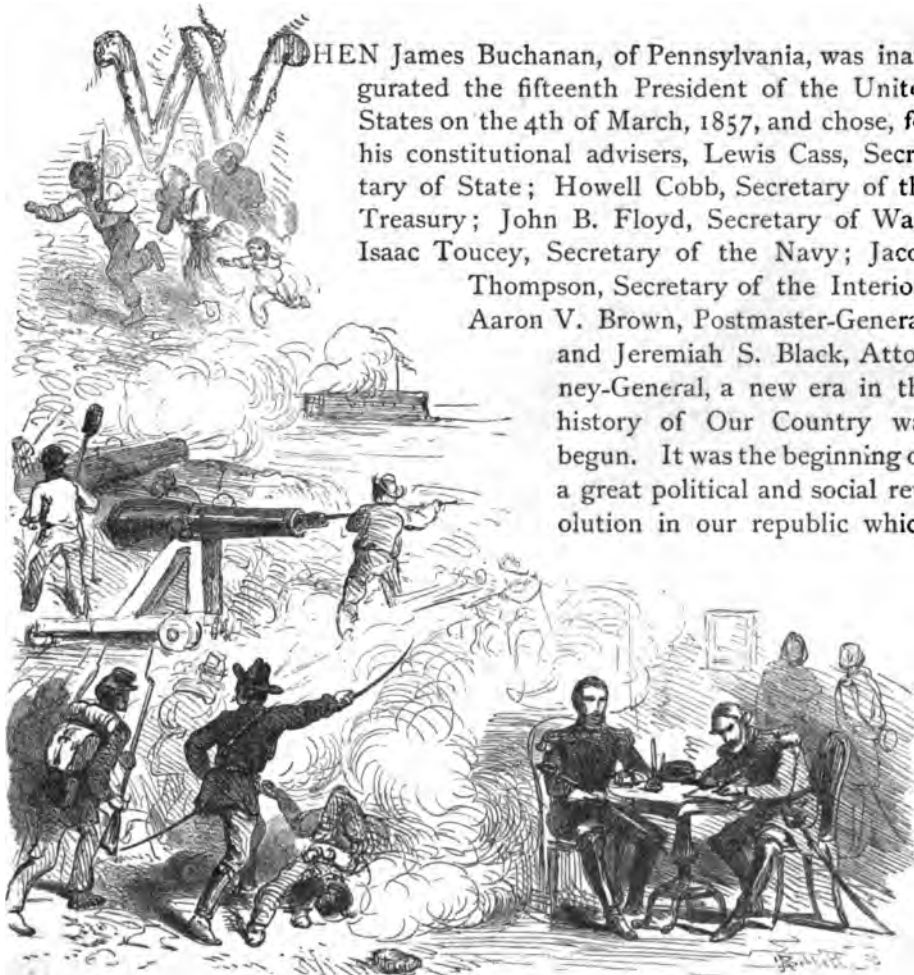
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BOOK VI.

THE CIVIL WAR;
OR,
THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.
FROM 1856 TO 1876.

CHAPTER I.

A NEW ERA—SKIRMISHES BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR—THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY—THE DRED SCOTT DECISION—ACTION OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES—EARLY EFFORTS TO RESTRICT SLAVERY—SLAVES IN ENGLAND—THE STATUS OF SLAVERY HERE—PRESIDENT BUCHANAN'S COURSE FORESHADOWED—CIVIL WAR IN KANSAS AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT THERE—LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION ADOPTED AND REJECTED—ADMISSION OF KANSAS AS A STATE—A JUDICIAL DECISION PRACTICALLY REVERSED—REOPENING OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE AND ACTION CONCERNING IT—WORKING OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW—ACTION OF STATE LEGISLATURES—TROUBLES WITH THE MORMONS.



WHEN James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was inaugurated the fifteenth President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1857, and chose, for his constitutional advisers, Lewis Cass, Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury; John B. Floyd, Secretary of War; Isaac Toucey, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior; Aaron V. Brown, Postmaster-General, and Jeremiah S. Black, Attorney-General, a new era in the history of Our Country was begun. It was the beginning of a great political and social revolution in our republic which

entirely and permanently changed the industrial aspects in many of the States of the Union.

It was during the administration of Mr. Buchanan that the preliminary skirmishes, moral and physical, which immediately preceded the late Civil War, occurred. Both parties were then putting on their armor and preparing their weapons for the mighty struggle. The political organization by which the new President had been elected had, for some time, coalesced with the friends and supporters of the slave-labor system in their

efforts not only to extend the public domain so as to allow the almost indefinite expansion of their cherished institution, but to make it national. That coalition and sympathy were manifested in various ways. The two wings of the Democratic party (one of them leaning toward an anti-slavery policy and called the "Free-Soil Democracy") had been reconciled, and worked together in the national convention at Cincinnati in June, 1856, which nominated Mr. Buchanan for the Presidency. In their resolutions, put forth as a platform of principles, they approved the invasion and usurpation of Walker, in Nicaragua, as efforts of the people of Central America "to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the inter-oceanic isthmus." They approved



JAMES BUCHANAN.

the doctrine of the "Ostend Manifesto," by resolving that "the Democratic party were in favor of the acquisition of Cuba," and Mr. Buchanan was chosen to be their standard-bearer because of his known sympathy with these movements for the extension of the area and perpetuation of the slave system. Senator A. G. Brown, of Mississippi, one of the committee appointed to call upon Mr. Buchanan and officially inform him of his nomination, wrote to a friend, saying: "In my judgment, Mr. Buchanan is as worthy of Southern confidence and Southern votes as ever Mr. Calhoun was."

One of the most vitally important skirmishes before the Civil War

actually began occurred at about the time of Mr. Buchanan's accession to the Presidency of the Republic. It was of a moral and not of a physical nature, and is known in our judicial history as "the Dred Scott case."

Dred Scott was a young negro slave of Dr. Emerson, a surgeon in the United States Army, living in Missouri. When the latter was ordered to Rock Island, in Illinois, in 1834, he took Scott with him. There Major Taliaferro, of the army, had a feminine slave, and when the two masters were transferred to Fort Snelling (now in Minnesota) next year, the two slaves were married with the consent of the masters. They had two children born in the free-labor Territory; and the mother had been bought by Dr. Emerson, who finally took parents and children back to Missouri, and there sold them to a New Yorker. Dred sued for his freedom, on the plea of his involuntary residence in a free-labor State and Territory for several years, and the Circuit Court of St. Louis decided in his favor. The Supreme Court of Missouri reversed the decision of the inferior court, and it was carried, by an appeal, to the Supreme Court of the United States, then presided over by Roger B. Taney, a Maryland slaveholder. A majority of that court were in sympathy with the friends of the slave-labor system, and their decision, about to be given in 1856, was, for prudential reasons, withheld until after the Presidential election that year. When it was known that Buchanan was elected, the decision was made against Scott, but it was not promulgated until after the inauguration of the new President of the Republic. The decision, through the Chief Justice, declared that any person "whose ancestors were imported into this country and held as slaves" had no right to sue in any court of the United States; in other words, denying any right of citizenship to a person who had been a slave or was the descendant of a slave.

The only legitimate business of the court was to decide the question of jurisdiction in the case; but the Chief Justice, with the sanction of a majority of the court, further declared that the framers and supporters of the Declaration of Independence did not include the negro race in our country in the great proclamation that "*all* men are created equal;" that the patriots of the Revolution, and their progenitors "for more than a century before," regarded the negroes as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that *they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect*, and that the negro might lawfully be reduced to slavery for his (the white man's) benefit. The Chief Justice further declared that they were never spoken of except as property; and that in the days of our fathers, even emancipated blacks "were identified in the public mind with the race

to which they belonged, and *regarded as a part of the slave population rather than the free.*"

How much at variance with the plain teachings of history were these statements, let our public records testify. In the English-American colonies, the most enlightened men looked on slavery with great disfavor, as a moral wrong, and they made attempts, from time to time, to limit or eradicate it. The utterances and writings of men like General Washington, Henry Laurens, Thomas Jefferson, and other slaveholders, and of Dr. Franklin, John Jay, and many leading patriots of the Revolution, directly refute the assertion of Judge Taney, that in their time Africans by descent were "never thought or spoken of except as property." The Declaration of Independence, framed by a slaveholder, was a solemn protest against human bondage in *every* form; and in his original draft of that document, Mr. Jefferson made the protest stronger than the Congress finally approved.

Among the public acts of the fathers of the Republic in favor of human freedom and restriction of the slave-system, was the famous Ordinance of 1787 (see page 1114), adopted before the National Constitution was framed, which was the final result of an effort commenced in the Continental Congress in 1784 to restrict slavery. That effort was made in proposing a plan for the government of a Territory including the whole region west of the old thirteen States, as far south as the thirty-first degree of north latitude, and embracing several of the late slave-labor States. The plan was submitted by a committee, of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman. It contemplated the ultimate division of that Territory into seventeen States, eight of them below the latitude of the present city of Louisville, in Kentucky. Among the rules for the government of that region, reported by Mr. Jefferson, was the following: "That after the year 1800 of the Christian Era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been convicted to be personally guilty." On motion of Carolinians, this clause was stricken out. A majority of the States were in favor of it, but as it required the votes of nine States to carry a proposition, it was not adopted. This rule, omitting the words "after the year 1800 of the Christian Era," was incorporated in the Ordinance of 1787, above alluded to, and so secured freedom to the territory northward of the Ohio River.

The mother-country, from which a larger portion of the patriots of our Revolution had sprung, had just swept slavery from the dominions of Great Britain when the old war for independence was a-kindling. It was done by a decision of Chief Justice Mansfield in the case of James Somerset, a native of Africa, who was first carried to Virginia and sold as a slave, then

taken to England by his master, and there induced, by philanthropic men, to assert his freedom. Chief Justice Mansfield decided that he was a free man.

So early as 1597, it was held by the lawyers in England, that "negroes being usually bought and sold among merchants as merchandise, and also being infidels, there might be a property in them sufficient to maintain trover," or the gaining possession of any goods by whatever means. This position was overruled by Chief Justice Holt, who decided that "so soon as a negro lands in England, he is free." It was to this decision that Cowper alluded in his lines:

"Slaves cannot breathe in England ;
That moment they are free they touch our country,
And their shackles fall."

In 1702, Justice Holt also decided that "there is no such thing as a slave by the laws of England ;" but in 1729, an opinion was obtained from the crown-lawyer, that negroes legally enslaved elsewhere might be held as slaves in England, and that baptism was no bar to the master's claim. This was a sort of fugitive slave-law for the benefit of the English-American colonists, that was obeyed until the sweeping decision of Chief Justice Mansfield, which would have abolished slavery here had not the Revolution broken out soon afterward.

After Chief Justice Taney had made his declaration about the feelings of our forefathers concerning the negro as a man, he declared that the Missouri Compromise Act and all other acts for the restriction of slavery were unconstitutional; and that neither Congress nor local legislatures had any authority for restricting the spread of the institution all over the Union. The majority of the Supreme Court sustained not only the legitimate decision, but the extra-judicial opinion of the Chief Justice; and the dominant party who had elected Mr. Buchanan assumed that the decision was final—that slavery was a national institution having the right to exist anywhere in the Union, and that Mr. Toombs might legally "call the roll of his slaves on Bunker's Hill." It was assumed by the leaders of that party that, in consequence of the promulgated opinion of five or six fallible men, evidently based upon a perversion of historical facts, the nation was bound to consent to the turning back of the bright tide of Christian civilization into the darker channels of a barbarous age from which it had escaped. To this proposition the conscience of the nation refused acquiescence. Large numbers of the dominant party deserted their leaders, and every lover of freedom was impelled to prepare for the inevitable conflict which this extra-judicial opinion of the

highest court in the land would certainly arouse. It being extra-judicial, it was no more binding, in law, upon the people, than was the opinion of any citizen of the Republic.

The new President had been informed of this decision before it was promulgated, and in his inaugural address he foreshadowed his own course in the treatment of the subject. Indeed, that decision was a chief topic of the discourse. He spoke of the measure as one that would "speedily and finally" settle the slavery question, and he announced his intention to cheerfully submit to it, declaring that the question was wholly a judicial one, which only the Supreme Court of the Republic could settle, and that by its decision the admission or rejection of slavery in any Territory was to be determined by the legal votes of the people thereof. "The whole territorial question," he said, "was thus settled upon the principle of popular sovereignty—a principle as ancient as free government itself." He averred that "everything of a practical nature" had been settled, and he expressed a sincere hope that the long agitation of the subject of slavery was "approaching its end."

Alas! it was only the beginning of the dreadful scenes that marked its end. That decision and opinion of the Chief Justice rekindled the fire spoken of by the Georgian in debate in Congress on the admission of Missouri (see page 1324), which, he said, "all the waters of the ocean would not put out, and which only seas of blood could extinguish."

As we have observed, there was actual civil war in Kansas in the earlier portions of 1856. It assumed alarming aspects during the spring and summer of that year, as we have noticed. The actual settlers from free-labor States outnumbered emigrants from elsewhere; and a regiment of young men from Georgia and South Carolina, under Colonel Buford, fully armed, went into the Territory for the avowed purpose of making it a slave-labor State "at all hazards." They were joined by armed Missourians, and for several months they spread terror over the land. They sacked the town of Lawrence, and murdered and plundered individuals in various places. Steamboats ascending the Missouri River with emigrants from free-labor States were stopped, and the passengers were frequently robbed of their money; and persons of the same class, crossing the State of Missouri, were arrested and turned back. Lawlessness reigned supreme in all that region. Justice was bound, and there was general defiance of all mandates of right.

The civil war in Kansas, so begun, was more wasteful than bloody, and there was only one battle with any semblance of regularity fought there. That conflict took place on an open prairie. It was waged between twenty-eight emigrants, led by John Brown, of Ossawatimie, and fifty-six armed

men under H. Clay Pate, of Virginia. Brown was the victor. Finally, John W. Geary, afterward a major-general, and Governor of Pennsylvania, who succeeded Shannon as chief magistrate of Kansas, by judicious administration of affairs there, smothered the flames of civil war, and both parties worked vigorously with moral forces for the admission of Kansas as a State of the Union, but with ends in view diametrically opposed.

In September, 1857, the friends of the slave-system met in convention at Lecompton, on the Kansas River, and then the Territorial capital, and adopted a State Constitution, in which it was declared that "the rights of property in slaves now in the Territory shall in no manner be interfered with," and it forbade any amendment of the instrument until 1864. It was submitted to the votes of the people in December following, but by the terms of the election law then in force, no person could vote *against* the Constitution. The ballots were endorsed: "For the Constitution *with* slavery" and "For the Constitution *without* slavery." In either case, a constitution that would foster and protect slavery would be voted for. The consequence was that a large portion of the friends of the free-labor system refused to vote, and the Lecompton Constitution was adopted by a very large majority.

R. J. Walker, of Mississippi, had now succeeded Governor Geary, and when an election for a new Territorial Legislature occurred, he assured the people that justice should prevail. Encouraged by these assurances of an honest man, the friends of free-labor generally voted, and the law-makers then elected were composed chiefly of their political friends. They also elected their candidate for Congress. That Legislature ordered the Lecompton Constitution to be submitted to the people of Kansas for their adoption or rejection, and it was rejected by at least ten thousand majority. The President of the Republic, regardless of this expressed will of the people of Kansas, sent the rejected Constitution into Congress, with a message recommending its ratification. "It has been solemnly adjudged by the highest tribunal known to our laws," said President Buchanan, "that slavery exists in Kansas by virtue of the Constitution of the United States. Kansas is, therefore, at this moment as much a slave State as Georgia or South Carolina." Congress did not ratify it, but ordered it to be again submitted to the people of Kansas, when they rejected it by an overwhelming majority. From that hour the controlling political power in Kansas was wielded by the free-labor party. Their strength steadily increased, and at near the close of January, 1861, just as the great Civil War was a-kindling, that Territory was admitted into the Union as a free-labor State. The Republic was now composed of thirty-four States and several Territories. Six years after the

decision of Judge Taney and the majority of the Supreme Court, which declared that it was impossible for a black man to become a citizen, that decision was practically set aside by the issuing of a passport by the Secretary of State, William H. Seward, to the descendant of a slave to travel abroad as a "citizen of the United States."

While the struggle for freedom was going on in Kansas, the friends of the slave-labor system, emboldened by the sympathy of the general government, formed plans for its perpetuity. These plans would practically disregard the plain requirements of the National Constitution and the laws made under it. They resolved to reopen the African slave-trade, which had been closed in 1808 by a provision of the Constitution. Leading citizens of Louisiana prepared to engage in it, under the guise of the "African Labor-Supply Association," and captives, as of old, were actually brought across the sea, landed on the shores of the Southern States, and sold into perpetual bondage. Newspapers in the slave-labor States openly defended the measure, and the pulpit uttered its approval.

The President of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina, Dr. James H. Thornwell, who died at the beginning of the late Civil War, declared that it was his conviction that "the African slave-trade was the most worthy of all missionary societies." The "Southern Commercial Convention," held at Vicksburg in May, 1859, resolved that "all laws, State or Federal, prohibiting the African slave-trade, ought to be abolished." A grand jury in Savannah, who were compelled by law to indict several persons charged with complicity in the slave-trade, actually protested against the laws they were sworn to support, saying: "We feel humbled as men in the consciousness that we are freemen but in name, and that we are living, during the existence of such laws, under a tyranny as supreme as that of the despotic governments of the Old World. Heretofore the people of the South, firm in their consciousness of right and strength, have failed to place the stamp of condemnation upon such laws as reflect upon the institution of slavery, but have permitted, unrebuked, the influence of foreign opinion to prevail in their support." A Mississippi newspaper, the *True Southron*, in its earnestness for the cause, suggested the "propriety of stimulating the zeal of the pulpit by founding a prize for the best sermon in favor of free-trade in negroes," and the proposition was widely copied, with approval; while in many pulpits "zeal" was exhibited in the service of the slaveholders without the stimulus of an offered prize. And in the United States Senate, John Slidell, of Louisiana, one of the most effective civil leaders among the late Confederates, urged the propriety of withdrawing American cruisers from the coast of Africa, that the slave-traders there

might not be molested; and President Buchanan's administration, inspired by men like Slidell, was made to serve the plans of the supporters of the slave-labor system, by protesting against the visitation, by British cruisers, of vessels bearing the American flag, on suspicion that they were "slavers." These visitations were made in accordance with a positive agreement between the two governments, that under such circumstances, visits should be made freely by either party.

This arrangement had been made for the purpose of more effectually suppressing the slave-trade then about to be opened by the "African Labor-Supply Association;" and in the summer of 1858, the British cruisers in the Gulf of Mexico were unusually vigilant. In the course of a few weeks they boarded about forty suspected American vessels. It was this activity which promised to be an effectual bar to the reviving trade in slaves, that gave a pretext for the President to enter his protest. There was a cry raised against the "odious British doctrine of the right of search," and the British government, for "prudential reasons," put a stop to it. In this case it was only "the end" that "justified the means."

The Fugitive Slave-Law now began to bear bitter fruit, and it soon became one of the most prolific causes of the continually increasing controversies between the upholders and opposers of the slave-labor system. It was made more offensive by the evident intention of the friends of the institution everywhere to *nationalize* slavery; and the perversion of the obvious meaning of the vital doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, by the judicial branch of the government, while the executive branch was ready to lend his tremendous power in giving practical effect to the system, awakened in the breasts of the people of the free-labor States a burning desire to wipe the stain of human bondage from the escutcheon of the Republic. Seizures under the Fugitive-Slave Law were becoming more and more frequent, with circumstances of increasing injustice and cruelty. The business of arresting, and remanding to hopeless slavery, men, women, and children, was carried on all over the free-labor States, and the people stood appalled. By that dreadful law, every man was compelled to become a slave-hunter, under certain conditions; and every kind-hearted woman who might give a cup of cold water or the shelter of a roof to a suffering sister fleeing from intolerable bondage, incurred the penalty of a felony!

This law became a broad cover under which the kidnapping of free persons of color was extensively carried on; and scores of men, women, and children, born free, were dragged from their homes and consigned to hopeless bondage. Our public legal records are stained with the revolting details of the workings of the law; and the newspapers of the day contained

accounts of many stirring events connected with the execution of it. The following facts will suffice as an illustration :

On a cold day in January, 1856, two slaves, with their wives and four children, all thinly clad, escaped from Kentucky into Ohio. They crossed the frozen river to Cincinnati, closely pursued by the master of three of them, on horseback. In Cincinnati, they were harbored by a colored man. Their retreat was discovered by the pursuing master, who repaired to the house with the United States marshal and his assistants, and demanded their surrender. They refused ; and after a desperate struggle, the door was



OPERATIONS OF THE FUGITIVE-SLAVE LAW.

broken open and the fugitives were secured. They had resolved to die rather than be taken back into slavery. The mother of the three children, in despair, tried first to kill her offspring, and then herself. When she was seized, she had already slain one of her children with a knife—a beautiful little girl, nearly white in complexion—and had severely wounded the other two. A coroner's jury was called, who decided that the frantic mother had killed her child, and it was proposed to hold her for trial under the laws of Ohio. But it was discovered that the Fugitive-Slave Law had been made so absolute by the terms of its enactment and the opinion of the Chief Justice of the United States, that a State law could not interfere with it ; so

the mother and her surviving companions were remanded into slavery. They were taken across the Ohio River, and all traces of them were lost.

When the hideous character of the Fugitive-Slave Law, in all its aspects, became fully manifest, the public conscience was aroused to action, and righteous men and women all over the slave-labor States, shocked by a spectacle that disgraced a free people pretending to be civilized, protested as loudly as they dared; and the legislatures of several of the free-labor States adopted measures for relieving their citizens from the penalties imposed upon those who should refuse to become slave-catchers.

By the terms of the Fugitive-Slave Law, the sacred right of trial by jury was denied to the man who was alleged to be a slave, and he had no redress. This was logical, for the Chief Justice of the United States had declared that the black man "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." He had also declared that no State law could interfere with the operations of the Fugitive-Slave Act, or with slavery itself. This opinion was directly adverse to the letter and spirit of a statute in the code of the State of New York, which declared the immediate freedom of any slave when brought involuntarily within its borders. The Legislature of that State determined to sustain that statute, and boldly denounced the opinion of the Chief Justice, which denied citizenship to men of color who had descended from slaves. Ohio took similar action, and Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Michigan, and Wisconsin took strong ground in favor of the freedom of the slaves within their borders, without assuming an attitude of actual resistance to the obnoxious act which every citizen was bound to obey so long as it remained unrepealed.

This movement in the Northern States naturally exasperated the slaveholders, and it was used by the politicians among them to create hot indignation in the hearts of the people in the slave-labor States. This, according to the testimony of a personal friend of the author of the Fugitive-Slave Act (James M. Mason, of Virginia,) was precisely what the peculiarly offensive features of that act were intended to effect. It was calculated that it would finally cause resistance to the measure on the part of the people of the free-labor States, and so give a plausible pretext for disunion, rebellion, and civil war, if necessary, on the part of the friends of the slave-labor system. This testimony was given to me orally, while standing among the ruins of Mr. Mason's house at Winchester, in 1866.

The public mind was diverted from the absorbing topic of slavery for awhile by trouble with the Mormons in the Territory of Utah. Early in 1857, these people, incensed because their Territory was not admitted into the Union as a State, commenced revolutionary proceedings. Under the

✓ instructions of Brigham Young, the successor of Joseph Smith, and their spiritual head and appointed governor, they destroyed the records of the United States Court in their district. They also resolved to set up an independent government, and looked to Young for all laws, in defiance of those of the United States. President Buchanan resolved to enforce the latter, and depriving Young of the office of governor of the Territory, he put Colonel Alfred Cumming, a superintendent of Indian affairs on the Upper Mississippi, in his place. He also appointed Judge Eckles chief justice of the Territory, and sent twenty-five hundred armed men, with experienced officers, to protect them in the discharge of their duties. Young at first determined to resist the National Government. He issued a proclamation denouncing the army as a mob, forbidding it to enter the Territory, and calling the people of Utah to arms to repel its advance. When it entered the Territory early in the autumn, it was assailed by mounted Mormons, who destroyed several supply trains and seized eight hundred of the oxen at the rear of the army. The little force, thus crippled, and caught among the snows in the mountains, went into winter quarters. Colonel A. Sidney Johnston was in command of them; and Governor Cumming proclaimed the Territory of Utah to be in a state of rebellion. Finally, in the spring of 1858, a pacification took place. The President offered pardon to all Mormons who should submit to the national authority, and Brigham Young, evidently believing discretion to be the better part of valor, received the new governor courteously, but resolved to leave the country with his people rather than submit to "Gentile" rule. But he and they are there yet, and have been asking for admission into the Union as a State, but without success. Their last application was made in 1862, when they had formed a State constitution, and elected senators and representatives under it. Instead of acting upon the application, Congress passed a law "to punish and prevent the practice of polygamy in the Territories of the United States" and in other places, and disapproving and annulling certain acts of the Legislature of Utah. The law against polygamy has remained a dead letter; but circumstances have recently occurred which will doubtless cause the speedy destruction of polygamous Mormonism, and so remove from our country a foul moral stain.



CHAPTER II.

PUBLIC QUIET BROKEN BY JOHN BROWN'S RAID—INCIDENTS OF THAT RAID AND ITS EFFECTS—THE REPUBLICAN PARTY—A PRETEXT FOR REVOLUTION—CONVENTION OF DEMOCRATS AT CHARLESTON—DISRUPTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY—INCIDENTS OF THE PLAN—NOMINATIONS FOR PRESIDENT—PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTIES—LINCOLN ELECTED—ACTION OF THE SOUTHERN POLITICIANS—YANCEY'S MISSION—FATAL POWER OF THE POLITICIANS.

IN the fall of 1859, the feverishness in the public mind, excited by the vehement discussion of the topic of slavery, had somewhat subsided; the Mormons were quiet; difficulties which had occurred between our Government and that of Paraguay, in South America, had been settled; troubles with the Indians on the Pacific coast were drawing to a close, and the filibustering operations of Walker in Nicaragua were losing much of their interest. The summer had passed away in public quietude, and the topics of a Pacific Railway, Homestead and Soldiers' Pension bills, and other measures for the promotion of peace and national prosperity, were engaging the attention of the people. The equinoctial gales had swept over the land and sea, when suddenly a rumor went out of Baltimore, as startling as a thunder peal on the genial October air, that the Abolitionists had seized the Government Armory and Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, at the junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers, and that an insurrection of the slaves in Virginia was imminent. ✓

The rumor was true. John Brown, of Ossawatamie, who had fought and won a battle on the Kansas prairie in 1856, had struck a blow at slavery, on Sunday evening, the 16th of October. Brown was a native of Connecticut, in the sixtieth year of his age, and had espoused the cause of the Abolitionists (as the opponents of the slave-labor system, who wished to abolish it, were called) in early life. He was enthusiastic, fanatical, and brave. He had been active in the midst of the troubles in Kansas, and had suffered much; and he believed himself to be the destined liberator of the slaves in our Republic. With a few white followers and twelve slaves from Missouri, he went into Canada West, and at Chatham a convention of sympathizers was held in May, 1859, whereat a "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" was adopted, not, as the instrument

declared, "for the overthrow of any government, but simply to amend and repeal." This was part of a scheme for promoting the uprising of the slaves for obtaining their freedom.

Brown spent the summer of 1859 in preparation for his work. He hired a farm a few miles from Harper's Ferry, where he was known by the name of "Smith." There, one by one, a few followers congregated stealthily;



• JOHN BROWN AT HARPER'S FERRY.

and pikes and other weapons were gathered, and ammunition was provided, with the intention of striking the first blow in Virginia, and arming the insurgent slaves. Under cover of profound darkness, Brown, at the head of seventeen white men and five negroes, entered the village of Harper's Ferry on that fatal Sunday night, put out the street lights, seized the Armory and the railway bridge, and quietly arrested and imprisoned in the Government buildings the citizens found here and there in the streets at the earliest

hours of the next morning, each one ignorant of what had happened. The invaders had seized Colonel Washington, living a few miles from Harper's Ferry, with his arms and horses, and liberated his slaves; and at eight o'clock on Monday morning, the 17th of October, Brown and his few followers (among whom were two of his sons) had full possession of the village and Government works. When asked what was his purpose and by what authority he acted, Brown replied, "To free the slaves, and by the authority of God Almighty." He felt assured that when the blow should be struck, the negroes of the surrounding country would rise and flock to his standard. He sincerely believed that a general uprising of the slaves of the whole country would follow, and that he would win the satisfaction and the honors of a great liberator. He was mistaken.

The news of this alarming affair went speedily abroad, and before Monday night Virginia militia had gathered at Harper's Ferry in large numbers. Struggles between these and Brown's little company ensued, in which the two sons of the leader perished. The invaders were finally driven to the shelter of a fire-engine house, where Brown defended himself with great bravery. With one son dead by his side, and another shot through, he felt the pulse of his dying child with one hand, held his rifle with the other, and issued oral commands to his men with all the composure of a general in his marquee, telling them to be firm and to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

On Monday evening, Colonel Robert E. Lee arrived at Harper's Ferry, with ninety United States marines and two pieces of artillery. The doors of the engine-house were forced open, and Brown and his followers were captured. He was speedily indicted for murder and treason; was found guilty, and on the 3d of December (1859) he was hanged at Charlestown, not far from the scene of his exploits. The most exaggerated reports of this raid went over the land. Terror spread throughout Virginia. Its governor (Henry A. Wise) was excited almost to madness, and declared that he was ready to make war on all the free-labor States. In a letter to President Buchanan, written on the 25th of November, he declared that he had authority for believing that a conspiracy to rescue John Brown existed in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and other States.

Brown was suspected of being an emissary of the Abolitionists, and attempts were made to implicate leaders of the Republican party and the inhabitants of the free-labor States generally in a scheme for liberating the slaves. A committee of the United States Senate, with the author of the Fugitive-Slave Law (James M. Mason) at its head, was appointed to investigate the subject. The result was positive proof that Brown had no accomplices and only about twenty-five followers.

John Brown's attempt to free the slaves was a crazy one in itself, and utterly failed, but it led to events that very soon brought about the result he so much desired. His bitterest enemies acknowledged that he was sincere, and a real hero, and he became, in a manner, the instrument of deliverance of millions from bondage. His effort aroused the slumbering party spirit of the combatants for and against slavery to great activity, and at the beginning of 1860, a remarkable and growing strength of the Republican party was everywhere manifested. Its central idea of universal freedom attracted powerful and influential men from all other political parties, for it bore a standard around which persons differing in other things might gather in perfect accord. The elections held in 1858 and 1859 satisfied the opponents of this party that they were rapidly passing to the position of a hopeless minority, and that the domination in the National Councils which the friends of the slave-system had so long enjoyed would speedily come to an end.

The sagacious leaders of the pro-slavery party in the South, who had been for years forming plans and preparing a way for a dissolution of the Union, so as to establish the great slave-empire of their dreams within the Golden Circle (to be noticed presently), believed that they would not be able to elect another President of their choice, and that the time had come for the execution of their destructive scheme. A pretext more plausible than that of the violations of the Fugitive-Slave Act at the North afforded them, must be had, for that act had become too odious in the estimation of righteous men and women in all parts of the Union to inspire them with a desire for its maintenance. No such pretext existed, and the politicians in the slave-labor States deliberately prepared to create one, which, they knew, would be powerful. At that time they were in full alliance with the Democratic party of the North, which was then in power. If it should remain a unit and the fraternal relations with the Southern wing of the party should continue undisturbed, there might be a chance for the supremacy of the coalition awhile longer. But there were omens already of a speedy dismemberment of the Democratic party, for the Fugitive-Slave Law and the attempt to nationalize slavery had produced wide-spread defection in their ranks. A large portion of that party, led by Senator Stephen A. Douglas, showed a proclivity toward independent action, and even of affiliation with the Republican party on the subject of slavery; and the hopes of the friends of that system, of the undivided support of the Northern Democracy, vanished.

In view of this impending crisis, the Southern politicians deemed it expedient to destroy absolutely all unity in the Democratic party and make it powerless, when the Republicans might elect their candidate for the Pres-

idency in the fall of 1860. Then would appear the pretext for a revolution—the election of a *sectional* President. Then the plausible war-cry might be raised—“No sectional President! No Northern domination! Down with the Abolitionists!” This would appeal to the hearts and interests of the Southern people, especially to the slave-holding class, “fire the Southern heart,” and produce, as they believed, a “solid South” in favor of breaking up the old Republic and forming an empire whose “corner-stone should be slavery.” With this end in view, leading politicians in the South, who afterward appeared conspicuous among the confederated enemies of the National Government during the Civil War, entered the Democratic National Convention assembled at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 23d of April, 1860, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the Presidency of the United States and setting forth an embodiment of political principles.

On the appointed day, almost six hundred chosen representatives of the Democratic party assembled in Convention in the hall of the South Carolina Institute, in Charleston, and chose Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, their chairman. It was evident from the first hour after the organization of the Convention that the spirit of Mischief was there enthroned; and observing ones soon discovered omens of an impending tempest which might topple from its foundations the organization known as the Democratic party.

The choice of Mr. Cushing as chairman was very satisfactory to the friends of the slave-system in the Convention. He was a statesman of great experience, and then sixty years of age; a scholar of wide and varied culture, and a sagacious observer of men. Because he had joined the Democratic party at the time of Mr. Tyler's defection; had been a conspicuous advocate of the war with Mexico and other measures for the extension and perpetuation of the system of slavery, he was regarded by the Southern men in the Convention as their fast political friend and coadjutor; but when they made war upon the unity of the Republic the next year, he gave his influence in support of the National Government.

Mr. Cushing, in his address on taking the chair in the Convention, declared it to be the mission of the Democratic party “to reconcile popular freedom with constituted order” and to maintain “the sacred reserved rights of the sovereign States.” He declared that the Republicans were “laboring to overthrow the Constitution” and “aiming to produce in this country a permanent sectional conspiracy—a traitorous sectional conspiracy—of one-half of the States of the Union against the other half; who, impelled by the stupid and half insane spirit of faction and fanaticism, would hurry our land on to revolution and to civil war.” He declared it to be the “high and noble part of the Democratic party of the Union

to withstand—to strike down and conquer—these banded enemies of the Constitution.”

These utterances were warmly applauded by the Convention, excepting by the extreme pro-slavery wing. *They* did not wish to “strike down” the Republican party. They had a more important scheme to foster. It was their wish to “strike down” the Democratic party, for the moment, by dividing it. They had come instructed to demand from the Convention a candidate and an avowal of principles which should promise a guaranty for the speedy recognition by the National Government and the people, in a practical way, of the system of slavery as a national institution. They knew that the most prominent candidate before the Convention, for the nomination, was Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, who was committed to an opposing policy, and that he and his friends would never vote for such a “platform”—such an avowal of principles. They also knew that his rejection by the representatives of the slaveholders would split the Democratic party, and they resolved to act in accordance with these convictions. They held the dissevering wedge in their own hands, and they determined to use it with effect.

A committee composed of one delegate from each State was appointed to prepare a platform of principles for the action of the Convention. A member from Massachusetts (Mr. Butler) proposed in that committee to adopt the “Cincinnati Platform” agreed to by the Convention that nominated Mr. Buchanan, and which committed the Democratic party to the doctrine of “Popular Sovereignty;” that is to say, the doctrine of the right of the people of any Territory of the Republic to decide whether slavery should or should not exist within its borders. Now was offered the opportunity for entering the dissevering wedge, and it was applied. When the vote was taken on the proposition of Mr. Butler, it was rejected by seventeen States (only two of them free-labor States) against fifteen. This was followed on the part of the majority by an offer to adopt the “Cincinnati Platform,” with additional resolutions declaring, in the spirit of Judge Taney’s opinion, that Congress nor any other legislative body had a right to interfere with slavery *anywhere*, or to impair or destroy the right of property in slaves by any legislation. This proposition virtually demanded of the Democratic party the recognition of slavery as a sacred, permanent, and national institution.

It was now clearly perceived that the politicians of the slave-labor States were united, evidently by pre-concert, in a determination to wring from the people of the free-labor States further and more revolting concessions to the greed of the pro-slavery faction for political domination. The manhood

of the minority was evoked, and they resolved that the limit of concession was reached, and that they would yield no further. That minority, composed wholly of delegates from the free-labor States, and representing a majority of the Presidential electors (172 against 127), offered to adopt the "Cincinnati Platform," and a resolution expressing a willingness to abide by any decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on questions of Constitutional law. They also offered to adopt another resolution, denouncing the laws passed by Northern legislatures in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act. Mr. Butler opposed making even these concessions to their arrogant demands. The consequence was, the committee went into the Convention with three reports—a majority and minority report, and a report from Mr. Butler.

The debate upon these reports was opened by the chairman of the majority committee (Mr. Avery of North Carolina), who assured the Convention that if the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty should be adopted as the doctrine of the Democratic party, the members of the Convention from the slave-labor States and their constituents, would consider it as dangerous and subversive of their rights, as the adoption of the principle of Congressional interference or prohibition. The debate continued until the 29th (April, 1860), and on the morning of the 30th the vote was taken in the presence of an immense audience with which the hall was packed. Mr. Butler's report was first acted upon, and rejected. Then the minority report was presented by Mr. Samuels of Iowa, and adopted by a decided majority. Preconcerted rebellion immediately lifted its head, and the delegates from Alabama, led by L. Pope Walker (afterward the Confederate Secretary of War), seceded and left the Convention. This secession was followed by delegates from the other slave-labor States, and they all reassembled at St. Andrew's Hall to prepare for an independent political organization. The disruption of the Democratic party represented in the Convention was now complete. The slavery question had split it beyond hope of restoration; an event which had been provided for, in secret, by the politicians. When D. G. Glenn, of the Mississippi delegation, announced the secession of the representatives from that State, he said: "I tell Southern members, and, for them, I tell the North, that in less than sixty days you will find a united South standing side by side with us." These utterances called forth long and vehement cheering, especially from the South Carolinians; and that night Charleston was the theatre of great rejoicings, for the leaders there comprehended the significance of the movement.

On the following day, the seceders, with James A. Bayard of Delaware at their head, organized what they called a "Constitutional Convention;"

sneered at the body they had left, as a "Rump Convention," and on the 3d of May adjourned to meet in Richmond, Virginia, in June. The regular Convention also adjourned, without making a nomination, to meet at Baltimore on the 18th of June.

The seceders reassembled in Richmond on the 11th of June. Robert Toombs and other Congressmen had issued an address from Washington city, urging the Richmond Convention to refrain from all important action there, but to adjourn to Baltimore, and there re-enter the Convention from which they had withdrawn, and, if possible, defeat the nomination of Mr. Douglas. This high-handed measure was resorted to; and when the Richmond Convention adjourned, most of the delegates hastened to Baltimore, and claimed the right to re-enter the Convention from which they had formally withdrawn. The South Carolina delegates remained in Richmond to watch the course of events and manage the scheme.

At the appointed time the regular Convention assembled at Baltimore, with Mr. Cushing in the chair. The question arose as to the right of the seceders to re-enter the Convention. Some were favorable to their admission; others proposed to admit them provided they would pledge themselves to abide by the decision of the majority. A stirring time ensued, and the matter was referred to a committee, a majority of whom reported in favor of admitting Douglas delegates from the slave-labor States in place of the seceders. In the course of a vehement debate that ensued, a slave-trader from Georgia warmly advocated the policy of reopening the African slave-trade, and his sentiments were loudly applauded. The majority report was adopted, when a large number of delegates from the border slave-labor States withdrew. This was followed the next morning (June 23, 1860) by the withdrawal of Mr. Cushing and a majority of the Massachusetts delegation. "We put our withdrawal before you," Mr. Butler said, "upon the simple ground, among others, that there has been a withdrawal, in fact, of a majority of the States; and further (and that perhaps more personal to myself) upon the ground that I will not sit in a convention where the African slave trade, which is piracy by the laws of my country, is approvingly advocated."

Vice-President Tod, of Ohio, now took Mr. Cushing's place at the head of the Convention, which proceeded to nominate Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, for President by an almost unanimous vote. Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia was afterward nominated for Vice-President. Meanwhile the seceders, young and old, had reassembled, called Mr. Cushing to the chair, denominated their body the National Democratic Convention, and proceeded to nominate John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky for President, and

Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice-President. A recent political organization calling themselves the "National Constitutional Party" had already nominated (May 9, 1860) John Bell of Tennessee for President, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice-President. A week later (May 16) a vast concourse of Republicans assembled in an immense building erected for the purpose in Chicago, and called the "Wigwam," nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois for President, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for Vice-President.

By a series of resolutions, the Republican Convention took a position in direct antagonism to the avowed principles of the friends of the slave-system and the extra-judicial opinion of Chief-Justice Taney. They declared that each State had absolute control over its own domestic affairs; that the new political dogma, averring that the National Constitution, of its own force, carried slavery into the Territories of the Republic, was a dangerous political heresy, revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country; that the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom, and that neither Congress, nor a Territorial legislature, nor any individuals have authority to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the Union; and that the reopening of the African slave-trade, then recently commenced in the Southern States, as we have seen, under cover of the National flag, was a crime against humanity, and a burning shame to our country and age.

There were now four candidates for the Presidency in the field. The Democratic party was hopelessly split in twain. The Douglas wing made no positive utterances concerning the status of slavery in the Territories; and the party led by Bell and Everett, declined to express any opinions upon any subject. Their motto was—*The Constitution of the Country, the Union of the States, and the Enforcement of the Laws*. Only the earnest and determined wing of the Democratic party led by Breckenridge, and of the



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Republican party led by Lincoln, showed a really aggressive spirit born of absolute convictions. The Southern portion of the former had resolved to nationalize slavery or destroy the Union; the latter declared that there was "an irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery," and that the Republic could not exist "half slave and half free." This was the real issue; and after one of the most exciting political campaigns ever witnessed in our country, from June until November, Mr. Lincoln was elected Chief Magistrate of the United States by a large majority over the other candidates, with Mr. Hamlin as Vice-President. An analysis of the popular vote showed that three-fourths of the whole number were given to men opposed to the extension of slavery. This significant fact notified the friends of the slave-system that the days of their political domination in the councils of the nation had ended, perhaps forever, and they acted accordingly.

Such is a brief outline history of the conspiracy of Southern politicians to divide the Democratic party; give victory to the Republican party; cause the election of a "sectional President," and so afford a plausible pretext for a premeditated attempt to dissolve the Union and destroy the Republic. Thus far their schemes had worked to their satisfaction; it now remained for them to "fire the Southern heart" and produce a "solid South" in favor of emancipation from what they were pleased to call the tyranny of a "sectional party" led by a "a sectional President." This accomplished, they would be ready to raise the arm to give the fatal blow to the existence of the Republic.

The leading men who brought upon the Southern people and those of the whole country the horrors of a four-years Civil War, with all its terrible devastation of life, property and national prosperity, were few in number, but wonderfully productive of their kind. They were then, or had been, connected with the National Government, some as legislators and others as cabinet ministers. They were not so numerous at first, said Horace Maynard, a loyal Tennessean, in a speech in Congress, "as the figures on a chess-board. There are those within reach of my voice," he said, "who also knew them, and can testify to their utter perfidy; who have been the victims of their want of principle, and whose self-respect has suffered from their insolent and overbearing demeanor. No Northern man was ever admitted to their confidence, and no Southern man unless it became necessary to keep up their numbers; and then not till he was thoroughly known by them, and known to be thoroughly corrupt. They, like a certain school of ancient philosophers, had two sets of principles or doctrines—one for outsiders and one for themselves; the one was 'Democratic principles' for the Democratic party, the other was for their own and without a name. Some

Northern men and some Southern men were, after a fashion, petted and patronized by them, as a gentleman throws from his table a bone, or a choice bit, to a favorite dog; and they imagined they were conferring a great favor thereby, which would be requited only by the abject servility of the dog. To hesitate, to doubt, to hold back, to stop, was to call down a storm of wrath that few men had the nerve to encounter, and still fewer the strength to withstand. Not only in political circles, but in social life, their rule was inexorable, their tyranny absolute. God be thanked for the brave men who had the courage to meet them and bid them defiance, first at Charleston in April, 1860, and then at Baltimore, in June! To them is due the credit of declaring war against this intolerable despotism."

During the canvass in the summer and autumn of 1860, pro-slavery politicians traversed the free-labor States and disseminated their views without hindrance. Among the most daring and outspoken of these was William L. Yancey of Alabama, who was a fair type of politicians in other Southern States who, by vehemence of manner and sophistry in argument, misled the people. He was listened to with patience by the people of the North, and was treated kindly everywhere; and when he returned to the South, he labored incessantly with tongue and pen to stir up the people to rebellion, saying in substance, as he had written two years before: "Organize committees all over the Cotton States; fire the Southern heart; instruct the Southern mind; give courage to each other; and at the proper moment, by one organized, concerted action, precipitate the Cotton States into revolution."

The "proper moment" was near at hand. Mr. Lincoln was elected by a large majority over each candidate, and was chosen in accordance with the letter and spirit of the National Constitution; yet, because he received nearly a million of votes less than did all of his opponents combined, the cry was raised by the Southern politicians, that he would be a usurper when in office because he had not received a majority of the aggregate votes of the people; that his antecedents, the principles of the Republican platform, the fanaticism of his party and his own utterances, all pledged him to wage an unrelenting warfare upon the system of slavery and rights of the slave-labor States, with all the powers of the National Government at his command. They said, in effect, to the people, through public oratory, the pulpit, and the press, "Your rights and liberties are in imminent danger—to your tents, O Israel!"

While these alarming assertions were fearfully stirring the inhabitants of the Southern States, the politicians were rejoicing because their plans were working so admirably, and they immediately set about the execution of

their long-cherished scheme for the dissolution of the Union. All active loyalty to the Government was speedily suppressed by an organized system ; and the promise of a North Carolina Senator (Clingman), that Union men should be hushed by "the swift attention of Vigilance Committees," was speedily fulfilled. In this work the Press and the Pulpit were powerful auxiliaries ; and by these accepted oracles of wisdom and truth, thousands of men and women were led into an attitude of rebellion against their government. To quiet their scruples the doctrine of "State Supremacy" had been, for a long time, vehemently preached by the politicians and their allies, and the people were made to believe that their allegiance was primarily due to their respective States, and not to the National Government. "Perhaps there never was a people," wrote a resident of a slave-labor State in the third year of the Civil War that ensued, "more bewitched, beguiled and befooled, than we were when we drifted into this rebellion."



CHAPTER III.

THE PRETEXT FOR DISUNION—TRUE REASONS—STATE-RIGHTS ASSOCIATIONS—DESIRES FOR A ROYAL GOVERNMENT AND ARISTOCRATIC PRIVILEGES—EARLY PREPARATIONS FOR DISUNION—SECRET CONFERENCES—SENTIMENTS OF VIRGINIANS—CONGRATULATORY DESPATCHES ON LINCOLN'S ELECTION—EXCITEMENT IN CHARLESTON—PUBLIC OFFICES ABDICATED—A STATE CONVENTION AUTHORIZED—SECRET DOINGS OF SECESSIONISTS—MOVEMENTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA—STATE SUPREMACY AND ITS EFFECTS—EVENTS IN GEORGIA—TOOMBS AND STEPHENS—MOVEMENTS TOWARD SECESSION IN VARIOUS STATES—SOUTHERN METHODISTS—INITIAL STEPS FOR DISUNION IN SOUTH CAROLINA—DISHONORABLE PROPOSITIONS—VIGILANCE COMMITTEES—SECESSION ASSURED.

THERE is direct evidence to prove that the politicians of South Carolina and elsewhere had been making preparations for revolt many years, and that the alleged violations of the Fugitive-Slave Act and the election of Mr. Lincoln were made only pretexts for stirring up the "common people" to support and do the fighting for them. The testimony of speakers in the Convention at Charleston that declared the secession of that State from the Union, was clear and explicit. "It is not an event of a day," said Robert Barnwell Rhett, one of the most violent declaimers of his class; "it is not anything produced by Mr. Lincoln's election, or by the non-execution of the Fugitive-Slave Law. It is a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years. . . . In regard to the Fugitive-Slave Law, I myself doubted its constitutionality, and doubted it on the floor of the Senate when I was a member of that body. The States, acting in their sovereign capacity, should be responsible for the rendition of slaves. This was our best security." Another member of the Convention (Francis S. Parker) said: "It is no spasmodic effort that has come suddenly upon us; it has been gradually culminating for a long period of thirty years." John A. Inglis, the chairman of the committee that drew up the South Carolina Ordinance of Secession, said: "Most of us have had the matter under consideration for the last twenty years." And Lawrence M. Keit, one of the most active of the younger politicians, declared: "I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life."

When President Buchanan, in his annual message in December, 1860, declared that "the long-continued and intemperate interference of the

Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States" had produced the estrangement which had led to present troubles, the assertion was claimed by the politicians in the slave-labor States to be untrue. Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, had declared in a speech in October, 1858, that the discussion of slavery at the North had been very useful to them. After speaking of the great value of slavery to the cotton States, he observed: "Such has been for us the happy results of the Abolition discussion. So far our gain has been immense from this contest, savage and

malignant as it has been. Now we have solved already the question of emancipation [from connection with the Northern States] by this re-examination and exposition of the false theories of religion, philanthropy, and political economy, which embarrassed the fathers in their days. At the North and in Europe, they cried havoc, and let loose upon us all the dogs of war. And how stands it now? Why, in this very quarter of a century, our slaves have doubled in numbers, and each slave has more than doubled in value." In July, 1859, Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, said he was not one of those who believed that the South had sustained any injury by these agitations. "So far," he said, "from the institution of African



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slavery in our section having been weakened or rendered less secure by the discussion, my deliberate judgment is that it has been greatly strengthened and fortified." Earl Russell, the British Premier, in a letter to Lord Lyons at Washington, in May, 1861, said that one of the Confederate commissioners told him that "the principal of the causes which led to secession was not slavery, but the very high price which, for the sake of protecting Northern manufactures, the South was obliged to pay for the manufactured goods which they required.

De Bow's Review was the acknowledged organ of the slave interest. In its issue for February, 1861, George Fitzhugh, a leading publicist of Virginia, commenting on the President's message, said: "It is a gross mistake to

suppose that Abolition is the cause of dissolution between the North and the South. The Cavaliers, Jacobites, and the Huguenots who settled the South, naturally hate, condemn, and despise the Puritans who settled the North. The former are master races; the latter a slave race, the descendants of the Saxon serfs." Mr. Fitzhugh added: "Our women are far in advance of our men in their zeal for disunion. They fear not war, for every one of them feels confident that when their sons or husbands are called to the field, they will have a faithful body-guard in their domestic servants. Slaves are the only body-guard to be relied on. . . . They [the women] and the clergy lead and direct the disunion movement." The *Charleston Mercury*, edited by a son of Barnwell Rhett, and the chief organ of the conspirators of South Carolina, scorning the assertion that anything so harmless as "Abolition twaddle" had caused any sectional feelings, declared, substantially, that it was an abiding consciousness of the degradation of the "chivalric Southrons" being placed on an equality in government with "the boors of the North" that made "Southern gentlemen" desire disunion. It said, haughtily, "We are the most aristocratic people in the world. Pride of caste, and color, and privilege makes every man an aristocrat in feelings."

It was by men of this cast of mind that "Southern Rights" associations were formed, and were fostered for nearly thirty years before the Civil War, with disunion as their prime object. The feeling of contempt for the Northern *masses* among the "chivalric Southrons" was more intense in South Carolina than elsewhere. The self-constituted leaders of the people there, who hated democracy and a republican form of government, who yearned for the pomps of royalty and the privileges of an hereditary aristocracy, and who had persuaded themselves and the "common people" around them that they were superior to all others on the continent as patterns of gentility, refinement, courtly manners, grace, and every characteristic of the highest ideal of chivalry, had for many years yearned for separation from the vulgar North. William H. Trescott, who was Assistant Secretary of State under Buchanan, and one of the most active members of the "Southern Rights Association" of South Carolina (the avowed object of which was the destruction of the unity of the Republic), said, in an address before the South Carolina Historical Society in 1859: "More than once has the calm self-respect of old Carolina breeding been caricatured by the consequential insolence of vulgar imitators."

This was the common tone of thought among the leading South Carolinians. Dr. Russell, writing to the *London Times* at the close of April, 1861, said: "Their admiration for monarchical institutions on the English model, for privileged classes, and for a landed aristocracy and gentry, is

undisguised and apparently genuine. Many are they who say, 'We would go back to-morrow, if we could.' An intense affection for the British connections, a love of British habits and customs, a respect for British sentiment, law, authority, order, civilization, and literature, pre-eminently distinguish the inhabitants of this State, who, glorying in their descent from ancient families on the three islands, whose fortunes they still follow, and with whose members they maintain, not unfrequently, familiar relations, regard with an aversion which it is impossible to give an idea of to one who has not seen its manifestations, the people of New England and the population of the Northern States, whom they regard as tainted beyond cure with the venom of Puritanism." There was a prevailing voice, Dr. Russell wrote, that said, "If we could only get one of the royal race of England to rule over us, we should be content." That sentiment, he wrote, "varied a hundred ways, has been repeated to me over and over again."

So early as May, 1851, when there were active preparations in South Carolina for revolt, Muscoe R. H. Garnett, of Virginia, wrote to Mr. Trescott, then a leader of the "Southern Rights Association" in the first-named State, expressing his fears that Virginia would not consent to engage in the movement. The Legislature did not favor it, but he expressed the hopeful opinion that the law-makers did not reflect the sentiments of the people of the State. "In the East, at least," he said, "the great majority believe in the right of secession, and feel the deepest sympathy with Carolina in opposition to measures which they regard as she does. But the West—West Virginia—here is the rub!—*only sixty thousand slaves to four hundred and ninety-four thousand whites!* When I consider this fact, and the kind of argument which we have heard in this body, I cannot but regard with the greatest fear the question, whether Virginia would assist Carolina in such an issue. I must acknowledge, my dear sir, that I look to the future with almost as much apprehension as hope. You will object to the term *Democrat*. Democracy, in its original philosophical sense, is incompatible with slavery and the whole system of Southern society. . . . I do not hesitate to say that if the question is raised between Carolina and the Federal Government, and the latter prevails, the last hope of Republican government and, I fear, of Southern civilization is gone."

The restless spirits of South Carolina continued to confer secretly with the politicians of the slave-labor States on the subject of disunion; and finally, in November, 1859, the Legislature of that State openly resolved that "the commonwealth was ready to enter, together with other slave-holding States, or such as desire prompt action, into the formation of a Southern Confederacy." The Carolinians were specially anxious to secure the co-operation of

the Virginians; and in January following, at the request of the Legislature, the governor of the State sent C. G. Memminger as a special commissioner to Virginia, for the purpose of enlisting its representatives in the scheme of disunion. With protestations of attachment to the Union, Mr. Memminger invited the Virginians to co-operate in a convention of delegates from slave-labor States to "take action for their defence;" in other words, to secede from the Union. He made an able plea, addressed to their reason, their passions, and their prejudices, and concluded by saying, "I have delivered into the keeping of Virginia the cause of the South." But the Virginians did not desire a Southern Confederacy wherein free-trade in African slaves would prevail, for it would seriously interfere with the profitable inter-state traffic in negroes. So they hesitated; and in an autograph letter before me, Mr. Memminger wrote to the editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, that the Democratic party in Virginia was "not a unit," that "Federal politics" made that "great State comparatively powerless," and that he saw "no men who would take the position of *leaders in a revolution*."

I have cited these few utterances from speakers and writers who were participants or cotemporaries with the actors in the events of the late Civil War, that the reader may have a key to the real causes which brought about that war. These seem to have been chiefly a desire on the part of the slaveholders to be freed from social and political contact with the people of the free-labor States (whom they regarded as less cultivated, refined, chivalric, and civilized than themselves), with perfect freedom to extend and perpetuate the system of slave-labor, and revive, without hindrance, the African slave-trade. Notwithstanding the *Charleston Mercury*, at the beginning, gave greater prominence to the first-named cause, after more than three years of war (February, 1864), it was constrained to say: "South Carolina entered into this struggle *for no other purpose than to maintain the institution of slavery*. Southern independence has no other object or meaning. . . . Independence and slavery must stand or fall together."

When the election of Mr. Lincoln was certified, the political leaders in South Carolina were eager to begin the contemplated revolution. To be prepared for immediate action, an extraordinary session of the Legislature was assembled at Columbia on the 5th of November; and as the news of the result of the election went over the land, the governor of the State received congratulatory despatches from other commonwealths wherein the politicians were in sympathy with the Secessionists. "North Carolina will secede," a despatch from Raleigh said. "A large number of Bell men have declared for secession; the State will undoubtedly secede," said another from the capital of Alabama. Another from Milledgeville, Georgia, said:

"The hour for action has come. This State is ready to assert her rights and independence. The leading men are eager for the business." "There is a great deal of excitement here," said a despatch from Washington city; "several extreme Southern men, in office, have donned the palmetto cockades and declared themselves ready to march South." A despatch from Richmond said: "If your State secedes, we will send you troops and volunteers to aid you." "Placards are posted about the city," said a message from New Orleans, "calling a convention of those favorable to the organization of a corps of minute-men." A second message from Washington said: "Be firm; a large quantity of arms will be shipped South from the Arsenal here to-morrow. The President is perplexed. His feelings are with the South, but he is afraid to assist them openly."

So was revealed the fact that simultaneous action in favor of disunion had been preconcerted. As these despatches came, one after the other, to Columbia, and were immediately forwarded to Charleston, a blaze of pleasurable excitement was kindled among the citizens of the latter place. The palmetto flag, the emblem of the sovereignty of the State, was everywhere displayed. From the thronged streets went up cheer after cheer for a Southern Confederacy. All day long on the 7th of November, when it was known that Mr. Lincoln was elected, the citizens were harangued in the open air and in public halls, the speakers portraying the glories of State independence. Flags and banners, martial music, and the roar of cannon attested the general joy; and that night blazing bonfires and illuminations lighted up the city. Multitudes of palmetto cockades (made of blue silk ribbon, with a button in the centre bearing the figure of a palmetto tree) were worn in the streets of Charleston. Public offices under the Government of the United States were closed, or transferred to the "sovereign State" of South Carolina, in the most formal manner. On the 7th of November, Judge McGrath, of the United States District Court, solemnly resigned his office, saying to the jurors: "For the last time I have, as judge of the United States, administered the laws of the United States within the limits of South Carolina. So far as I am concerned, the temple of justice raised under the Constitution of the United States is now closed." He then laid aside his judicial gown and retired. The collector of customs at Charleston resigned at the same time; so also did the attorney-general. So it was that before a convention to consider the secession of the State from the Union had been authorized, the Secessionists, with plans matured, acted as if disunion had been already accomplished.

The Legislature of South Carolina assembled at Columbia on the day after Mr. Lincoln's election, when joint resolutions of both houses providing

for a State Convention to consider the withdrawal of the State from the Union were offered. Some of the more cautious members counselled delay, but they were overborne by the more fiery zealots, who did not wish the popular excitement caused by the election to cool before the decisive step should be taken. One of the latter (Mr. Mullins, of Marion), in a speech against delay and waiting for the co-operation of other States, revealed the fact that an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the State were opposed to the schemes of the politicians. He also revealed the important fact that emissaries had been sent to Europe to prepare the way for aid and recognition by foreign governments of the contemplated Southern Confederacy. "We have it from high authority," he said, "that the representative of one of the imperial powers of Europe [France], in view of the prospective separation of one or more of the Southern States from the present Confederacy, has made propositions in advance for the establishment of such relations between it and the government about to be established in this State, as will insure to that power such a supply of cotton for the future as their increasing demand for that article will require." He urged the importance of immediate action. "If we wait for co-operation," he said, "Slavery and State rights will be abandoned; State sovereignty and the cause of the South lost forever." James Chestnut, a member of the United States Senate, recommended immediate secession; and W. W. Boyce, of the National House of Representatives, said: "I think the only policy for us is to arm as soon as we receive authentic intelligence of the election of Lincoln. It is for South Carolina, in



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the quickest manner and by the most direct means, to withdraw from the Union."

Other members of the Legislature were equally vehement; and on the 12th of November (1860) an act was passed authorizing a Convention. The Legislature also formulated the doctrine of "State Sovereignty" or State Supremacy, in a resolution that declared that a "Sovereign State" of the Union had a right to secede from it, adopting as its own the doctrine that the States of the Union are not subordinate to the National Government; were not created by it, and do not belong to it; that *they* created the National Government; from them it derives its powers; to them it is responsible, and when it abuses the trust reposed in it, they, as equal sovereigns, have a right to resume the powers respectively delegated to it by them. This is the sum and substance of the doctrine of State Supremacy ("State Rights" as it was adroitly called) which dwarfs patriotism to the narrow dimensions of a single State, denationalizes the American citizen, and opposes the fundamental principles upon which the founders of the Republic securely built our noble superstructure of a free, powerful and sovereign Commonwealth. And it perverts the plain meaning of the Preamble to the National Constitution, which declares that the *people* (not States) of the whole country had given vitality to that fundamental law of the land, and to the nation. James Madison, one of the founders of the Republic, in a letter to Edmund Randolph in April, 1787, wrote: "I hold it for a fundamental point, that an individual independence of the States is utterly irreconcilable with the idea of aggregate sovereignty." And Washington wrote in a letter to John Jay, in March, 1787, on the subject of the National Constitution: "A thirst for power, and the bantling—I had liked to have said the *monster*—sovereignty, which have taken such fast hold of the States individually, will, when joined by the many whose personal consequence in the line of State politics will, in a manner, be annihilated, form a strong phalanx against it."

The politicians in other slave-labor States followed the example of South Carolina in immediate preparations for secession. Robert Toombs, then a National Senator, was one of the chief conspirators against the life of the nation, and by violent harangues aided materially in bringing upon his State (Georgia) the awful calamities of war. In a speech at Milledgeville on the 13th of November, he exclaimed, "Withdraw your sons from the army, from the navy, and from every department of the Federal public service. Keep your own taxes in your own coffers. Buy arms with them, and throw the bloody spear into this den of incendiaries and assassins [the Northern people], and let God defend the right. . . . *Twenty years of labor,*

and toils, and taxes, all expended upon preparation, would not make up for the advantage the enemy would gain if the rising sun on the 5th of March should find you in the Union. Then strike while it is yet time." Then he cried: "I ask you to give me the sword; for, if you do not give it to me, as God lives, I will take it myself!" In the war that ensued, the sword was given him, with the commission of a brigadier-general; and it is on record that Mr. Toombs, acting upon the maxim that "Prudence is the better part of valor," was never known to remain longer than he was compelled to in a place of danger to himself. On the following evening, Alexander H. Stephens, a man of conservative views and equal courage, in a speech in favor of the Union, exposed the many misstatements of Mr. Toombs, and touched the fiery Georgian and others to the quick, with the Ithuriel spear of truth, when he said: "Some of our public men have failed in their aspirations; that is true, and from that comes a great part of our troubles."

The Georgia Legislature followed the example of South Carolina in ordering a Convention to consider secession. So, also, did the Legislatures of Mississippi and Alabama. L. Q. C. Lamar, a representative in Congress of the people of the first-named State, submitted to the inhabitants, before the close of November, a plan for a Southern Confederacy; and a few days before the election of delegates to the Alabama Convention, the Conference of the "Methodist Church South," sitting at Montgomery, resolved that they believed "African Slavery, as it existed in the Southern States of the Republic, to be a wise, humane, and righteous institution, approved of God, and calculated to promote, in the highest possible degree, the welfare of the slave. They also resolved: "Our hearts are with the South; and should they ever need our hands to assist in achieving our independence, we shall not be found wanting in the hour of danger."

The politicians of little Florida, with those of Louisiana and Texas, followed in the wake of the leaders in the other four States named, in preparing for secession, all of them asserting the right of their respective States to secede because they had "created the National Government." The fallacy of this claim is apparent when we remember that Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas and Florida did not exist, even in territorial form, as parts of the Union, when the National Government was created, and that three of them belonged to foreign governments at that time. North Carolina, one of the original thirteen States, joined South Carolina and Georgia, her ancient sisters, in providing for a Convention; and the governors of all the slave-labor States, excepting those of Delaware and Maryland, who had been elected by the Democratic party, showed their

readiness to act in concert with the Secessionists. It was soon ascertained that the President of the Republic, and a majority of his cabinet, were ready to declare that the National Constitution did not give the Chief Magistrate authority to stay the arm of insurrection or rebellion by coercive measures.

Such is a brief outline history of the preparations by politicians in the slave-labor States, for marshalling a combined host for the overthrow of the Republic. The important initial step was taken by those of South Carolina. When the Legislature authorized a Convention, orators of every grade immediately went out to harangue the people in all parts of the State. Motley crowds of men, women, and children—Caucasian and African—listened, in excited groups, at cross-roads, court-houses, and other usual gathering places. Every speech was burdened with complaints of “wrongs suffered by South Carolina in the Union;” her right and her duty to leave it; her power to “defy the world in arms;” and the glory that would illumine her whole domain in that near future when her independence of the thralls of the “detested Constitution” should be secured. Their themes were as various as the character of their audiences. One of their orators, addressing the slaveholders in Charleston, said: “Three thousand millions of property is involved in this question; and if you say at the ballot-box that South Carolina shall not secede, you put into the sacrifice three thousand millions of your property. . . . The Union is a dead carcass, stinking in the nostrils of the South. . . . Ay, my friends, a few weeks more, and you will see floating from the fortifications the ensign that now bears the Palmetto, the emblem of a Southern Confederacy.” The *Charleston Mercury* called upon all natives of South Carolina in the army or navy to resign their commissions and join in the revolt. “The mother looks to her sons,” said this fiery organ of sedition, “to protect her from outrage. . . . She is sick of the Union—disgusted with it, upon any terms within the range of the widest possibility.” This call was responded to by the resignation of the commissions of many South Carolinians; and the leaders in the revolutionary movements in that State, seemingly unable to comprehend the principles of honor and fidelity—the highest virtues of a soldier—boasted that “not a son of that State would prove loyal to the old flag.” They were amazed when men like the late Admiral Shubrick, a native of South Carolina, refused to do the bidding of disloyal politicians, while they commended the action of Lieutenant J. R. Hamilton of the navy, another “son” of South Carolina, who, at Fortress Monroe, issued a circular letter to his fellow “Southrons” in the marine service, in which, after writing much of honor, counselled them to follow his example, to engage in plundering the Government, in these words: “What the South asks of you now is, to *bring with*

you every ship and man you can, that we may use them against the oppressors of our liberties, and the enemies of our aggravated but united people."

Vigilance committees were speedily organized to discover and suppress every anti-secession sentiment and movement in South Carolina; and before the close of November these committees were in active operation, clothed with extraordinary powers, as "guardians of Southern rights." Their officers possessed full authority to decide all questions brought before them, and their decision was "final and conclusive." The patrols had power to arrest all suspicious white persons, and bring them before the Executive Committee for trial; to suppress all "negro preachings, prayer-meetings, and all congregations of negroes that may be considered unlawful by the patrol companies," the latter having unrestricted authority to "correct and punish all slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, as they may deem proper."

The powers of these vigilance committees were soon felt. Northern men, suspected of feelings opposed to the secession movements, were banished from the State, and some who were believed to be "Abolitionists" were tarred and feathered. The committees having authority to persecute, soon made the expressed sentiment in South Carolina "unanimous in favor of secession;" and the *Charleston Mercury* was justified in saying to the army and navy officers from that State, in the service of the Republic, when calling them home: "You need have no more doubt of South Carolina's going out of the Union than of the world's turning round. *Every man that goes to the Convention will be a pledged man*—pledged for immediate separate State secession, in any event whatever."

This promise was uttered before the members of the Convention had been chosen. Everything had been arranged by the politicians; the *people* had nothing to do with it. The *Southern Presbyterian*, a theological publication of wide influence, issued at Columbia, said, on the 15th of December, that it was well known that every member of the Convention was pledged to pass an ordinance of secession, and added: "It is a matter for devout thankfulness that the Convention will embody the very highest wisdom and character of the State; private gentlemen, judges of her highest legal tribunals, and ministers of the Gospel." Even almost the very day when the ordinance of secession would be adopted was known to those who were engaged in the business. In a letter to me, written on the 13th of December, the late William Gilmore Simms, the distinguished South Carolina scholar, said: "In ten days more South Carolina will have certainly seceded; and in a reasonable interval after that event, if the forts in our harbor are not surrendered to the State, they will be taken."

CHAPTER IV.

SECESSION CONVENTION IN SOUTH CAROLINA—PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION—ORDINANCE OF SECESSION ADOPTED—PUBLIC EXCITEMENT—SIGNING THE ORDINANCE—ANXIETY OF THE LOYAL PEOPLE—SECRETARY COBB'S SCHEMES—PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE, ITS TONE AND RECEPTION—THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OPINION—MOVEMENTS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE CLERGY—PROCEEDINGS IN SOUTH CAROLINA—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—NATIONALITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA PROCLAIMED—EVENTS IN CHARLESTON HARBOR—SECRETARY FLOYD'S TREACHERY—TRANSFER OF TROOPS TO FORT SUMTER—THE SECESSIONISTS FOILED—FLOYD SUCCEEDED BY HOLT.

ON the 3d of December, 1860, delegates to the State Convention of South Carolina were chosen. They met at Columbia, the capital, on the 17th, and chose David F. Jamison president of their body. When he was about to administer an oath to the delegates, a serious difficulty was presented. The Constitution of the State of South Carolina provided that, on such occasions, an oath to support the Constitution of the United States must be taken. That requirement was like a cobweb before the leaders in the movement; and the difficulty was swept away by ex-Governor Adams, who said: "We have come here to break down a government, not to support one." The delegates were all of one mind concerning the object of their assemblage; so they proceeded without the solemnity of an oath of any kind, conscious that the fundamental law of their State declared them to be an unlawful body, and their acts not binding upon any one.

President Jamison briefly addressed the Convention on taking the chair, and closed by saying: "I cannot offer you anything better, in inaugurating this movement, than the words of Danton at the commencement of the French Revolution: 'To dare! and again to dare! and without end to dare!'" These brave words were followed by considerable excitement in the Convention, for intelligence came that the small-pox was raging as an epidemic in Columbia. It was immediately proposed to adjourn to Charleston. One of the delegates (W. P. Miles) begged them not to flee. "We shall be sneered at," he said; and exclaimed, "Is this the chivalry of South Carolina?" But chivalry was not proof against fear of the loathsome disease, and by the first railway train the next morning, the delegates all fled to Charleston, and reassembled the same afternoon at Institute Hall.

The Convention proceeded to business by appointing several committees to consider various subjects, such as the relations of South Carolina to the United States in regard to public property within the limits of that State, and commercial relations; also their connection with the people of other slave-holding States. A committee was also chosen, with John A. Inglis as chairman, to report the form of an ordinance of secession. After debating some questions, and proposing a provisional government for the States that might follow the example of South Carolina in seceding; to send commissioners to Washington city to negotiate with the National Government for the cession of its property within the State of South Carolina, and to elect delegates to meet others from slave-labor States for the purpose of forming a Southern Confederacy, the proper committee reported an ordinance of secession in the following words, in accordance with the theory of State supremacy:

"We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention, on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of the State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved."

It was noon on the 20th of December, 1860, when this ordinance was submitted. At a quarter before one o'clock, it was adopted by the unanimous voice of the Convention, one hundred and sixty-nine delegates voting in the affirmative. They were then assembled in St. Andrew's Hall. It was proposed that the members should walk in procession to Institute Hall, and there, at seven o'clock in the evening, in the presence of the constituted authorities of the State and of the people, to sign it—"the great Act of Deliverance and Liberty."

The cry at once went forth, "*The Union is dissolved!*" It was echoed and re-echoed in the streets of Charleston, and was sent upon the wings of the lightning all over the Republic. Placards announcing the fact were posted throughout the city of Charleston, and again the people of that town were almost wild with excitement. All business was suspended, and huzzas for a "Southern Confederacy" filled the air. Women appeared in the streets with secession bonnets, the invention of a Northern milliner in Charleston. Flags waved; church-bells pealed merrily, and cannon boomed; and some enthusiastic young men went to the grave of John C. Calhoun, in

St. Philip's church-yard, and forming a circle around it, made a solemn vow to devote their "lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" to the cause of "South Carolina independence."

Before night the ordinance of secession was engrossed on a sheet of parchment; and at the appointed time, in the evening, Institute Hall was crowded with eager spectators to witness the signing of the instrument. Back of the president's chair was suspended a banner of cotton cloth, on which was painted a significant device. At the bottom was a mass of broken and discolored blocks of hewn stones, on each of which were the name and arms of a free-labor State. Rising from this mass were two columns made of perfect blocks of stone, each bearing the name and arms of a slave-labor State. The keystone of an arch that crowned the two columns had the name and arms of South Carolina upon it, and it bore a figure of Calhoun. In the space between the columns was a palmetto tree, with a rattlesnake coiled around its trunk, and on a ribbon the words, "Southern Republic." Beneath all, in large letters, were the significant words, "*Built from the Ruins.*"

This flag foreshadowed the designs of the Secessionists to overthrow the Republic and build an empire upon its ruins whose corner-stone should be slavery. To that end the members of the Convention proceeded to sign the ordinance in the presence of the governor of the State, the members of the Legislature, and other dignitaries of the land. When the act was finished there was deep silence. Then the Rev. Dr. Bachman, with white, flowing locks, advanced on the platform whereon the president sat, and with uplifted hands implored Almighty God to bless the people engaged in the act and to favor the undertaking. Then President Jamison exhibited the instrument to the people, read it, and said: "The Ordinance of Secession has been signed and ratified, and I proclaim the State of South Carolina an independent commonwealth." The people shouted their approval; and so closed the first great act in the terrible drama of the late Civil War. A few months afterward, every building in Charleston in which public movements for the destruction of the Union had taken place were accidentally destroyed by fire; and late one evening in 1866, after the "Confederate States of America," organized in Montgomery early in 1861, had become a thing of the past, I heard the mournful voice of a screech-owl in the blackened tower of the Circular Church which stood within a few rods of the grave of Calhoun in St. Philip's church-yard.

In the meantime, the National capital had become the theatre of stirring events. The proceedings of the Southern politicians had been watched by the loyal people of the country with intense interest and anxiety, especially by

the mercantile and manufacturing classes. To these the Southern planters and merchants were indebted to the amount of full two hundred million dollars, and at the middle of November, remittances from the South had almost ceased, owing to various causes. Howell Cobb, one of the most active of the secret enemies of the Republic, was then Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of the Treasury, and had adroitly managed to strike a paralyzing blow at the public credit, months before Mr. Lincoln's election. When he entered the cabinet in 1857, he found the Government coffers so overflowing, that the treasury notes next due were bought in; in the autumn of 1860, the treasury was empty, and he was in the market as a borrower of money to carry on the ordinary operations of the Government. His management had created such distrust in financial circles, that he was compelled to pay ruinous premiums at a time when money was never more abundant in the country.

This wrecking of the Government by destroying its credit was a part of Cobb's financial scheme for the benefit of his associate Secessionists. Another of his schemes for the supposed benefit of the South was foreshadowed in a letter (the original is before me), written by William H. Trescott, then Assistant Secretary of State, to the editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, dated "Washington, Nov. 1, 1860." In that letter, by permission of Mr. Cobb, Mr. Trescott gives that gentleman's views concerning the situation. After some remarks about deferring overt acts of rebellion until the 4th of March following, Mr. Trescott wrote: "Mr. Cobb desires me to impress upon you his conviction that any attempt to precipitate the actual issue upon this Administration will be most mischievous—calculated to produce differences of opinion and destroy unanimity. *He thinks it of great importance that the cotton crop should go forward at once, and that the money should be in the hands of the people, that the cry of popular distress shall not be heard at the outset of this move.*" Mr. Cobb's motive for his recommendation is made apparent by the fact that it was a common practice for the cotton planter to receive pay for his crops in advance. The crop then to "go forward" was already paid for. The money to be received on its delivery was for the *next year's crop, which would never be delivered.* It was a deliberate scheme to cheat Northern men out of many millions of dollars—a scheme which the honest cotton-growers would not have sanctioned had they been aware of it. But in this, as in all other plans then ripening for a rebellion, the politicians would not trust the people with their secrets.

The meeting of the Thirty-sixth Congress on the 3d of December, drew the attention of the whole people to the National capital. It was an event of solemn interest to the nation. To the Annual Message of the President

the public looked eagerly for a definite expression of the views of the Government on the all-absorbing topic. The people sat down to read it with hope, and arose from its perusal with grievous disappointment. Faint-heartedness and indecision appeared in almost every paragraph. After arguing that the election of a President who was distasteful to the people of one section of the country afforded no excuse for the offended ones to rebel, he declared that certain acts of Northern State Legislatures in opposition to the Fugitive-Slave Law, were violations of the Constitution, and if not repealed "the injured States, after having first used all peaceful and Constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union." The Secessionists could ask no more.

The President then considered the right of secession, and the relative powers of the National Government. Before preparing this portion of his message, he turned to the Attorney-General (Jeremiah S. Black) for advice. It was given in ample measure on the 20th of November, in not less than three thousand words. It gave much "aid and comfort" to the enemies of the Union, for it yielded everything to them. It declared, in substance, that any State possessed an inherent right to secede, and when it had seceded, there was no power known to the Constitution to compel it to return to the Union. He argued that by an act of secession a State had virtually disappeared as a part of the Republic; and the power of the National Government being only auxiliary to State life and force, National troops would certainly "be out of place, and their use wholly illegal." It seemed to the Attorney-General that an attempt to force the people of a State into submission to the laws of the Republic and to desist from attempts to destroy it, would be making war upon them, by which they would be converted into alien enemies, and would "be compelled to act accordingly." He counselled the President, virtually, to suffer this concrete Republic to become disintegrated by the fires of faction, or the blows of actual rebellion, rather than to use force legitimately at his disposal, for the preservation of its integrity and life. The weak President, accepting the advice of the Attorney-General, incorporated the doctrine into a portion of his Message; but, apparently conscious of its dangerous tendency, he uttered some brave words against secession as a crime, and State Supremacy as a heresy dangerous to the nationality of the Republic—a doctrine which, if practically carried out, would make "the Confederacy a rope of sand, to be penetrated and dissolved by the first adverse wave of public opinion in any of the States. In this manner," he truly said, "our thirty-three States may resolve themselves into so many jarring and hostile republics, each one retir-

ing from the Union without responsibility, whenever any sudden excitement might impel them to such a course. By this process a Union might be entirely broken into fragments in a few weeks, which cost our fathers many years of toil, privation, and blood to establish."

Seemingly alarmed at his own outspoken convictions, and the offence it might give his Southern friends, the perplexed President proposed to conciliate them by allowing them to infuse deadly poison into the blood of their intended victim, which would more slowly but as surely accomplish their purpose. To do this he proposed an "explanatory amendment" to the Constitution on the subject of slavery, which would give to the enemies of the Union everything which they demanded, namely, the elevation of the slave-system to the dignity of a National institution, and thus sap the very foundations of our free Government. This amendment was to consist of an express recognition of the right of property in slaves in the States where slavery then existed or might thereafter exist; of the recognition of the duty of the National Government to protect that right in all the Territories throughout their territorial existence; the recognition of the right of the slave-owner to every privilege and advantage given him in the Fugitive-Slave Law; and a declaration that all the State laws impairing or defeating that law were violations of the Constitution, and consequently null and void.

This Message, so indecisive and inconsistent, alarmed the people and pleased nobody. When a motion was made in the National Senate for its reference, it was spoken lightly of by the friends and foes of the Union. Senator Clingman, of North Carolina, who first sounded the trumpet of disunion in the Upper House, declared that it fell short of stating the case then before the country. Senator Wigfall, of Texas, said he could not understand it; and in the course of debate a few weeks afterward, Senator Jefferson Davis said that it had "all the characteristics of a diplomatic paper, for diplomacy is said to abhor certainty, as nature abhors a vacuum; and," he continued, "it is not within the power of man to reach any fixed conclusion from that Message. When the country was agitated, when opinions are being formed, when we are drifting beyond the power ever to return," he said, "this is not what we have the right to expect from a Chief Magistrate. One policy or the other he ought to have taken . . . either of a Federalist, that every State is subordinate to the Federal Government, and he was bound to enforce its authority; or as a State Rights Democrat, which he professed to be, holding that the Constitution gave no power to the Federal Government to coerce a State. The President should have brought his opinion to one conclusion or another, and, to-day, our country would have been safer than it is."

Senator Hale, of New Hampshire, said that if he understood the meaning of the Message on the subject of secession, it was this:—"South Carolina has just cause for seceding from the Union; that is the first proposition. The second is, that she has no right to secede. The third is, that we have no right to prevent her from seceding. He goes on to represent this as a great and powerful country, and that no State has a right to secede from it: but the power of the country, if I understand the President, consists in what Dickens makes the English constitution to be—a power to do anything at all. Now I think it was incumbent on the President of the United States to point out definitely and to recommend to Congress some rule of action, and to tell us what he recommended us to do. But, in my judgment, he has entirely avoided it. He has failed to look the thing in the face. He has acted like the ostrich, which hides her head, and thereby thinks to escape danger."

So thought the people, who perceived that no reliance could be placed upon the arm of the Executive in defending the integrity of the Union. Had they then comprehended the fearful proportions of the imminent danger, they would have almost despaired. Patriotic men wrote to their representatives in Congress, asking them to be firm, yet conciliatory; and clergymen of every sect exhorted their people to be "firm in faith, patient in hope, careful in conduct, and trustful in God. More than forty of the leading clergymen of various denominations in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, united in sending forth a Circular Letter on New Year's day, 1861, making an appeal to the Churches. "We cannot doubt," they said, "that a spirit of candor and forbearance, such as our religion prompts, and the exigencies of the times demand, would render the speedy adjustment of our difficulties possible, consistently with every Constitutional right. Unswerving fealty to the Constitution justly interpreted, and a prompt return to its spirit and requirements whenever these may have been divergent from either, would seem to be the first duty of citizens and legislators. It is our firm, and, we think, intelligent conviction, that only a very inconsiderable fraction of the people of the North will hesitate in the discharge of their Constitutional obligations; and that whatever enactments are found to be in conflict therewith, will be annulled." This well-meant missive operated only as the mildest soothing-syrup; the disease was too malignant and widespread to be touched by anything but the probe and cautery.

While the National Legislature were tossing upon the suddenly raised surges of disunion, and the people of the free-labor States were listening with breathless anxiety to the roar of the tempest at the Capitol, the noise of the storm in the far South was like the portentous bellowing of distant

thunder. It was raging vehemently in South Carolina. The Convention at Charleston, after passing the Ordinance of Secession, appointed commissioners to proceed to Washington to treat for the possession of public property within the limits of South Carolina. They also issued an Address to the people of the other slave-labor States, and a Declaration of the causes which impelled South Carolina to leave the Union. In the former, they said: "South Carolina desires no destiny separate from yours. To be one of a great slave-holding Confederacy, stretching its arms over territory larger than any power in Europe possesses, with a population four times greater than that of the whole United States when they achieved their independence of the British empire; with productions which make our existence more important to the world than that of any other people inhabiting it; with common institutions to defend and common dangers to encounter, we ask your sympathy and confederation. . . . All we demand of other people, is to be let alone to work out our own high destinies. . . . United, we must be a great, free and prosperous people, whose renown must spread throughout the civilized world, and pass down, we trust, to the remotest ages. We ask you to join in forming a *Confederacy of Slave-holding States*." In their declaration of causes for the separation, they failed to point out a single act of wrong on the part of the Government they were intending to destroy, and it consisted chiefly of complaints that the Northern people did not look upon slavery with favor; were opposed to the Fugitive-Slave Law, and did not believe a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was superior in authority to the Divine Law.

On the day when that Declaration was adopted, the governor of South Carolina (Pickens) issued a proclamation declaring the sovereignty, freedom and independence of that State, and that it was vested with national functions. The proclamation closed with the words—"Given under my hand, the 24th of December, 1860, and in the eighty-fifth year of the sovereignty and independence of South Carolina." Then, with perfect consistency, the Charleston newspapers published intelligence from the other States of the Union, under the head of "Foreign News." A small medal was struck to commemorate the secession of the State, and a banner for the new empire was adopted, composed of red silk, bearing a blue silk cross with fifteen white stars, the number of the slave-labor States. The Convention appointed one commissioner to each of the States to invite the politicians to send delegates to meet those of South Carolina at Montgomery, Alabama, to form a Southern Confederacy; authorized Governor Pickens, as chief magistrate of the new nation, to receive ambassadors, consuls, etc., from foreign countries, and took other measures for organizing a national govern-

ment. The governor chose cabinet ministers, and the South Carolina nation began its brief career.

"A nationality!" exclaimed the London *Morning Star*, when commenting upon this Declaration of the sovereignty of South Carolina. "Was there ever, since the world began, a nation constituted of such materials—a commonwealth founded on such a basis? The greatest empire of antiquity is said to have grown up from a group of huts, built in a convenient location by fugitive slaves and robber huntsmen. But history nowhere chronicles the establishment of a community of slaveholders solely upon the alleged right of maintaining and enlarging their property in man. Paganism at least protected the Old World from so monstrous a scandal upon free commonwealths, by shutting out the idea of a common humanity, and of individual rights derivable from inalienable duties."

Charleston harbor now became the theatre of stirring events. John B. Floyd of Virginia, one of the leading conspirators, was then Secretary of War, and was secretly weakening the physical power of the Government by stripping the arsenals of the North of their arms and ammunition, and strengthening the Secessionists by filling the arsenals of the South with an abundance of weapons. Of course he paid no attention to the words of General Winfield Scott, the chief of the army, when, so early as the close of October, he observed signs of incipient insurrection in South Carolina, and recommended the strengthening of the forts near Charleston. And when, at the close of the same month, Colonel Gardiner, in command of the fortifications near that city, attempted to increase his supply of ammunition, Floyd removed him, and in November placed Major Robert Anderson, a meritorious officer in the war with Mexico, in his place. That loyal Kentuckian at once perceived, by various acts, the designs of the Secessionists to seize the fortifications in the harbor, and he urged his Government to strengthen them with men and munitions of war, especially Fort Moultrie, in which he was placed with a feeble garrison. But his constant warnings were unheeded, even when he wrote: "The clouds are threatening, and the storm may burst at any moment. I need not say to you how anxious I am, indeed determined, as far as honor will permit, to avoid collision with the people of South Carolina. Nothing will, however, be better calculated to prevent bloodshed, than our being found in such an attitude that it would be madness and folly to attack us." He continually begged the War Department to give him more strength, and send him explicit instructions; and when he found his warnings treated with contemptuous silence, he wrote: "Unless otherwise directed, I shall make future communications through the regular channel—the General-in-Chief."

Anderson did not know that he was addressing an enemy and not a protector of his Government, who was working with all his might to destroy the Republic. On the very day when the patriotic Major wrote to Floyd, the treacherous Secretary sold ten thousand Government muskets to an agent of the Secessionists of Georgia. Eight days before he had sold five thousand to the State of Virginia; and vast numbers were sent to other slave-labor States. The *Mobile Advertiser*, the organ of the Secessionists in Alabama, exultingly declared that within twelve months one hundred and thirty-five thousand muskets had been quietly transferred from the Northern Arsenal at Springfield (Mass.) alone, to those in the Southern States. "We are much obliged to Mr. Floyd," said the *Advertiser*, "for the foresight he has thus displayed in disarming the North and equipping the South for this emergency. There is no telling the quantity of arms and munitions which were sent South from other arsenals. There is no doubt but that *every man in the South who can carry a gun can now be supplied from private or public sources.*" Floyd also attempted to supply the Secessionists with heavy guns, but loyal men prevented the outrage.

Secretary Floyd found Anderson too loyal for his purpose, but it was too late to displace him, so he left him to his own feeble resources, satisfied that the military companies then in process of organization in South Carolina, would be able to seize the forts in Charleston harbor in good time. Moultrie was weak, and many of the little garrison in Sumter were known to be disloyal. The latter fort was by far the stronger and more important work; and as evidence hourly increased, especially after the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, that the South Carolinians intended to seize Fort Sumter, Anderson, being commander of *all* the forts in the harbor, resolved to transfer the garrison in Fort Moultrie into that of Sumter, and abandon the former. It was a delicate undertaking, for the Secessionists had watch-boats out upon the waters.

Anderson revealed his secret to only three or four of his most trusted officers. Then he resorted to stratagem to get the women and children first into Fort Sumter. They were taken in a vessel, with ample provisions, to Fort Johnson on James Island, where, under pretext of difficulty in finding quarters for them, they were detained on board until evening. Three guns fired at Fort Moultrie was to be the signal for consigning them immediately to Fort Sumter. The movement was regarded by the people of Charleston as a natural and prudent measure of Anderson, who, they knew, believed they were about to attack Fort Moultrie, and so all suspicion was allayed.

At the close of that evening, while the almost full-orbed moon was shining brightly, the greater portion of the little garrison at Moultrie embarked for

Sumter. The three guns were fired; the women and children were quickly taken from before Fort Johnson to Sumter, and the movement was successful. Two or three officers remained at Fort Moultrie to spike the cannon, to destroy the gun-carriages, and to cut down the flag-staff, that no secession banner might float from the peak from which the National flag had so long fluttered. When the soldiers and their families and many weeks' provision were safely within the granite walls of Fort Sumter, Major Anderson wrote to the Secretary of War—"I have the honor to report that I have just completed, by the blessing of God, the removal to this fort, of all my garrison except the surgeon, four North Carolina officers, and seven men."

The telegraph conveyed from the Secessionists to Floyd the astounding intelligence long before Anderson's despatch reached him. It flashed back the angry words of the dismayed and foiled conspirator: "Intelligence has reached here this morning [December 27] that you have abandoned Fort Moultrie, spiked your guns, burnt the carriages, and gone to Fort Sumter. It is not believed, because there is no order for any such movement. Explain the meaning of this report." Anderson calmly replied by telegraph: "The telegram is correct. I abandoned Fort Moultrie because I was certain that if attacked my men must have been sacrificed, and the command of the harbor lost. I spiked the guns and destroyed the carriages to keep the guns from being turned against us. If attacked, the garrison would never have surrendered without a fight."

The soldiers in Sumter wished to fling out the National ensign defiantly before the dawn next morning; but Anderson, who was a devout man, wishing to impress upon his followers the lesson that upon God alone they were to rely in the great trial that was evidently before them, would not consent to the act until the return of the absent chaplain. He came at noonday, when the whole company in the fort gathered around the flag-staff, not far from a huge cannon. The commander, with the halyards in his hand, knelt at the foot of the staff, when the chaplain earnestly invoked the sustaining power of the Almighty. A loud Amen! fell from the lips of many; and then the brave Major hoisted the flag to the top of the staff. It was greeted with hearty cheers, and the band saluted it with the air of "Hail Columbia."

A boat now approached the fort from Charleston. It conveyed a messenger who bore to Major Anderson a demand from Governor Pickens, that the former should immediately leave Fort Sumter, and return to Fort Moultrie. The demand was courteously refused; and Anderson was denounced as a "traitor to the South," he being a native of Kentucky, a slave-labor State. The conspirators in Charleston and Washington were enraged.

At the very moment when the flag was flung to the breeze over Sumter, Secretary Floyd, in cabinet meeting, was demanding of the President permission to withdraw Anderson from Charleston harbor. The President refused. A storm suddenly arose which produced a disruption in the cabinet, and Floyd was succeeded by Joseph Holt, a loyal Kentuckian, who



RAISING THE FLAG AT FORT SUMTER.

wrote to Major Anderson that his movement in transferring the garrison from Moultrie to Sumter, "was in every way admirable, alike for its humanity and patriotism as for its soldiership." Words of cheer came for the Major from other quarters. The Legislature of Nebraska, sitting two thousand miles away from Fort Sumter, telegraphed to him "A Happy New Year;" and cannon were fired in several places in honor of the event.

CHAPTER V.

HEROISM OF MAJOR ANDERSON—HIS WIFE AND PETER HART—ROBBERY IN THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT—FLIGHT OF SECRETARY FLOYD—CABINET CHANGES—SOUTH CAROLINA COMMISSIONERS IN WASHINGTON—ATTEMPT TO REINFORCE AND SUPPLY FORT SUMTER—INAUGURATION OF CIVIL WAR AT CHARLESTON—LANGUAGE OF THE POLITICIANS—THE PEOPLE BEWILDERED—FATE OF LEADERS—"SECESSION" IN OTHER STATES—SEIZURE OF PUBLIC PROPERTY—NORTHERN SYMPATHIZERS—PLAN OF THE SECESSIONISTS—DIX'S ORDER—ACTION IN THE BORDER STATES—CONCESSIONS—PEACE CONVENTION—ADAMS'S PROPOSITION—CONVENTION AT MONTGOMERY—ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOUTHERN CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT.

MAJOR ANDERSON and his little band of soldiers were in extreme peril from the hour when they entered Fort Sumter. His friends knew that he was exposed to treachery within and fierce assault from without, and were very anxious. His devoted wife, daughter of General Clinch of Georgia, was an invalid in New York. She resolved to go to her husband with a faithful servant whom he might trust, if she could find him. It was Peter Hart, who had been a sergeant with Anderson in Mexico, and was warmly attached to his person. After much search Mrs. Anderson found he was attached to the police force in New York, and she sent for him. He came, accompanied by his wife. "I have sent for you," said Mrs. Anderson, "to ask you to do me a favor." "Anything Mrs. Anderson wishes, I will do," was Hart's prompt reply. "But it may be more than you imagine," Mrs. Anderson said. Hart again replied, "Anything Mrs. Anderson wishes." "I want you to go with me to Fort Sumter," she said. Hart looked at his wife a moment, and then promptly responded, "I will go, madame." Then the earnest woman said, "But, Hart, I want you to *stay* with the major. You will leave your family, and give up a good situation." Again Hart glanced inquiringly toward his wife, and perceiving consent in her expression, he quickly replied, "I will go, madame." "But Margaret," said Mrs. Anderson, turning to Hart's wife, "what do *you* say?" "Indade, ma'am, and its Margaret's sorry she can't do as much for you as Pater can," was the reply of the warm-hearted woman.

Twenty-four hours after this interview, Mrs. Anderson, contrary to the advice of her physician, started by railway for Charleston, accompanied by Peter Hart in the capacity of a servant. From Thursday night until Sunday

morning, when she arrived at Fort Sumter, she neither ate, drank, nor slept. In the cars in southern Virginia and through the Carolinas, her ears were frequently assailed by curses of her husband and threats of violence against him, by men to whom the delicate, pale-faced woman, the wife of the man they hated, was a stranger. On Sunday morning, after some difficulty, she procured permission to visit Fort Sumter, with Peter Hart. As the little boat touched the wharf of the fortress near the sallyport, and the name of Mrs. Anderson was announced to the sentry, the major, informed of her presence, rushed out, and clasped her in his arms with the exclamation, in a vehement whisper intended for her ear only, "My glorious wife!" "I have brought you Peter Hart," she said. "The children are well; I return to-night." She then partook of refreshments, and after resting a few hours, she was on her way back to New York, where she was threatened with brain fever a long time. She had given her husband the most faithful friend and assistant, under all circumstances, in the fort, during the three months of severe trial that ensued. She had done what the Government would not or dared not do—not *sent* but *took* a most valuable reinforcement to Fort Sumter.

While excitement was vehement in Washington because of events in Charleston harbor, it was intensified by a new development of bad faith or crime in the Department of the Interior, of which Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, was chief. The safe of the Department was rifled of bonds to the amount of \$800,000, which composed the Indian Trust Fund. The wildest rumors prevailed as to the amount abstracted, making it millions. It was known that Cobb had impoverished the Treasury, and the public was inclined to believe that plunder was a part of the business of the cabinet, for Secretary Floyd was deeply implicated in the Bond robbery. The public held Floyd and Thompson responsible for the crime. The grand jury of Washington city indicted Floyd for "malfeasance in office, complicity in the abstraction of the Indian Trust Fund, and conspiracy against the Government; and a committee of the House of Representatives mildly reported that Floyd's conduct was irreconcilable with purity of motives, and faithfulness to public trusts." But before the action of the grand jury and the report of the committee were known, the offending Secretary of War had fled to Virginia, where he was received with open arms by the Secessionists, and made a military leader with the commission of brigadier-general. His place in the cabinet was filled, as we have observed, by Joseph Holt, a loyal Kentuckian.

General Cass, the Secretary of State, had resigned, and Mr. Black, the Attorney-General, took his place, when the last-named office was filled by

Edwin M. Stanton, afterward the efficient Secretary of War. John A. Dix, a staunch patriot of New York, was called to the head of the Treasury Department, and Secretary Thompson left the Department of the Interior and returned to Mississippi to help his fellow Secessionists make war on the Republic. These changes in the cabinet caused the loyal people of the country to breathe freer and indulge in hope.

At the same time there was another cause for excitement in the National capital. R. W. Barnwell, James H. Adams and James L. Orr, appointed commissioners by the Convention of South Carolina to treat for the disposition of the property of the National Government within the borders of that State, arrived at Washington, took a house for the transaction of diplomatic business, and made Wm. H. Trescott their Secretary. With the formality of foreign ministers, they announced their presence to the President of the Republic, and set forth the objects of their mission in haughty language, and prepared for a long line of negotiations. The business was cut short by the refusal of the President to receive them in any other capacity than as private gentlemen. Their demands had been uttered in a manner so insulting, that the President was justly indignant, and wrote them a letter, courteous in tone but severe in its facts, which called from them a most insolent rejoinder. This communication was returned to them, indorsed with these words: "This paper, just presented to the President, is of such a character that he declines to receive it." Thus ended the "diplomatic correspondence" between the President of the Republic and the ambassadors from a State which its politicians had placed in an attitude of rebellion against the National Government. These ambassadors, after occupying their "ministerial residence" ten days, left it and returned home to engage in the work of the Secessionists with all their might, excepting Mr. Orr.

With more loyal elements composing his cabinet, President Buchanan now seemed to act more decidedly in support of the National authority; and listening to the counsels of Generals Dix and Scott, and other patriotic men, he determined to send reinforcements and supplies to Fort Sumter. The *Star of the West*, a merchant steamship, was employed for the purpose; and, in order to mislead spies in New York, she was cleared from that port for Savannah and New Orleans. But the secret of her destination, revealed to Secretary Thompson while he was writing his resignation, was telegraphed by him to Charleston; and when, on the morning of the 9th of January, 1861, she entered that harbor with the National flag flying, she was fired upon from redoubts which the Secessionists, now become insurgents, had erected on the shores. Her commander displayed a large American ensign,

but the assailants had no respect for the insignia of the Union; and after receiving seventeen shots, chiefly in her rigging, and being unarmed with artillery, the *Star of the West* turned about, put to sea, and returned to New York. This movement had been watched by the garrison at Fort Sumter, with eager curiosity at first, until it was evident that the steamship was in the Government employ bringing relief to the fort, when the guns of the fortress, all shotted, were brought to bear on the batteries of the insurgents. Anderson was not aware of the changed condition of affairs at Washington, and, restrained by positive orders not to act until attacked, he withheld fire. Had he known that his act would have been approved by his Government, he would have silenced the hostile batteries and received the soldiers and supplies on board the *Star of the West*, into Fort Sumter. This overt act of the insurgents was the beginning of the terrible Civil War that followed.

The South Carolinians struck the first blow (which rebounded so fearfully), and gloried in it. The commander of the battery on Morris Island (Major Stevens) that caused the *Star of the West* to put to sea, loudly boasted of his feat in humbling the flag of his country. The Legislature of the State resolved that they had learned "with pride and pleasure of the successful resistance of the troops of the State, acting under orders of the governor, to an attempt to reinforce Fort Sumter. The *Charleston Mercury* exclaimed: "Yesterday, the 9th of January, will be remembered in history. Powder has been burnt over the decree of our State, timber has been crashed, perhaps blood spilled. The expulsion of the *Star of the West* from Charleston harbor yesterday morning was the *opening of the ball of revolution*. We are proud that our harbor has been so honored. We are more proud that the State of South Carolina, so long, so bitterly, so contemptuously reviled and scoffed at, above all others, should thus proudly have thrown back the scoff of her enemies. Intrenched upon her soil, she has spoken from the mouth of her cannon and not from the mouths of scurrilous demagogues, fanatics, and scribblers. Contemned, the sanctity of her waters violated with hostile purpose of reinforcing enemies in our harbor, she has not hesitated to *strike the first blow* full in the face of her insulters. Let the United States Government bear, or return it at its good will, the blow still tingling about its ears—the fruit of its own bandit temerity. We would not exchange or recall that blow for millions! It has wiped out half a century of scorn and outrage. Again South Carolina may be proud of her historic fame and ancestry, without a blush upon her cheek for her own present honor. The haughty echo of her cannon has ere this reverberated from Maine to Texas, through every hamlet of the North, and down along

the great waters of the southwest. The decree has gone forth. Upon each acre of the peaceful soil of the South, armed men will spring up as the sound breaks upon their ears; and it will be found that every word of our insolent foe has been, indeed, a dragon's tooth sown for their destruction. And though grizzly and traitorous ruffians may cry on the dogs of war, and treacherous politicians may lend their aid in deceptions, South Carolina will stand under her own palmetto-tree, unterrified by the snarling growls or assaults of the one, undeceived or deterred by the wily machinations of the other. And if that red seal of blood be still lacking to the parchment of our liberties, and blood they want—blood they shall have—and blood enough to stamp it all in red. For, by the God of our fathers, the soil of South Carolina *shall be free!*”

Such was the language of the Declaration of War against the Union by the politicians of South Carolina—arrogant, boastful, savage. Unmindful of the wisdom of the injunction of the king of Israel, “Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off,” they proceeded in hot haste, in the spirit of their Declaration, to inaugurate Civil War, and to drag the peaceful inhabitants of the other slave-labor States into its horrid vortex. The people, whose rights they had violated and whose sovereignty they had usurped, were stunned and bewildered by the violence of these self-constituted leaders, and they found themselves and their millions of property at the mercy of madmen who, as the sequel proved, were totally unfit to lead in the councils of a free, intelligent, and patriotic community. Four years after the war so boastfully begun by these political leaders in South Carolina, Charleston was a ghastly ruin, in which not one of these men remained; Columbia, the capital of the State, was laid in ashes; every slave within the borders of the Republic was liberated; society in the slave-labor States was wholly disorganized; the land was filled with the mourning of the deceived and bereaved people; and a large number of those who signed the Ordinance of Secession and so brought the curse of war's desolation upon the innocent inhabitants of most of the Southern States, became fugitives from their homes, utterly ruined. I would gladly draw the veil of oblivion over the folly and wrong-doing of these few crazy leaders, for they were citizens of our common country; but justice to posterity requires that their actions should be made warning beacons to others who, in like manner, contemplate rebellion against the divine law of the Golden Rule, and a total disregard of the rights of man.

The South Carolina politicians now made frantic appeals to those of other slave-labor States to follow their example, and bind the people hand and foot by ordinances of secession. During the first thirty days of the year 1861, the

politicians in six of the other States responded by calling conventions and passing ordinances of secession, in the following order: Mississippi, on the 9th of January; Florida, on the 10th; Alabama, on the 11th; Georgia, on the 19th; Louisiana, on the 26th, and Texas on the first of February. At the same time the Secessionists of Virginia were anxious to enroll their State among the seceders; and under the control of ex-Governor Henry A. Wise, and of others in Maryland under leaders unknown to the public, large numbers of "Minute-men" were organized and drilled for the special purpose of seizing Washington city and the Government Buildings and archives—a prime object of the conspirators against the life of the nation. Acting upon the suggestions of the politicians of South Carolina, those of other States caused the seizure of forts, arsenals, and other property of the United States within the borders of the slave-labor States. In Louisiana the Arsenal, Mint, Custom-house and Post-office, with all their contents, were seized and turned over to the State authorities, while the President, evidently bound by ante-election pledges, dared not interfere. The insurgents everywhere were encouraged by the leaders of the Administration party in the North, by language such as was used at a large Democratic meeting held in Philadelphia on the 16th of January, 1861, when one of the resolutions adopted, echoing the sentiments of the decision of the Attorney-General, declared: "We are utterly opposed to any such compulsion as is demanded by a portion of the Republican party; and the Democratic party of the North will, by all constitutional means, and with its moral and political influence, oppose any such extreme policy, or a fratricidal war thus to be inaugurated." And a Democratic State Convention held at the capital of Pennsylvania, on the 22d of February, 1861, said by a resolution: "We will, by all proper and legitimate means, oppose, discountenance and prevent any attempt on the part of the Republicans in power, to make any armed aggressions upon the Southern States, especially so long as laws [meaning those concerning the Fugitive-Slave Act] contravening their rights shall remain unrepealed on the statute books of Northern States, and so long as the just demands of the South shall continue to be unrecognized by the Republican majorities in those States, and unsecured by proper amendatory explanations of the Constitution."

Such moral "aid and comfort" everywhere given by Northern politicians, made the insurgents believe that there would be such a fatally "divided North" that their schemes might be consummated with ease, and they did not pause in their mad career. They at once set about executing, with boldness and energy, their preconcerted plans as set forth in the following words by one of them: "We intend to take possession of the army and

navy, and of the archives of the Government ; not allow the electoral votes to be counted ; proclaim Buchanan provisional president if he will do as we wish ; if not, choose another ; seize the Harper's Ferry Arsenal and the Norfolk Navy-yard simultaneously, and sending armed men down from the former and armed vessels up from the latter, take possession of Washington city and establish a new government." Many seizures were made ; and the value of the public property thus appropriated to the use of the insurgents, before the close of Buchanan's administration, was estimated at \$30,000,000.

A defiant spirit now prevailed all over the South. When General Dix, the loyal Secretary of the Treasury, sent a special agent of his department to secure from seizure revenue cutters at New Orleans and Mobile, with special orders for their commanders, the captain (Breshwood) of one of them at the former port, haughtily refused to obey. When the agent telegraphed to the Secretary a notice of this disobedience, the latter immediately sent his famous despatch : "Tell Lieutenant Caldwell to arrest Captain Breshwood, assume the command of the cutter, and obey the order through you. If Captain Breshwood, after arrest, undertakes to interfere with the command of the cutter, tell Lieutenant Caldwell to consider him as a mutineer. *If any one attempts to pull down the American flag, shoot him on the spot !*"

This vigorous order was the first sign given by the Executive Government at Washington of a real determination to quell the rising insurrection ; and it gave hopes to the friends of the Union who had observed, with great anxiety, the President of the Republic sitting with his hands folded in passive acquiescence while its enemies were preparing to destroy it. But the conspirators in New Orleans, who had control of the telegraph, did not allow the despatch to pass. The revenue cutter fell into the hands of the insurgents ; and two days afterward the National Mint and Custom-house at New Orleans, with all the coin and bullion they contained, amounting to



JOHN A. DIX.

\$536,000, were seized by the Secessionists, and the precious metals were placed in the coffers of the State of Louisiana.

While events in the slave-labor States, in the month of January, 1861, were tending more and more toward armed rebellion against the National Government, the people of the free-labor States became fully aroused to the impending danger to the Union. The Border States were also deeply agitated, at the same time, by conflicting sentiments, for there was a very large class of Unionists in each of them. But these were speedily overborne by the violence of the Secessionists; and Virginia, Tennessee and Missouri were finally arranged under the banner of the Southern Confederacy, by their politicians, and these, with Kentucky, bore the brunt of the dreadful conflict that ensued. Kentucky and Maryland were in a doubtful position at one time. The patriotic Governor Hicks kept the latter fast to her moorings among the loyal commonwealths; but Governor Magoffin of Kentucky, who was an adroit politician, failing to drag that State into secession, procured for it an attitude of so-called "neutrality" that was far worse for the inhabitants than a positive position on one side or the other. Governors Letcher of Virginia, Harris of Tennessee and Jackson of Missouri, with their associate politicians, formally committed their respective States to the fortunes of the enemies of the Union.

Meanwhile the loyal people of the Northern States were holding public meetings and counteracting, as far as they might, the revolutionary proceedings of their opponents North and South. They loved peace and desired friendship, and were willing to make almost any concessions to the enemies of the Government that did not involve their honor. When, as the politicians in State after State adopted ordinances of secession, and their respective representatives in both Houses of Congress abdicated their seats and hurled defiance and threats in the face of the Government and its supporters, the latter patiently yielded, and showed a willingness to conciliate the arrogant leaders of the Secessionists. So early as the 27th of December, Charles Francis Adams, a representative of Massachusetts—a commonwealth against which the fiercest maledictions of the slaveholders had been hurled for years—offered a resolution in the House of Representatives, "That it is expedient to propose an amendment to the Constitution, to the effect that no future amendments of it in regard to slavery shall be made unless proposed by a slave State, and ratified by all the States." And so eager were the loyal men for reconciliation, that when the authorities of Virginia proposed a General Convention at the National capital (which was called a Peace Conference), they readily agreed to the measure and appointed delegates to it, albeit many wise men doubted the sincerity of the proposers

and regarded it as a plan to gain time for the perfecting of plans for seizing Washington city.

The Peace Conference assembled at the National capital on the 4th of February, 1861, in which delegates from twenty-one States appeared. Ex-President John Tyler of Virginia was appointed chairman of the Convention, "Your patriotism," he said, in taking the chair, "will surmount the difficulties, however great, if you will but accomplish one triumph in advance, and that is triumph over *party*. And what is party, when compared to the work of rescuing one's country from danger? Do this, and one long, loud shout of joy and gladness will resound throughout the land."

The Convention heartily reciprocated these patriotic words. Efforts were made in the Convention to have an amendment to the National Constitution adopted, that would nationalize slavery. It failed, and a compromise was effected by adopting an article that should *preserve* slavery. With this compromise, Mr. Tyler and his Virginia friends professed to be satisfied. "I cannot but hope," he said, in his closing speech before the Convention, "that the blessing of God will follow and rest upon the result of your labors, and that such result will bring to our country that quiet and peace which every patriotic heart so earnestly desires. . . It is probable that the result to which you have arrived is the best that, under all the circumstances, could be expected. So far as in me lies, therefore, I shall recommend its adoption." The politicians at Richmond seem not to have responded kindly to this sentiment, and Mr. Tyler was compelled to change his views; for, thirty-six hours after the adjournment of the Convention, in a speech in the Virginia capital, he denounced the Peace Convention, and declared that "the South" had nothing to hope from the Republican party. Thenceforth he gave his whole influence for the promotion of the cause of disunion. Wise men had some reason for doubting the absolute sincerity of the Virginia politicians.

On the day when the Peace Convention assembled at Washington city, a band of men, professing to represent the people of six of the "seceded States," met at Montgomery, in Alabama, to form a Southern Confederacy. They were chosen by the Secession Conventions of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida; and it is a notable fact that the *people* of these States were not allowed to act in the matter. The politicians would not trust them, and took the whole management of public affairs into their own hands. Not a single ordinance of secession was ever submitted to the *people* for ratification or rejection; and the delegates that met at Montgomery, forty-two in number, assembled wholly without the sanction of the *people*. Nevertheless, they proceeded as if they were a body

of representatives, legally chosen by the inhabitants to perfect their plans. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was chosen to preside, who, in a short speech, declared that they represented "sovereign and independent States;" that the separation was a "fixed and irrevocable fact—perfect, complete, and perpetual. . . . With a consciousness of the justice of our cause," he said, "and with confidence in the guidance and blessings of a kind Providence, we will this day inaugurate for the South a new era of peace, security, and prosperity."

It was soon found that perfect harmony could not be expected to prevail in that Convention. There were too many ambitious men there to promote serenity of thought and manner, and the sweetness of concord. They were nearly all aspirants for high positions in the new empire about to be formed; and each felt himself, like Bottom the Weaver, capable of sustaining any character, from that of a "Lion" to "Moonshine." The South Carolina politicians were particularly clamorous for honors and emoluments. Their State, they said, had taken the lead—struck the first blow—in the revolution, and they deserved the highest seats. Judge McGrath, who laid aside his official robes at Charleston, sent word that he would like to put them on again at Montgomery as Attorney-General. R. Barnwell Rhett, one of the most violent of the politicians, thought himself particularly fitted to be Secretary of War; and because his claims were not allowed, he wrote complaining letters to his son, the editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, some of the originals of which are now before me, and are rich in revelations of disappointed ambition. On the 16th of February, Rhett said in a letter, written at Montgomery: "They have not put me forward for office, it is true. I have two enemies in the [South Carolina] delegation. One friend, who, I believe, wants no office himself, and will probably act on the same principle for his friend—and the rest, personally, are indifferent to *me*, whilst some of them are not indifferent to *themselves*. There is no little jealousy of me by a part of them, and they never will agree to recommend me to any position whatever under the Confederacy. I expect nothing, therefore, from the delegation, lifting me to position. Good-bye, my dear son." Rhett and men of his way of thinking had counselled violence and outrage from the beginning, but they were restrained in the Convention by more sensible men like Stephens and Hill of Georgia, Brooks of Mississippi, and Perkins of Louisiana.

The sessions of the Convention were mostly held in secret. A committee of thirteen was appointed, with C. G. Memminger as chairman, to report a plan for a provisional Confederate government, and it was agreed to call the Convention a "Congress." The Legislature of Alabama voted a

loan of half a million dollars to enable the Secessionists to set the new government in motion ; and on the same day (February 7, 1861,) the committee reported a plan, the basis of which was the National Constitution with some important modifications. They gave the name of the government organized under it the *Confederate States of America*. This was a misnomer ; for no States as States were parties to the affair ; it was only a confederation of politicians without the sanction of the people.

The constitution of the provisional government was' adopted by the unanimous " vote of the States " on the 8th of February. On the following day, the members of the Convention took the oath of allegiance to the *Confederate States of America* ; and then they proceeded to elect Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, provisional president, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, vice-president of the Confederacy. The vast multitude who thronged the State-House received the announcement of the election with vehement applause, and the same evening Mr. Stephens was serenaded. In a brief speech he predicted a glorious career for the Confederacy, if it should be supported by " the virtue, intelligence, and patriotism of the people." Alluding to the slave-system, he said : " With institutions, so far as regards their organic and social policy, in strict conformity to nature and the laws of the Creator, whether read in the Book of Inspiration or the great Book of Manifestations around us, we have all the natural elements essential to the highest attainment in the highest degree of power and glory. These institutions have been much assailed, and it is our mission to vindicate the great truths on which they rest, and with them exhibit the highest type of civilization which it is possible for human society to reach."

Having appointed standing committees, the Convention proceeded to choose a committee to report a form for a permanent government for the Confederacy, and they and the members warmly discussed the subject of a proper national flag and seal. Almost daily, various devices were sent in ; and finally they decided that the national flag should consist of two red and one white stripe of equal width, running horizontally, with a blue union spangled with seven white stars, for, since the beginning of their session, Texas had joined the Confederacy, making seven States in their union. This flag, under which the insurgent hosts rushed to battle, was first displayed over the State-House at Montgomery on the 4th of March, 1861. The Confederate government never possessed a *seal*, the emblem of sovereignty. One which they had ordered from England arrived at Richmond just as the Confederacy was broken up, in April, 1865, and was never used.

When Jefferson Davis was apprised, at his home near Vicksburg, of his election to the presidency, he hastened to Montgomery, where he was

received with great enthusiasm; on the 15th of February. He was welcomed with the thunder of cannon and shouts of a great multitude; and at the railway station he made a speech, in which he briefly reviewed the then position of the South. He declared that the time for compromises had passed. "We are now determined," he said, "to maintain our position, and make all who oppose us smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel. . . . We will maintain our rights and our government at all hazards. We ask nothing; we want nothing; and will have no complications. If the other States join our Confederacy, they can freely come in on our terms. Our separation from the old Union is complete, and no compromise, no reconciliation can now be entertained." He was inaugurated on the 18th, when he chose for his constitutional advisers, Robert Toombs, Secretary of State; Charles G. Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury; Le Roy Pope Walker, Secretary of War; Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy, and John H. Reagan, Postmaster-General. Judah P. Benjamin was appointed Attorney-General. So was inaugurated the government known as the *Confederate States of America*, which carried on war against the life of our Republic for more than four years.



CHAPTER VI.

LUNACY—YIELDING TO NECESSITY—WILD DREAMS OF THE FUTURE—BOASTING—THE CONFEDERATES PREPARE FOR WAR—PERMANENT CONSTITUTION ADOPTED—ADJOURNMENT OF THE MONTGOMERY CONVENTION—PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT EXPOUNDED—LINCOLN AND DAVIS—LINCOLN'S JOURNEY TO THE CAPITAL—NARRATIVE OF HIS ESCAPE—HIS INAUGURATION AND INAUGURAL ADDRESS—DUTIES OF THE ADMINISTRATION—CONDITION OF THE ARMY AND NAVY—BENTON'S PROPHECY—CONFEDERATE COMMISSIONERS AT THE CAPITAL—THE VIRGINIANS—ATTEMPT TO RELIEVE FORT SUMTER AND THE RESULT.

THERE were symptoms of real lunacy among some of the leaders in the revolutionary movement, especially in South Carolina. When that new "nation" was only nine days old, a correspondent of the Associated Press wrote that it had been proposed to adopt for it a new system of civil time, to show its independence. Only a week after the organization of the Southern Confederacy at Montgomery, the editor of the *Charleston Courier* wrote: "The South *might*, under the new Confederacy, treat the disorganized and demoralized Northern States as *insurgents*, and deny them recognition. But if peaceful division ensues, the South, *after taking the Federal Capitol and archives*, and being recognized as the government *de facto* by all foreign powers, can, if they see proper, recognize the Northern Confederacy or Confederacies, and enter into treaty stipulations with them. Were this not done, it would be difficult for the Northern States to take a place among the nations, and their flag would not be respected or recognized." There was much "wild talk" of that sort; and the venerable James L. Pettigru of Charleston, who remained a firm friend of the Union in spite of the madmen around him, was justified when, on being asked by a stranger in the streets of the city, "Where is the lunatic asylum?" he said, as he pointed alternately to the east, "It is there;" to the west, "It is there;" to the north, "It is there;" and to the south, "It is there; the whole State of South Carolina is a lunatic asylum."

Notwithstanding the same arrogant and world-defying spirit was superficially manifested in the councils of the Confederacy at Montgomery, they were compelled to bow to the behests of prudence and expediency, and, abandoning the position that they would have *free trade* with all the world whereby the riches of the earth would fall at their feet, they proceeded not

only to impose a tariff upon imports, but regarding "King Cotton" as immortal and omniscient, they even went so far as to propose an export duty on the great staple of the Gulf States. Howell Cobb, who proposed it, said: "I apprehend that we are conscious of the power we hold in our hands, by reason of our producing that staple so necessary to the world. I doubt not that power will exert an influence mightier than armies or navies. We know that by an embargo we could soon place not only the United States, but many of the European powers, under the necessity of electing between such a recognition of our independence as we require, or domestic convulsions at home." Of this supposed omnipotent power, and the superior courage and prowess in arms of the people of the slave-labor States, the leaders were continually boasting. Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, a wealthy slaveholder and a son of a New England schoolmaster, writing to a feminine relative in Schenectady, New York, on the 5th of February, 1861, after alluding to the dissolution of the Union, and saying, "We absolve you, by this, from all the sins of slavery, and take upon ourselves all its supposed sin and evil, openly before the world, and in the sight of God," remarked: "Let us alone. Let me tell you, my dear cousin, that if there is any attempt at war on the part of the North, we can soundly thrash them on any field of battle." "One Southron is equal to five Yankees in a fight!" exclaimed Yancey, in a speech at Selma. And the Convention at Montgomery proceeded to prepare for testing the relative strength of the two sections.

President Davis was authorized to accept one hundred thousand volunteers for six months, and to borrow \$15,000,000 at the rate of eight per cent interest a year. Provision was made for a navy and a postal revenue; and Davis was authorized to assume control of "all military operations between the Confederate States" or any of them, and powers foreign to them. The Convention recommended the several States to cede the forts and all other public establishments within their limits to the Confederate States; and P. G. T. Beauregard, a Louisiana creole, who had abandoned his flag, was appointed brigadier-general and ordered from New Orleans to the command of the insurgents at Charleston. Early in March a permanent constitution for the Confederacy was adopted; and a commission was appointed to proceed to Washington and make a settlement of all questions at issue between the "two governments," while the Confederate secretary of the treasury prepared to establish custom-houses along the frontiers of the Confederate States. After agreeing, by resolution, to accept a portion of the money belonging to the United States which Louisiana had unlawfully seized, the Convention adjourned. Their proceedings were never

published, but constitute a part of the "Confederate archives" in the possession of the National Government.

Meanwhile Mr. Stephens, the vice-president of the Confederacy, had assumed the office of expounder of the principles upon which the new government was founded. In a speech at Savannah, on the 21st of March, 1861, he declared that the immediate cause of the rebellion was African Slavery—the rock, he said, on which Mr. Jefferson declared the Union would split; but he doubted whether Mr. Jefferson understood the truth on which that rock stood. He believed the founders of the Republic held erroneous views on the subject of slavery, and that it was a false assumption of the fathers, put forth in the Declaration of Independence, that "*all men are created equal*." He declared that the corner-stone of the new Confederacy rested "upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition. It is upon this truth," he said, "on which our fabric is firmly planted; and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of a full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized world." Then, to give strength to his declaration that slavery was the corner-stone of the new fabric, he rather irreverently quoted the words of the Apostle applied to Christ, saying: "This stone that was rejected by the first builders, 'is become the chief stone of the corner' in our new edifice."

While there were preparations in the South for destroying the Union, there were preparations in the North for preserving it. In the former section, they were chiefly material; in the latter, they were chiefly moral, for it was difficult to persuade the loyal people that the Southern politicians would really organize an armed rebellion. At the time when Jefferson Davis was moving from his home in Mississippi to be inaugurated president of the Southern Confederacy at Montgomery, and to declare "all who oppose us shall smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel," Abraham Lincoln was moving from his home in Illinois to the National capital, to be installed Chief Magistrate of the whole undivided Republic, with sublime faith in justice, and to say to the North and the South, in his inaugural address: "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Jefferson Davis was then about fifty-four years of age; Abraham Lincoln was fifty-two. Mr. Davis was, in person, sinewy and light, a little above the

middle height, and erect in posture; Mr. Lincoln was tall, thin, large-boned, and six feet four inches in height. He was sinewy, easily lifting five hundred pounds. His legs and arms were disproportionately long, and there was no grace in his movements. The features of Davis were regular and well defined; his face was thin and much wrinkled; one eye was sightless, and the other was dark and piercing in expression. Lincoln's features were angular; his forehead was high; his eyes were dark grey and very expressive, alternately sparkling with fun and subdued into sadness.

These men were both natives of Kentucky, but in early life Davis was taken to Mississippi. Raised in ease and comparative luxury, he was educated at the West Point Military Academy. He served in the army in Mexico under his father-in-law, General Zachary Taylor; held a distinguished place in the National Congress, and was President Pierce's Secretary of War. Lincoln was born in obscurity; passed his early days in poverty, laboring with his hands on a farm, in the forest, or as a flat-boatman on the Mississippi. He had settled with his father in Illinois, where he, self-taught, studied law and rose to distinction at the bar, and in the esteem of his fellow-citizens. Davis was a keen politician; calm, reticent, audacious, polished, cold, sagacious, rich in experience in the arts of the partisan and the affairs of state-craft, possessed of great concentration of purpose, an imperious will, abounding pride, and much executive ability. Lincoln was as open as the day; loved truth supremely, and country above party; abhorred trickery and deception; possessed great firmness of will and a child-like reliance upon God; read the Bible and Shakespeare more than any other books; with extraordinary conversational powers and exuberant mirthfulness manifested in sparkling jests, stories and anecdotes, at appropriate times. He was, at one time, a representative in the National Congress; and on all occasions appeared as a representative American, illustrating by his own career, in a most conspicuous and distinguished manner, the beneficent and elevating operations of republican government and institutions. His last words, when he parted from his home at Springfield, Illinois, after alluding to Washington, whose seat he was about to occupy: "I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him, and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support; and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain."

On his journey to the National capital by way of New York, Philadelphia and Harrisburg, Mr. Lincoln was everywhere greeted with affection and respect. He was in Philadelphia on Washington's birthday, and with his own hands raised the American flag high above the consecrated old

State-House, in the presence of a vast assemblage of people. There, where the Declaration of Independence was adopted and proclaimed, he made an extraordinary speech, in which he expounded his views of the moral power of that great instrument, and declared his belief that by the principles of justice enunciated in it, our Republic might be saved from ruin. "But," he exclaimed, "if this country cannot be saved without giving up this principle, I was about to say I would rather *be assassinated on this spot than surrender it*. . . . My friends, I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, die by." A little more than four years afterward, his body lay in state in Independence Hall. He had been assassinated because he had firmly supported the principles of the Declaration of Independence!

A plot had been formed in Baltimore to murder Mr. Lincoln while he should be passing through that city. General Scott and others at Washington were so well satisfied of the existence of such a plot, that they sent a messenger to meet Mr. Lincoln and warn him of his danger. The story of his escape was given by the President's own lips to the writer in December, 1864, and was substantially as follows, though in much greater detail: He arrived in Philadelphia on the 21st of February, where he agreed to stop over night, and hoist the flag on Independence Hall the next morning. That evening an intimate friend of his from Chicago (Mr. Judd) invited Mr. Lincoln to his room in the Continental Hotel, where he met Mr. Pinkerton, a shrewd detective from Chicago. They told Mr. Lincoln of the plot. Mr. Pinkerton had been engaged several days in Baltimore in ferreting it out. It was fully discovered, but he could not learn the names of the conspirators. Mr. Lincoln had made arrangements to go to Harrisburg from Philadelphia, to meet the Pennsylvania Legislature there, and from that capital to proceed through Baltimore to Washington. His friends urged him to go on that night through Baltimore to the capital, and so evade the murderers; but he determined to adhere to his engagements, for he could not believe there was a conspiracy to kill him.

When returning to his room at the Continental, Mr. Lincoln met a son of Senator Seward, the messenger sent to give him warning. He said the Washington police had discovered the plot, but they were not aware of the work of Mr. Pinkerton. Then Mr. Lincoln was satisfied that there was danger. After hoisting the flag at the State-House the next morning, he went to Harrisburg, in company with Mr. Sumner and others, dined, and waited for the time to return to Philadelphia, for he determined to go back to that city, and immediately on to Baltimore, instead of leaving Harrisburg the next morning for that place, according to the public arrangements. Mr.

Judd, meanwhile, had obtained such control of the telegraph at Harrisburg, that no communication could pass to Baltimore and give the conspirators a knowledge of the change in arrangements. In New York Mr. Lincoln had been presented with a fine beaver hat, and in it had been placed a soft wool hat. He had the hats in a box in his room. He had never worn a soft wool hat in his life; so, after making arrangements for Mr. Lamont (afterward marshal of the District of Columbia), whom nobody knew, and Mr. Judd, to accompany him, Mr. Lincoln put on an old overcoat he had with him, and with the soft hat in his pocket, he walked out the back door of the hotel where he was stopping, bareheaded, without exciting any special curiosity. "Then I put on the soft hat and joined my friends," said Mr. Lincoln, "for I was not the same man." They returned to Philadelphia, where they found a despatch from Pinkerton, at Baltimore, that it was doubtful whether the conspirators had courage to execute their scheme; but as the arrangements had been made, they went on in a special train. "We were a long time in the station at Baltimore," said the President. "I heard people talking around, but no one particularly observed me. At an early hour on Saturday morning, at about the time I was expected to leave Harrisburg, I arrived in Washington."

Mr. Lincoln was warmly welcomed by his friends in Washington city, and when, at an early hour after his arrival (February 23, 1861), he called on President Buchanan, the latter could hardly believe his eyes. He gave the President-elect a cordial welcome. So also did General Scott, who, the Secessionists thought, would join them because he was a Virginian; but he was loyal to the core, and had filled Washington city with troops in such numbers, it was supposed, that serious interference with Mr. Lincoln's inauguration was made impossible. That ceremony took place on Monday, the 4th of March, 1861. Chief Justice Taney administered the oath. There was no disturbance. The scheme of the Secessionists to prevent Mr. Lincoln's inauguration had been prostrated, but the plan of the Confederates to ultimately seize the National capital was still a cherished one. Only about six hundred troops were there, but as they had been gathered in small numbers at a time from various points, and kept concealed, the Secessionists believed there were many thousands of them; and when the small number was revealed on the first of March, it was too late to call together the "minute-men" of Maryland and Virginia. Meanwhile President Buchanan had been greatly harassed by the Secessionists. Governor Pickens had demanded of Major Anderson the surrender of Fort Sumter. Anderson refused; whereupon the governor sent J. W. Hayne, the attorney-general of South Carolina, to Washington, to make the same demand. The Presi-

dent's course was vacillating; and in this, as in other matters, he resolved to cast the responsibility upon his successor. The Secessionists had failed to accomplish, through the arts of diplomacy, a recognition by the National Government of the sovereignty of any States; and their efforts ceased early in February. Mr. Buchanan left the chair of state for private life a deeply humiliated and sorrowing man. On bidding Senator Fitzpatrick good-bye, and with the consciousness of rare opportunities for winning glory and renown as a patriot forever lost, he said: "The current of public opinion warns me that we shall never meet again on this side the grave. I have tried to do my duty to both sections, and have displeased both. I feel isolated in the world."

President Lincoln, standing at the east front of the Capitol, like Saul among the prophets, head and shoulders above other men, read his inaugural address in a clear, loud voice, in the ears of a vast multitude of people, who heard him distinctly, and who greeted its sentences with cheer after cheer. It had been waited for by the loyal people of the land with the greatest anxiety, for it was expected to foreshadow the policy of the new administration. And so it did. It gave no uncertain sound. To the people of the slave-labor States he first addressed a few assuring words, in which he said: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." He read a resolution of the Republican Convention that nominated him, which declared that the rights of the States, in order that they might control their own institutions, should be maintained inviolate, and denouncing as a high crime the invasion by an armed force of any State or Territory, "no matter under what pretext." He reiterated these sentiments as his own; assured the people that "the prosperity, peace, and security of no section" were to be "in any wise endangered by the new incoming Administration," and that every section of the Union should have equal protection.

Mr. Lincoln then discussed the political structure and character of the Republic, showing that the Union is older than the Constitution; that it is necessarily *perpetual*; that there is no inherent power in the whole or in part to terminate it, and that the secession of a State was impossible. Assuming that the Republic was unbroken, he declared that, to the extent of his ability, he should take care, as the Constitution required him to do, that the laws should be executed in all the States, performing that duty as far as practicable, unless his "rightful masters, the American people," should withhold the requisite means, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary. "I trust this will not be regarded as a menace," he continued.

"but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself. In doing this," he added, "there need be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the National authority." He declared that the power confided to him should be used "to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts."

So, in a frank, generous, kindly manner, did Mr. Lincoln avow his determination to perform the duties of the Chief Executive of the nation, according to his convictions and his ability. He had said in a speech at Trenton, on his way from New York to Philadelphia: "I shall do all that may be in my power to promote a peaceful settlement of all our difficulties. The man does not live who is more devoted to peace than I am—no one who would do more to preserve it; *but it may be necessary to put the foot down firmly.*" The *Springfield Journal*, published at the home of Mr. Lincoln, and his accredited "organ," had said weeks before: "If South Carolina violates the law [by obstructing the collection of the revenue], then comes the tug of war. The President of the United States, in such an emergency, has a plain duty to perform. Mr. Buchanan may shirk it, or the emergency may not exist during his administration. If not, then the Union will last through his term of office. If the overt act, on the part of South Carolina, takes place on or after the 4th of March, 1861, then the duty of executing the laws will devolve upon Mr. Lincoln." So felt all the loyal people of the land; and they were strengthened by hope, given in the promise of his inaugural address that he should faithfully do his duty.

In that address, the President also declared that he should "endeavor, by justice, to reconcile all discontents;" and he asked the enemies of the Government to point to a single instance where "any right, plainly written in the Constitution," had ever been denied. He then showed the danger of the precedent established by secession, for it might lead to infinite subdivisions by discontented minorities. "Plainly," he said, "the central idea of secession is anarchy." He referred to the impossibility of a dissolution of the Union, physically speaking; and contemplating a state of political separation of the sections, he asked, significantly, "Can treaties be more faithfully enforced among aliens than laws can among friends?" He reminded them that their respective territories must remain "face to face;" that they could not "fight always," and that the causes of feuds would continue to exist. He begged his countrymen to take time for serious deliberation. "Such of you," he said, "as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it

would, to change either. . . . In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of Civil War. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government ; whilst I shall have the most solemn one to ' preserve, protect, and defend ' it. '

The Secessionists would listen to no words of kindness, of justice, or of warning ; they had resolved to destroy the Union at all hazards ; and the prophecy of Thomas H. Benton, uttered in 1857, was speedily fulfilled. He knew their schemes, for they had long tried to enlist him in them. " So long as the people of the North," he said to Senator Wilson, " shall be content to attend to commerce and manufactures, and accept the policy and rule of the disunionists, they will condescend to remain in the Union ; but should the Northern people attempt to exercise their just influence in the nation, they would attempt to seize the Government or disrupt the Union ; but," he said, with terrible emphasis, "*God and their own crimes will put them in the hands of the people.*"

Mr. Lincoln chose for his constitutional advisers, Wm. H. Seward of New York, Secretary of State ; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury ; Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War ; Gideon Welles of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy ; Caleb Smith of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior ; Montgomery Blair of Maryland, Postmaster-General ; and Edward Bates of Missouri, Attorney-General. With these men Mr. Lincoln began his eventful administration. With the close of the " Inauguration Ball," the night before these appointments were made, ended the poetry of his life ; after that it was all the prose of care, anxiety, and incessant labor incident to the daily life of a conscientious head of a nation in a state of civil war. The plain meaning of his inaugural address was distorted by the Confederates to inflame the minds of the people in the slave-labor States. It was misrepresented and maligned, and the people were bewildered. Meanwhile the President and his cabinet went calmly at work to ascertain the condition of the ship of state. Means were planned for replenishing the exhausted Treasury and to strengthen the public credit. The condition of the Army and Navy was contemplated with great solicitude, for it was evident that the Confederates had resolved on war. Of the twenty forts in the slave-labor States, all but four had been seized by them. Every arsenal there was in their possession. The entire regular force of the Republic, in soldiers, was sixteen thousand men, and these were mostly on the Western frontiers, guarding the settlers against the Indians ; and of this small number, General David E. Twiggs had treacherously surrendered

between two and three thousand, with munitions of war, into the hands of the Texan insurgents, so early as the middle of February.

The little National navy, like the army, had been placed far beyond the reach of the Government, for immediate use. It consisted of ninety vessels of all classes, but only forty-two were in commission. Twenty-eight, carrying an aggregate of nearly nine hundred guns, were lying in ports, dismantled, and could not be made ready for sea, some of them, in several months. Most of those in commission had been sent to distant seas; and the entire available force for the defence of the whole Atlantic coast of the Republic was the *Brooklyn*, 25, and the store-ship *Relief*, of two guns. The *Brooklyn* drew too much water to enter Charleston harbor, where war had begun, with safety; and the *Relief* had been ordered to the coast of Africa with stores for the squadron there. Many of the naval officers were born in slave-labor States; so also were those of the army; and many of both arms of the service deserted their flag at the critical moment, and joined the enemies of their Government. The amazing fact was presented that Mr. Buchanan's Secretaries of War and Navy had so disposed the available military forces of the Republic that it could not command their services at the critical moment when the hand of its enemy was raised to destroy its life. The public offices were swarming with disloyal men, and for a full month the President, knowing the importance of having faithful instruments to work with, was engaged in relieving the Government of these unfaithful servants. He wisely strengthened his arm by calling to his aid loyal men, before he ventured to strike a blow in defence of the threatened National authority.

We have observed that the Convention at Montgomery appointed commissioners to treat with the National Government upon matters of mutual interest. Two of these (John Forsyth and Martin J. Crawford) arrived in Washington city on the 5th of March (1861), and asked for an "unofficial interview" with the Secretary of State. It was declined, when they sent him a sealed communication setting forth the object of their mission as representatives of "a government perfect in all its parts, and endowed with all the means of self-support," and asking for an opportunity to "present their credentials" at an early day. This communication—this adroit attempt to obtain a recognition of the sovereignty of the Confederate States from the National Government, failed. In a "memorandum" which he sent to them, the Secretary referred to the principles laid down in the inaugural address, and, like Mr. Lincoln, he declared the doctrine that no State as a State had seceded or could secede, and that, consequently, the "Confederate States government" had no legal existence. The commissioners remained more than a month in Washington, and then, after giving the Secretary

(Mr. Seward) a lecture on the theory of government, they left for home on the day when the South Carolinians proceeded to attack Fort Sumter.

Among the first questions that demanded the attention of the new Administration was, "Shall Fort Sumter be reinforced and supplied?" They were anxious for peace, and the question was kept in abeyance until late in March, when Gustavus V. Fox (afterward the efficient Assistant Secretary of the Navy) was sent to Charleston harbor to ascertain the exact condition of things there. He found that Major Anderson had sufficient supplies to last him until the 12th of April, and it was understood between them that if not supplied, he must surrender or evacuate the fort at noon on that day. On his return to Washington Mr. Fox reported to the President that if succor was to be afforded to Anderson, it must be before the middle of April. The President, anxious for peace, and not to bring on a collision with the South Carolina insurgents, had listened favorably to urgent advice to abandon Sumter and not precipitate hostilities. The Virginia State Convention was then in session considering the propriety of leaving the Union. Mr. Lincoln sent for a professed Union man in that body, and said to him, "If your Convention shall adjourn, instead of staying in session menacing the Government, I will immediately direct Major Anderson to evacuate Fort Sumter." Had the Virginia politicians wanted peace, this request would have been complied with. On the contrary, this professed Virginia Unionist replied, "Sir, the United States must instantly evacuate Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens, and give assurances that no attempt will be made to collect revenue in the Southern ports."

This virtual demand for the President to recognize the Southern Confederacy as an independent nation, caused him to "put the foot down firmly." He ordered an expedition to be sent to Charleston harbor immediately, under the direction of Mr. Fox (who had offered a plan for such action), with provisions and troops for Fort Sumter. Fox sailed from New York with a squadron of eight vessels, on the 9th of April, but only three reached the vicinity of Charleston harbor, which they could not enter because of a terrible storm that was sweeping over the ocean in that region. While these vessels (the *Baltic*, carrying the troops, and the *Pawnee* and *Harriet Lane*) were buffeting the tempest, the insurgents attacked Fort Sumter with bombshells and solid shot, with great fury. For three months after the expulsion of the *Star of the West*, Anderson had been kept in suspense by the temporizing policy of his Government. He had seen forts and batteries piled around Fort Sumter for its destruction, and had been compelled to keep his own great guns muzzled, waiting for an attack. Nearly all that time he was menaced daily with hostilities; abused by the Southern press; misrepre-

sented by the Northern newspapers, and yet was forced to passively endure his situation until his supplies were exhausted. He had sent away the women and children to New York, in February, and had calmly awaited the course of events.

Meanwhile the leaders in the revolutionary movement were impatient to begin the destructive work. They were vehemently urging Virginia and other Border States to openly and practically espouse their cause. They feared the cooling effects of delay and hesitation, and anxiously sought a pretext for firing the first gun. The crisis was reached on the morning of the 8th of April, when President Lincoln, with the most generous fairness, telegraphed to Governor Pickens that he was about to send relief to Fort Sumter. It produced the most intense excitement in Charleston. Beauregard, who was in command of the armed insurgents there, sent the message to Montgomery, to which L. Pope Walker, the Confederate Secretary of War, replied on the 10th, ordering him to demand the evacuation of the fort. "If this is refused," he said, "proceed, in such manner as you may determine, to reduce it." Beauregard replied, "The demand will be made to-morrow."



CHAPTER VII.

VIRGINIANS IN CHARLESTON—A CRY FOR BLOOD—EVENTS IN CHARLESTON—SIEGE OF FORT SUMTER—INCIDENTS OF THE STRUGGLE—EVACUATION OF THE FORT—JOYFUL FEELINGS IN CHARLESTON—GRATITUDE OF THE LOYAL PEOPLE DISPLAYED—HONORS TO MAJOR ANDERSON—ATTEMPTS TO CAPTURE FORT PICKENS—HONORS TO LIEUTENANT SLEMMER—PRESIDENT'S CALL FOR TROOPS—RESPONSES TO THE CALL—UPRISING OF THE LOYAL PEOPLE—BOASTINGS OF THE NORTHERN PRESS—A FATAL MISTAKE—INTERPRETATIONS OF SCRIPTURE—PROCLAMATIONS AND COUNTER-PROCLAMATIONS—PRIVATEERING RECOMMENDED TO THE CONFEDERATES—ACTION OF THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS—PRIVATEERS COMMISSIONED.

THE hesitation of Virginia to join the Confederacy, gave the leaders in South Carolina many misgivings as to her "patriotism;" but two of her sons, who were in Charleston at this crisis, gave them assurance of her "fidelity to the cause." These were Edmund Ruffin, a gray-haired old man, and Roger A. Pryor, a young lawyer, who had served a term in the National Congress. Pryor was serenaded on the evening of the 10th of April (1861), and in response to the compliment he made a characteristic speech. "Gentlemen," he said, "I thank you especially that you have at last annihilated this cursed Union, reeking with corruption and insolent with excess of tyranny. Thank God it is at last blasted and riven by the lightning wrath of an outraged and indignant people. Not only is it gone, but gone forever. . . . Do not distrust Virginia. As sure as to-morrow's sun will rise upon us, just so sure will Virginia be a member of the Southern Confederacy. And I will tell you, gentlemen," said Mr. Pryor with great vehemence of manner, "what will put her in the Southern Confederacy in less than an hour by Shrewsbury clock—*strike a blow!* The very moment that blood is shed, old Virginia will make common cause with her sisters of the South."

This cry for blood was telegraphed to Montgomery, when a member of the Alabama Legislature (Mr. Gilchrist) said to Davis and his cabinet: "Gentlemen, unless you sprinkle blood in the faces of the people of Alabama, they will be back in the old Union in less than ten days." Beauregard was at once ordered to shed blood if necessary, and so "fire the Southern heart." That officer sent a deputation to Major Anderson to demand the immediate surrender of Fort Sumter. The supplies for the garrison were nearly

exhausted, and Anderson replied: "I will evacuate the fort in five days if I do not receive controlling instructions from my Government." Davis knew better than Anderson that vessels were on their way with supplies for the fort, and he instructed Beauregard to act accordingly. So, at a little past three o'clock in the morning of the 12th of April, that officer announced to Anderson, that within one hour the batteries, which then formed a semi circle around Sumter, would open upon the fort. The military in Charleston had been summoned to their posts early in the evening, in anticipation of this movement, and a call was made by telegraph to the surrounding country to send four thousand men into the city.

At the appointed hour the heavy booming of a cannon on James Island awakened the sleepers in Charleston, and the streets were soon thronged with people. From the broad throat of a mortar a fiery bomb-shell sped through the black night and exploded over Sumter. After a brief pause, another heavy gun at Cumming's Point, on Morris Island, sent a large round-shot that struck against the granite wall of the fort with fearful force. That gun was fired by the white-haired Virginian (Ruffin), who had begged the privilege of firing the first shot against Sumter. He boasted of the deed so long as he lived. In the early summer of 1865, when he was over seventy years of age, he deliberately blew off the top of his head with his gun, declaring in a note which he left—"I cannot survive the liberties of my country." His shot was followed by a tempest of shells and balls from full thirty cannons and mortars which opened at once upon the fort, but which elicited no response until about seven o'clock in the morning. Then, by a judicious arrangement of the little garrison, the great guns of Sumter were enabled to play upon all the hostile batteries at the same time, under the skillful directions of Captain Doubleday, Surgeon Crawford, and Lieutenant Snyder. Doubleday and Crawford afterward became distinguished major-generals. But it was evident, after four hours of hard and skillful labor at the guns, that Fort Sumter could not seriously injure the works opposed to it. On Cumming's Point was an iron-plated battery that was absolutely invulnerable to missiles hurled upon it from Fort Sumter.

A fearful contest had now begun. The walls and parapets of the fort were soon shattered; its *barbette* guns were dismounted, and its barracks and officers' quarters were set on fire. News of the relief squadron had reached the garrison, and Surgeon Crawford bravely ascended to the parapet to look for it. He distinctly saw the three ships struggling with the storm outside the bar. Their near presence nerved the hearts and muscles of the soldiers, but their hopes were vain. The little squadron was compelled to leave the band of brave men in Sumter without relief.

All that day the assault continued, and all that night, which was dark and stormy, a sluggish bombardment of the fort was kept up; and when, on the following morning (April 13, 1861), on which the sun rose in unclouded splendor, it was renewed with increased vigor, the wearied garrison of not more than seventy men, found their supplies almost exhausted. In three days they must be starved out. On that morning the last parcel of rice had been cooked, and nothing but salted pork was left to be eaten. Red-hot

shot were making havoc among the wooden structures of the fort. The flames spread, and the heat was intolerable. The fire threatened the magazine, and ninety barrels of powder were rolled into the sea. The smoke and heat were so stifling, that the men were often compelled to lie upon the ground with wet cloths over their faces to enable them to breathe. The old flag was kept flying until a shot cut its staff, and it fell to the ground at a little past noon. It was caught up, carried to the ramparts, and there replanted by Sergeant Peter Hart, Major Anderson's faithful servant and friend.



REPLACING THE FLAG ON SUMTER.

When the flag of Sumter fell, the insurgents shouted, for they regarded its downfall as a token of submission. A boat instantly shot out from Cum-

ming's Point, bearing an officer who held a white handkerchief on the point of his sword as a flag of truce. He landed at the wharf at Fort Sumter, and, hurrying to the nearest port-hole, begged a soldier to let him in. The faithful man refused. "I am General Wigfall, of Beauregard's staff, and want to see Major Anderson!" he cried. The soldier said, "Stand there until I can call the commander." "For God's sake," cried Wigfall, "let me in! I can't stand out here in the firing." He ran around to the sallyport, but was there confronted by its blazing ruins. Then the poor fellow, half dead with fright, ran around the fort waving his white handkerchief toward



THE ATTACK ON FORT SUMTER.

his fellow-insurgents, to prevent their firing; but it was in vain. At last, out of sheer pity, he was allowed to crawl into a port-hole, after giving up his sword, where he was met by some of the officers of the fort. He told them who he was; that he had been sent by Beauregard to stop the firing, and begged them piteously to raise a white flag. "You are on fire," he said, "and your flag is down." He was interrupted by one of the officers, who said, "Our flag is not down," and Wigfall saw it where Peter Hart had replaced it. "Well, well," he said, "I want to stop this." Holding out his sword and handkerchief, he said to one of the officers, "Will you hoist this?" "No, sir," was the reply; "it is for you, General Wigfall, to stop them." "Will any of you hold this out of the embrasure?" he asked. No one offering the service, he said, "May I hold it there?" "If you wish to," was the cool reply. Wigfall sprang into the embrasure and waved the handkerchief several times, when a shot striking near him, he scampered away. He then begged some one else to hold it for him. At length consent was given to hoist a white flag over the ramparts, for the sole purpose of holding a conference with Major Anderson, who was sent for. Wigfall repeated his false story that he had come from Beauregard, and on assuring Anderson that the latter acceded to the major's terms—the evacuation of the fort on the 15th—that officer allowed the white flag to be hoisted, and Wigfall left. Seeing this, a deputation came from Beauregard, who informed the commander of the fort that Wigfall had not seen their chief in two days. Indignant because of the foul deception, Anderson declared the white flag should immediately come down, but he was persuaded to leave it until a conference could be held with Beauregard. Wigfall was a National Senator from Texas, and was one of the most insolent and boastful men on the floor of Congress. Soon after this ridiculous display of his mendacity and cowardice, he disappeared from public life, shorn of the confidence and respect of his more honorable associates. He was on Jefferson Davis's staff for awhile.

The conference with Beauregard resulted in an arrangement for the evacuation of Fort Sumter; and on Sunday, the 14th of April, 1861, the little garrison, with their private property, went on board a small steamboat that took them to the *Baltic* that lingered outside the bar, in which they were conveyed to New York. Major Anderson *evacuated* the fort, but did not *surrender* it; and he carried away with him the garrison flag, which, just four years afterward, tattered and torn, was again raised by the hands of that gallant officer (then a major-general) over all that remained of Fort Sumter—a heap of ruins.

Governor Pickens had watched the bombardment of the fort on Saturday with a telescope, and that evening he addressed the excited multitude in

Charleston, saying: "Thank God the war is open, and we will conquer or perish. . . . We have humbled the flag of the United States. I can here say to you, it is the first time in the history of this country that the Stars and Stripes have been humbled. That proud flag was never lowered before to any nation on the earth. It has triumphed for seventy years; but to-day, the 13th of April, it has been humbled, and humbled before the glorious little State of South Carolina." On the following day, the holy Sabbath, the fall of Fort Sumter was commemorated in the churches of Charleston. The venerable bishop of the diocese of the Protestant Episcopal church was led by the rector of St. Philip's to the sacred desk, where he addressed a few words to the people. Speaking of the battle, he said, "Your boys were there, and mine were there, and it was right they should be there." Bishop Lynch, of the Roman Catholic church, spoke exultingly of the result of the conflict; and a *Te Deum* was chanted in commemoration of the event in the cathedral of St. John and St. Finbar, where he was officiating.

The loyal people of the free-labor States were loud in their praises of Major Anderson and his men for their gallant defence of the fort; and their gratitude was shown by substantial tokens. The citizens of Taunton, Massachusetts, and of Philadelphia, each presented Major Anderson with an elegant sword, richly ornamented. The citizens of New York presented a beautiful gold medal, and the authorities of that city gave him the freedom of the corporation in an elegant gold box. The Chamber of Commerce caused a series of medals to be struck in commemoration of the defence, to be presented to Major Anderson and his whole command; and from legislative bodies and other sources he received pleasing testimonials. Better than all, the President of the United States gave the major, by commission, the rank and pay of a brigadier-general in the army.

While hostilities against Fort Sumter were occurring, movements were made for the capture of strong Fort Pickens, on Santa Rosa Island, commanding the entrance to the harbor of Pensacola, in Florida. Near it were two inferior forts (Fort Barrancas, built by the Spaniards, and Fort McRee); and near Pensacola was a navy-yard. The military works were in charge of Lieutenant Adam Slemmer, and the naval establishment was under Commodore Armstrong. Slemmer was informed that an attempt to seize the military works would be made as soon as the Florida politicians should declare the secession of that State; and he took measures accordingly. Perceiving it to be impossible to hold all the works with his small garrison, he, like Major Anderson, abandoned the weaker ones and transferred his people and supplies to the stronger Fort Pickens. That was on the 10th of Jan-

uary, 1861, the day on which the Florida Convention passed the Ordinance of Secession. On the same morning, about five hundred insurgents of Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi appeared at the gate of the navy-yard and demanded its surrender. Armstrong was powerless, for three-fourths of the sixty officers under his command were disloyal. Commander Farrand was actually among the insurgents who demanded the surrender, and Flag-Officer Renshaw immediately ordered the National standard to be pulled down. The post, with ordnance stores valued at \$156,000, passed into the hands of the authorities of Florida; and Forts Barrancas and McRee were taken possession of by the insurgents.

Lieutenant Slemmer, deprived of the promised aid of the naval establishment, was now left to his own resources. The fort was one of the strongest on the Gulf coast. There were fifty-four guns in position, and provisions for five months within it; but the garrison consisted of only eighty-one officers and men.

Two days after the seizure of the navy-yard near Pensacola, a demand was made by insurgent leaders for the surrender of Fort Pickens. Lieutenant Slemmer refused compliance. Three days later (January 15) Colonel W. H. Chase of Massachusetts, who was in command of all the insurgents in that region, obtained an interview with Slemmer, and tried to persuade him to "avoid bloodshed" by quietly surrendering the fort, saying in conclusion: "Consider this well, and take care that you will so act as to have no fearful recollections of a tragedy that you might have avoided; but rather to make the present moment one of the most glorious, because Christian-like, of your life." The wily serpent could not seduce the patriot, and Slemmer did make that a glorious moment of his life by refusing to give up the fort. On the 18th, another demand was made for the surrender of the fort and refused, and a siege of that stronghold was begun.

The number of insurgents at Pensacola rapidly increased, and the new Administration resolved to send relief to Fort Pickens. A small squadron was dispatched from New York for the purpose; and Lieutenant J. L. Worden of the navy was sent overland to Pensacola, with orders to Captain Adams, in command of some vessels off Fort Pickens, to throw reinforcements into that work immediately. Worden reached Pensacola on the 10th of April, where Colonel Braxton Bragg was in chief command of the Confederates. He had observed great excitement and preparations for war on his journey, and fearing arrest, Worden had made himself well acquainted with the contents of the despatches, and then tore them up. He frankly told Bragg that he was sent by his Government with orders to Captain Adams, and that they were not written, but oral. That officer gave the

lieutenant a pass for his destination. His message was timely delivered, for Bragg was on the point of attacking the fort. The reinforcements were thrown in, and the plan was foiled. Worden returned to Pensacola, and was permitted to take the cars for Montgomery, Alabama, when Bragg was informed by a spy that Fort Pickens had been reinforced. Mortified by his stupid blunder in allowing Worden to pass to and from the squadron, he violated truth and honor by telegraphing to the Confederate government at Montgomery that Worden had practiced falsehood and deception in gaining access to the squadron, and recommended his arrest. He was seized on the 15th of April and cast into the common jail, where he was treated with scorn by the Confederates, and kept a prisoner until November following, when he was exchanged. Worden had acted with the utmost frankness and the nicest sense of honor in the whole matter. He was the first prisoner-of-war held by the insurgents.

A few days after the reinforcement of Fort Pickens, two vessels, bearing several hundred troops and ample supplies, under Colonel Harvey Brown, appeared there, when Lieutenant Slemmer and his brave little band, worn down by fatigue and continued watchfulness, were relieved, and sent to Fort Hamilton, near New York, to rest. The grateful people honored them. The President gave Slemmer the commission of major, and afterward of brigadier; and the New York Chamber of Commerce also caused a series of bronze medals to be struck as presents to the commander and men of the brave little garrison. Reinforcements continued to be sent to Fort Pickens; and the number of the insurgents intended to assail it also increased, until, in May, they numbered over seven thousand. But events of very little importance occurred in that vicinity during the ensuing summer.

On Sunday morning, the 14th of April, 1861, the tidings of the dishonoring of the National standard in Charleston harbor, was telegraphed over the land, and created the wildest excitement everywhere, North and South. The loyal people were indignant; the disloyal people were jubilant. I was in New Orleans on that day. The sound of Sabbath-bells was mingled with the martial-music of fife and drum. Church-goers and troops in bright uniforms were seen in almost every street, the latter gathering for an immediate expedition against Fort Pickens. All faces beamed with gladness, and the pulpits overflowed with words of loyalty to the Southern Confederacy. At the North, the loyal hearts of the patriotic people beat vehemently with emotion; and everywhere the momentous question was asked, What next? It was not long unanswered, for within twenty-four hours after Major Anderson went out of Fort Sumter, the President of the United States issued a stirring call for seventy-five thousand troops to suppress the rising rebellion.

In that proclamation (April 15, 1861) the President declared that for some time combinations in several of the States (which he named), "too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the marshals by law," had opposed the laws of the Republic; and therefore, by virtue of power vested in him, he called out the militia of the Union, to the number just mentioned, and appealed to the patriotism of the people in support of the measure. In the same proclamation he summoned the National Congress to meet at Washington city on the 4th day of July next ensuing, to consider the crisis. At the same time the Secretary of War sent a despatch to the governors of all the States excepting those mentioned in the President's proclamation, requesting each of them to cause to be detailed from the militia of his State the quota designated in a table which he appended, to serve as infantry or riflemen for the period of three months, unless sooner discharged.

This call of the President and the requisition of the Secretary of War were responded to with enthusiasm in the free-labor States; but in six of the eight slave-labor States not omitted in the call, they were treated with scorn. The exceptions were Delaware and Maryland. In the other slave-labor States, disloyal governors held the reins of power. Governor Letcher of Virginia replied: "I have only to say that the militia of this State will not be furnished to the powers at Washington for any such use or purpose as they have in view. Your object is to subjugate the Southern States, and a requisition made upon me for such an object will not be complied with. You have chosen to inaugurate Civil War, and, having done so, we will meet it in a spirit as determined as the Administration has exhibited toward the South." Governor Ellis of North Carolina answered: "Your despatch is received, and if genuine, which its extraordinary character leads me to doubt, I have to say in reply, that I regard the levy of troops made by the Administration for the purpose of subjugating the States of the South, as in violation of the Constitution and a usurpation of power. I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country, and to this war upon the liberties of a free people. You can get no troops from North Carolina." Governor Magoffin of Kentucky answered: "Your despatch is received. I say emphatically that Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States." Governor Harris of Tennessee said: "Tennessee will not furnish a single man for coercion; but fifty thousand, if necessary, for the defence of our rights or those of our Southern brethren." Governor Rector of Arkansas replied, "In answer to your requisition for troops from Arkansas, to subjugate the Southern States, I have to say that none will be furnished. The demand is only adding

insult to injury. The people of this Commonwealth are freemen, not slaves, and will defend, to the last extremity, their honor, their lives and property against Northern mendacity and usurpation." Governor Jackson of Missouri responded: "There can be, I apprehend, no doubt that these men are intended to make war on the seceded States. Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional and revolting in its objects, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade."

It was reported from Montgomery that Mr. Davis and his compeers received Mr. Lincoln's call for troops "with derisive laughter." Mr. Hooper, the Secretary of the Montgomery Convention, in reply to the question of the agent of the Associated Press at Washington, "What is the feeling there?" said:

"Davis answers, rough and curt,
With Paixhan and petard,
Sumter is ours and nobody hurt,
We tender old Abe our Beau-regard."

And on the day after the call was made (April 16), the *Mobile Advertiser* contained the following advertisement in one of its inside business columns:

"75,000 COFFINS WANTED."

"PROPOSALS will be received to supply the Confederacy with 75,000 black coffins. No proposals will be entertained coming north of Mason and Dixon's line.
"Direct to JEFF. DAVIS, Montgomery, Alabama."

This ghastly joke showed the temper of the political leaders in that region. But this feeling of boastfulness and levity was soon changed to seriousness, for there were indications of a wonderful uprising of the loyal people of the free-labor States in defence of the Union. Men, women, and children shared in the general enthusiasm. Loyalty was everywhere expressed, as if by preconcert, by the unfurling of the National flag. That banner was seen all over the land in attestation of devotion to the Union—in halls of justice and places of public worship. It was displayed from flag-staffs, balconies, windows, and even from the spires of churches and cathedrals. It was seen at all public gatherings, where cannon roared and orators spoke eloquently for the preservation of the Republic; and *red, white, and blue*—the colors of our flag in combination—were the hues of ornaments worn by women in attestation of their loyalty. And when it was evident to the people of the free-labor States that the National capital

was in danger, organized military bands were seen hurrying to the banks of the Potomac for the defence of Washington city.

The foolish boastings of the Southern newspapers were imitated by some of the members of the Northern press. "The nations of Europe," one said, "may rest assured that Jeff. Davis & Co. will be swinging from the battlements at Washington, at least by the 21st of July. We spit upon a later or longer-deferred justice." Another said: "Let us make quick work. The



HASTENING TO THE DEFENCE OF WASHINGTON CITY.

'rebellion,' as some people term it, is an unborn tadpole. Let us not fall into the delusion, noted by Hallam, of mistaking a 'local commotion' for revolution. A strong, active 'pull together' will do our work effectually in thirty days." And still another said: "No man of sense can for a moment doubt that this much-ado-about-nothing will end in a month. The Northern people are simply invincible. The rebels—a mere band of ragamuffins—will fly like chaff before the wind, on our approach." And a Chicago paper, with particular craziness of speech, said: "Let the East get out of the way; this is a war of the West. We can fight the battle, and successfully, within two or three months at the farthest. Illinois can whip the

South by herself. We insist on this matter being turned over to us. . . . The rebellion will be crushed out before the assemblage of Congress."

Neither section comprehended the earnestness and prowess of the other—the pluck that always distinguished the American people, North and South. Each, in its pride, felt a contempt for the other, each believing the other would not fight. This was a fatal misapprehension, and led to sad results. Each party appealed to the Almighty to witness the rectitude of its intentions, and each was quick to discover omens of Heaven's approval of its course. When, on the Sunday after the President's call for troops went forth, the first lesson in the morning service in the Protestant Episcopal churches of the land on that day contained this battle-call of the Prophet: "Proclaim ye this among the Gentiles: Prepare for war; wake up the mighty men; let all the men of war draw near; let them come up: beat your ploughshares into swords, and your pruning-hooks into spears; let the weak say, I am strong," the loyal people of Boston, New York, and Cincinnati said: "See! how Revelation summons us to the conflict!" and the insurgents of Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans answered: "It is equally a call for us," adding: "See how specially we are promised victory in another Scripture lesson in the same church, which says; 'I will remove off from you the *Northern Army*, and will drive him into a land barren and desolate, with his face toward the East sea, and his hinder part toward the utmost sea. . . . Fear not, O land! be glad and rejoice; for the Lord will do great things.'"

Two days after the President's call was promulgated, the chief of the Southern Confederacy issued a proclamation, in which, after declaring that Mr. Lincoln had announced the intention of invading the "Confederate States" for "the purpose of capturing its fortresses and thereby subverting its independence, and subjecting the free people thereof to the dominion of a foreign power," he invited all persons who felt so disposed to enter upon a course of legalized piracy called "privateering," and to depredate on the commerce of the United States. This proclamation was immediately followed by another from the President, declaring his intention to employ a competent force to blockade all the ports which were claimed to belong to the Southern Confederacy; also warning all persons who should engage in privateering under the sanction of a commission from the insurgent chief, that they would be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy.

The "Congress of the Confederate States" had been summoned to meet at Montgomery on the 29th of April (1861), and a few days after the session began, an act was passed declaring that war existed between the

seven "seceded" States and the United States, and authorized Mr. Davis to employ the power of their section to "meet the war thus commenced, and to issue to private armed vessels commissions or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, under the seal of the Confederate States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the Government of the United States, and of the citizens or inhabitants of the States and Territories thereof." They also offered a bounty of twenty dollars for each person who might be on board of an armed vessel of the United States that should be destroyed by a Confederate privateer—in other words, a reward for the destruction of men, women, and children. "Happily for the credit of humanity," says a historian of the war, "this act has no parallel on the statute-book of any civilized nation." Mr. Davis did not wait for this authority, but several days before the assembling of his "Congress," he issued commissions for privateering, signed by himself, and Robert Toombs, as secretary. With these hostile proclamations of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Davis, the great Conflict was fairly begun.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION—UNION SENTIMENTS SUPPRESSED BY VIOLENCE—ORDINANCE OF SECESSION PASSED—BAD FAITH—VIRGINIA ANNEXED TO THE CONFEDERACY—THE PEOPLE DISFRANCHISED—THE NATIONAL CAPITAL TO BE SEIZED—DAVIS'S PROFESSIONS—POETIC COMMENTS ON THEM—EVENTS AT HARPER'S FERRY AND GOSPORT NAVY-YARD—RESPONSE TO THE CALL FOR TROOPS—MASSACHUSETTS SENDS TROOPS TO WASHINGTON—ATTACK UPON THEM IN BALTIMORE—CRITICAL SITUATION OF THE CAPITAL—THE PRESIDENT AND MARYLAND SECESSIONISTS—PROMPT AND EFFICIENT ACTION OF GENERAL WOOL—UNION DEFENCE COMMITTEE—GENERAL BUTLER'S OPERATIONS IN MARYLAND—HE TAKES POSSESSION OF BALTIMORE—EVENTS AT THE CAPITAL—PREPARATIONS FOR THE STRUGGLE.

AT this time Virginia had passed through a fiery ordeal and lay prostrate, bound hand and foot by her disloyal sons, at the feet of the Southern Confederacy. A State Convention assembled at the middle of February, and remained in session more than two months. A large majority of the members were animated by a sincere love for the Union, especially those from the mountain districts in Western Virginia; and even so late as a fortnight before its adjournment, an Ordinance of Secession was defeated by a vote of eighty-nine against forty-five. Yet the conspirators persevered with hope, for they saw one after another of weak Union members converted by their sophistry.

The crisis was reached when Edmund Ruffin fired his gun at Fort Sumter. "That gun," said a telegraphic despatch from Charleston, "will do more in the cause of secession in Virginia, than volumes of stump speeches." So it did. It set bells ringing, and cannon thundering in the Virginia capital, and produced the wildest excitement in and out of the Convention. "The war has begun; what will Virginia do?" asked Governor Pickens, by telegraph. Governor Letcher replied, "The Convention will determine." That determination was speedily made. When, on Monday the 15th of April, the President's call for troops to suppress the rising rebellion was read in the Convention, that body was shaken by a fierce tempest of contending passions. Reason and judgment fled, and the stoutest Union men bent before the storm like reeds in a gale. Yet when the Convention adjourned that evening, and the question was pending, Shall Virginia secede at once? there was a strong majority in favor of Union.

The conspirators were now desperate. They perceived that the success of their grand scheme, the seizure of the National capital, depended upon the action of Virginia at that crisis. Richmond was then in the hands of an excited populace ready to do the bidding of the leading politicians, and the latter resolved to act with a high hand. They perceived that the absence of ten Union members from the Convention would give a majority for secession. Accordingly ten of them were waited upon by the conspirators on that evening, and informed that they must choose between three modes of action, namely, to vote for secession, absent themselves, or be hanged. They saw that resistance to these desperate men would be vain, and they absented themselves. These violent proceedings awed other Union men in the Convention, and on Wednesday the 17th of April, 1861, an Ordinance of Secession was adopted. Unlike the conventions of other "seceding" States, it referred the Ordinance to the people to vote on at a future day. But this show of respect for the popular will was not sincere. A despatch was immediately sent to Jefferson Davis, telling him Virginia was "out of the Union;" and within twenty-four hours after the passage of the Ordinance, and while it was yet under cover of an injunction of secrecy, Governor Letcher set in motion expeditions to capture the Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and the Navy-yard at Gosport, opposite Norfolk, preparatory to the seizure of the National capital. Davis sent his lieutenant, Alexander H. Stephens, from Montgomery to Richmond, to urge the Convention to violate its faith pledged to the people, and to formally annex Virginia to the Confederacy without their consent. This was done within a week after the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, and a month before the day appointed for the people to vote upon it.

Stephens arrived in Richmond on the evening of the 23d of April. The Convention appointed a commission, with ex-President Tyler at its head, to treat with this representative of the "Confederacy" for the annexation of Virginia to that league. The act was accomplished the next day. The "treaty" provided that "the whole military force and military operations" of Virginia, "offensive and defensive, in the impending conflict with the United States," should be under the chief control of Jefferson Davis. Then they adopted and ratified the "Provisional Constitution of the Confederacy;" appointed delegates to the "Confederate Congress;" authorized the banks of the State to suspend specie payments; made provision for the establishment of a navy for Virginia; made other provisions for waging war on the Union, and invited the "government at Montgomery" to make Richmond its future seat. All this was done in spite of the known will of the people; and when the day approached for them to express that will by

the ballot, they found themselves tied hand and foot by an inexorable despotism. James M. Mason, one of the most active of the Virginia conspirators, issued a manifesto, in which he declared his State to be out of the old Union; that a rejection of the Ordinance of Secession would be a violation of a sacred pledge given to the Confederacy by the politicians; and said, concerning those who could not conscientiously vote to separate Virginia from the Union, "Honor and duty alike require that they should not vote on the question; and if they retain such opinions, *they must leave the State.*" Submission or banishment was the alternative. Mason simply repeated the sentiments of Jefferson Davis in another form: "All who oppose us shall smell Southern powder, and feel Southern steel."

When the vote was finally taken on the 23d of May, it was in the face of bayonets. Terror reigned all over Eastern Virginia. Unionists were compelled to fly for their lives before the instruments of the civil and military power at Richmond, for the "Confederate government" was then seated there. By these means the enemies of the Union were enabled to report a majority of over one hundred thousand votes of Virginians in favor of secession, the vote being given by the voice and not by the secret ballot. Then the governor of South Carolina, with selfish complacency, said to his people: "You may plant your seed in peace, for Old Virginia will have to bear the brunt of the battle." And so she did much of the time. Her politicians offered her back to the burden which the Gulf States had rolled from their own shoulders, and a most grievous one it was.

Prodigious efforts were now made for the seizure of the National capital. On his journey to Richmond, Alex. H. Stephens had harangued the people at various points, and everywhere raised the cry, "On to Washington!" That cry was already resounding throughout the slave-labor States. Troops were marshaling for the service, in Virginia; and already Carolina soldiers were treading its soil. The Southern press, everywhere, urged the measure with the greatest vehemence. On the day when Stephens arrived in Richmond, one of the newspapers of that city said: "There never was half the unanimity among the people before, nor a tithe of the zeal upon any subject, that is now manifested to take Washington and drive from it every Black Republican who is a dweller there. From the mountain tops and valleys to the shores of the sea, there is one wild shout of fierce resolve to capture Washington city, at all and every human hazard." Yet in the face of the universal chorus, "On to Washington!" Mr. Jefferson Davis, president of the Southern Confederacy, speaking more to Europe than to his people, said to his congress at Montgomery: "We profess solemnly, in the face of mankind, that we desire peace at any sacrifice save that of honor."

In independence we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no cession of any kind from the States with which we have lately confederated. *All we ask is to be let alone*—those who never held power over us, should not now attempt our subjugation by arms.” A quaint writer of the day, thus commented on the assertion of Mr. Davis, “All we ask is to be let alone:”

“As vonce I walked by a dismal swamp,
There sot an old cove in the dark and damp,
And at everybody as pass'd that road
A stick or a stone that old cove throw'd;
And venever he flung his stick or his stone,
He'd set up a song of 'Let me alone.'
'Let me alone, for I love to shy
These bits of things at the passers by;
Let me alone, for I've got your tin,
And lots of other traps snugly in;
Let me alone—I am rigging a boat
To grab votever you've got afloat;
In a veek or so I expects to come
And turn you out of your 'ouse and 'ome.
I'm a quiet old cove,' says he with a groan,
'All I axes is, *Let me alone!*'”

Harper's Ferry, at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers, where their combined waters flow through the Blue Ridge, in Virginia, had been for years the seat of an Armory and Arsenal of the United States, where almost ninety thousand muskets were usually stored. At the time we are considering, the post was in charge of Lieutenant Roger Jones, with some dismounted dragoons and a few other soldiers. Warned of impending danger, Jones was vigilant; and he prepared for any sudden emergency by laying a train of gunpowder for the destruction of the Government property, if necessary. When, late in the evening of the 18th of April, about two thousand Virginia militia were within a mile of the post and were pressing on to seize it, Jones fired his trains, and in a few minutes the Government buildings were all in flames, and the little garrison of forty men were crossing the covered railway bridge into Maryland, in a successful flight to Carlisle Barracks, in Pennsylvania. The insurgents were foiled in their attempt to secure a large quantity of fire-arms; but they seized Harper's Ferry as an important point for future hostile operations. In May, full eight thousand Confederate troops were there.

The expedition against the Navy-yard at Gosport was more successful. It was situated on the Elizabeth River, opposite Norfolk, and at that time contained two thousand pieces of heavy cannon fit for service, and a vast

amount of munitions of war, naval stores, and materials for ship-building. In the waters near and on the stocks were several vessels-of-war, which the Secessionists attempted to secure by sinking obstructions in the river below to prevent their sailing out. This was done on the day before the Virginia Ordinance of Secession was adopted. The post was in command of Commodore C. S. McCauley, who, soothed and deceived by false professions of loyalty by the officers of Southern birth under him, delayed taking action to protect the Navy-yard and the vessels until it was too late. When the action of the officers at Pensacola was known, these men said to the Commodore, "You have no Pensacola officers here; we will never desert you; we will stand by you until the last, even to the death;" yet these men all resigned when the Virginia Ordinance of Secession was passed, abandoned their flag, and joined the forces under General Taliaferro, commander of the Virginia troops in that region, who arrived at Norfolk on the evening of the 18th of April to attempt the seizure of the naval station. Believing an immediate effort would be made to seize the vessels, McCauley ordered them to be scuttled and sunk, and this was done. At that critical moment, Captain Paulding of the navy arrived in the *Pawnee* as the successor of McCauley, and perceiving all the vessels but the *Cumberland*, beyond recovery, he ordered them and all the public property at the Navy-yard to be burned or otherwise destroyed. This destruction was only partially accomplished. About seven million dollars worth of property disappeared; but the insurgents gained a vast number of heavy guns with which they waged war afterward. They also saved some of the vessels. Among the latter was the *Merrimac*, which was afterward converted by the Confederates into a powerful iron-clad vessel. This important post was held by the insurgents until early in May the following year, when it was recovered by General Wool.

So secretly had the Confederates prepared for the seizure of the National capital, that the sudden development of their strength was amazing. The Government was made painfully aware that its call for troops had not been made an hour too soon. There was a general impression that Washington city was to be the first point of serious attack, and toward it vast numbers of armed men eagerly pressed to the protection of the President, his cabinet, the Government archives, and the Capitol. Within three days after the call, full one hundred thousand young men had dropped their implements of labor to prepare for war.

Those of Massachusetts were first ready. Early in the year Governor Andrew had put the militia of the State on a sort of war footing, and five thousand volunteers were drilled in armories. He invited the other New

England States to do likewise, and they complied, in a degree. When, on the day the President called for seventy-five thousand men, Senator Henry Wilson telegraphed to Governor Andrew to send twenty companies immediately to Washington, they were ready. A few hours later the requisition of the Secretary of War reached the governor, and before sunset four regiments at different points were ordered to muster on Boston Common. They were all there the next day, in charge of Brigadier-General Benjamin F. Butler; and it was arranged for the Sixth Regiment, Colonel Jones of Lowell, to go forward at once to Washington, through New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.

On the day (April 18) when the insurgents expected to seize the arms at Harper's Ferry, five companies of Pennsylvanians passed through Baltimore for the capital. They were slightly attacked by the mob in that city. They were the first of the loyal troops to reach Washington city, and were quartered in the Capitol. The Secessionists of Maryland were then active, and were determined to place their State as a barrier across the pathway of troops from the North and East. Their governor (Hicks) was a loyal man, but the mayor of Baltimore was not, and the chief of police (Kane) was an ally of the disloyal leaders. When the Pennsylvanians had passed through the city, rumors came that a regiment from Massachusetts were approaching; and when, on the following day (April 19, 1861), the latter were marching from one railway station to another, in Baltimore, they were violently assailed with missiles of every sort by an excited populace numbering full ten thousand persons. The mayor, alarmed at the furious whirlwind that his political friends had raised, vainly attempted to control it. With a large body of the police, most of whom did not share in the treason of their chief (Kane), he tried to quell the disturbance, but his power was inoperative. The fight in the streets was severe. Three of the troops (the Sixth Massachusetts) were killed or mortally wounded, and in defence of their own lives they slew nine citizens of Baltimore. This tragedy produced intense excitement all over the country. There the first blood was shed in the terrible conflict that ensued. For a moment the indignation of the loyal people was so hot, that the city seemed doomed to swift destruction. A cry went forth, "Lay it in ashes!" and Bayard Taylor wrote:

"Bow down in haste thy guilty head!
God's wrath is swift and sure;
The sky with gathering bolts is red.
Cleanse from thy skirts the slaughter shed
Or make thyself an ashen bed,
O Baltimore!"

The troops from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts were not too soon in the National capital; for all communication between Washington and the North, by railway and telegraph, was cut off for a week after the affray in Baltimore. On the night of the riot the bridges of the railway running northward from that city were burned, and the telegraph wires were cut,



ATTACK ON MASSACHUSETTS TROOPS IN BALTIMORE.

under the sanction of its mayor and chief of police; and the President of the United States and other officers of government, civil and military, at the capital, were virtually prisoners in the hands of the enemies of their country. The capital was swarming with them; and these, with the Minute-men of Maryland, were barely restrained from violence by the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts soldiers in Washington.

The Maryland Secessionists now declared that no more troops should

pass through that State to Washington ; and the mayor of Baltimore, with the sanction of Governor Hicks, sent a committee to President Lincoln to tell him of this decision. The President received them courteously, and yielded much for the sake of peace, proposing to have the troops go by water to Annapolis, and thence march through the sparsely settled country to the capital. The Secessionists would not yield an iota of their demand that "no United States soldier should tread the soil of Maryland." Governor Hicks, a sincere Unionist, but not in robust bodily health and almost seventy years of age, was overborne by the violent Secessionists in official position, and was made their passive instrument in some degree. He was induced to make the degrading proposition that Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, "be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties in our country." In the name of the President, Mr. Seward reminded the governor that when the capital was in danger in 1814, as it was now, his State gladly welcomed the United States troops everywhere on its soil, for the defence of Washington. This mildly drawn but stinging rebuke of the chief magistrate of a State that professed to be a member of the Union, gave the Secessionists notice that no degrading propositions would, for a moment, be entertained by the Government.

Still another delegation went from Baltimore to the President to give him advice in the interest of the Secessionists. They represented the theological element of Baltimore society, and were led by Rev. Dr. Fuller of the Baptist Church. When that gentleman assured the President that he might secure peace by recognizing the independence of the "seceded" States ; that they would never be a part of the Union again, and expressed a hope that no more troops would be allowed to pass through Maryland, the President listened patiently, and then said significantly : "I *must* have troops for the defence of the capital. The Carolinians are now marching across Virginia to seize the capital, and hang me. What am I to do? I *must* have troops, I say ; and as they can neither crawl under Maryland nor fly over it, they must come across it." The deputation returned to Baltimore, and the Secessionists of that city never afterward gave suggestions or advice to President Lincoln.

The critical situation of the capital created intense anxiety throughout the free-labor States. All communication between Washington and the rest of the world was cut off. General Scott could not send an order anywhere. What was to be done? That question was promptly answered by the veteran General John E. Wool. He hastened from his headquarters in Troy, New York, to the presence of the governor of the State (Morgan) at Albany, and they went immediately to the city of New York. Wool was

the commander of the Eastern Department of the Army, which included the whole country eastward of the Mississippi River. He and the governor held a conference with the "Union Defence Committee," composed of some of the leading citizens of New York, with General John A. Dix as chairman and William M. Evarts as secretary. A plan of action for the relief of the capital was formed and put into immediate operation. Wool, unable to communicate with the General-in-Chief (Scott), assumed the responsibility of ordering the movements of troops, providing for the safety of Fortress Monroe, and sending forward immediate military relief and supplies for the menaced capital. The governors of a dozen States applied to him for relief and munitions of war, as he was the highest military authority then accessible; and he assisted in arming no less than nine States. By his prodigious and judicious labors in connection with the liberal "Union Defence Committee" of New York, the *capital was saved*.

The destruction of bridges north of Baltimore prevented troops from passing that way. So the Seventh Regiment of New York, Colonel Ellsworth's New York Fire Zouaves and some Massachusetts troops, under General B. F. Butler, proceeded to Annapolis by water, and saved the frigate *Constitution* there, which was about to be seized by the Secessionists. Butler took possession of the railway between Annapolis and Washington, and first opened communication with the capital; and on the 25th of April he took possession of the Relay House, nine miles from Baltimore, where the Baltimore and Ohio railway turns toward Harper's Ferry. While he was there, over nine hundred men, with a battery, under Colonel F. E. Patterson, sailed from Philadelphia and landed near Fort McHenry, at Baltimore, in the presence of the mayor of the city, Chief of Police Kane and many of his force, and a vast crowd of excited citizens. Latent Unionism in Maryland was then astir, and shouts of welcome greeted the Pennsylvanians. That was on the 9th of May—three weeks after the attack on the Massachusetts troops in the streets of Baltimore. These were the first troops that had passed through since, and were the pioneers of tens of thousands of Union soldiers who streamed through that city during the war that ensued. Though the Maryland Legislature shielded, by special law, the leaders in the murderous assault on the troops on the 19th of April, from punishment, no such violence was ever attempted afterward.

General Scott had planned a ponderous expedition for seizing and holding Baltimore. It was to consist of twelve thousand men divided into four columns, who were to approach that city from four different points at the same time. General Butler saw that a swifter movement was necessary to accomplish that end. He obtained permission of General Scott to attempt

the seizure of some arms and ammunition said to be concealed in Baltimore, and to arrest some Secessionists there. Baltimore was in the Department of Annapolis, of which Butler^{*} was commander, and the permission implied the use of troops. Having promised Colonel Jones, of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, that his men should again march through Baltimore, he summoned that regiment from the capital to the Relay House. With these and a few other troops, and two pieces of artillery well manned, in all a little more than a thousand men, he entered cars headed toward Harper's Ferry. They ran up the road a short distance, and then backed slowly past the Relay House and into Baltimore early in the evening, just as a heavy thunderstorm burst upon the city. Few persons were abroad, and the citizens were ignorant of this portentous arrival. The mayor was soon afterward apprised of it, and sent a note to General Butler inquiring what he meant by thus threatening the peace of the city by the presence of a large body of troops.

When the mayor's message arrived at the station, Butler and his men had disappeared in the gloom. Well piloted, they marched to Federal Hill, an eminence that commanded the city. The rain fell copiously; the rumble of the cannon-wheels was mingled with that of the thunder, and was mistaken for it, and the lightning played around the points of their bayonets. In his wet clothing, at near midnight, General Butler sat down and wrote a proclamation to the citizens of Baltimore, assuring all peaceable citizens full protection, and intimating that a much larger force was at hand to support the Government in its efforts to suppress the rebellion. This proclamation (dated May 14, 1861) was published in a city paper (the *Clipper*) the next morning, and gave the people of Baltimore the first intimation that their town was in the actual possession of National troops. In a single night, a little more than a thousand men had accomplished, under an audacious leader, what General Scott proposed to do with twelve thousand men in an indefinite time. The jealous pride of the General-in-Chief was offended by the superior action of a subordinate. He reproved him for acting without orders, and demanded his removal from the Department. The good-natured President did remove Butler, but to a more extended field of operations, with a higher commission. From that time, troops were enabled to pass freely through Baltimore from the North; and at the middle of May, the National capital was so well protected that it was regarded as absolutely safe from capture by the insurgents.

The contest had now assumed the dignity of Civil War. The Confederates were putting forth all their energies to meet the forces called to the field by the President of the Republic. Davis summoned his "congress," as

we have observed, to meet at Montgomery on the 29th of April, to take measures for prosecuting the war, offensive and defensive. At that time the Confederates had seized property belonging to the United States valued at \$40,000,000, and had forty thousand armed men in the field, more than one-half of whom were then in Virginia, and forming an irregular line from Norfolk to Harper's Ferry. At the beginning of May they had sent emissaries abroad to seek recognition and aid from foreign governments. They had extinguished the lamps of the light-houses, one hundred and thirty-three in number, all along the coasts of the Republic, from Hampton Roads to the Rio Grande, and had commissioned numerous "privateers" to prey upon the commerce of the United States. Encouraged by their success at Charleston, they were then besieging Fort Pickens, as we have observed, and were using prodigious exertions to obtain possession of the National capital.

The magnitude of the disaffection to the National Government was now more clearly perceived; and the President, satisfied that the number of militia called for would not be adequate for the required service against the wide-spreading rebellion, issued a proclamation on the 3d of May, calling for sixty-four thousand volunteers for the army, and eighteen thousand for the navy, to "serve during the war." Fortress Monroe, a very important fort in Southeastern Virginia, and Fort Pickens, near Pensacola, were reinforced; and the blockade of the Southern ports, from which "privateers" were preparing to sail, was proclaimed. Washington city was made the general rendezvous of all troops raised eastward of the Alleghany mountains. These came flocking thither by thousands, and were quartered in the Patent-Office building and other edifices, and the Capitol was made a vast citadel. Its legislative halls, the rotunda, and other rooms were filled with soldiery; so also was the great East Room in the President's house. The basements of the Capitol were converted into store-rooms for barrels of flour, beef and pork, and other commissary stores. The vaults under the broad terrace on its western front were converted into bakeries, where sixteen thousand loaves of bread were baked each day.

Before the summer of 1861 had fairly begun, Washington was an immense garrisoned town, and strong fortifications were growing upon the hills that surround it. The States westward of the Alleghanies were also pouring out their thousands of armed men, who were gathered at appointed rendezvous; and every department of the National Government was active in preparation for the great conflict of mighty hosts that were to fight, one party for freedom and the other for slavery.

CHAPTER IX.

DEFECTION OF COLONEL LEE—TEMPTATION AND FALL—FIRST INVASION OF VIRGINIA—DEATH OF COLONEL ELLSWORTH—BLOCKADE OF THE POTOMAC—ENGAGEMENT AT SEWALL'S POINT—LOYALTY IN WESTERN VIRGINIA—ACTION OF THE SECESSIONISTS—CONVENTIONS—CREATION AND ADMISSION OF A NEW STATE—TROOPS FROM BEYOND THE OHIO—THE FIRST BATTLE ON LAND—ATTITUDE OF THE BORDER STATES—KENTUCKY UNIONISM—EVENTS IN MISSOURI—GENERAL LYON—THE GOVERNOR OF MISSOURI RAISES THE STANDARD OF REVOLT—MOVEMENTS IN TENNESSEE—PILLOW AND POLK—CHANGE IN THE CONFEDERATE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT—JEFFERSON DAVIS IN VIRGINIA—HIS RECEPTION IN RICHMOND.

THE Confederates acquired much strength at the beginning, by the defection of Colonel Robert E. Lee, an accomplished engineer officer in the National army, and one who was greatly beloved and thoroughly trusted by the General-in-Chief, Scott. Temptation assailed him in the form of an offer of the supreme command of the military and naval forces of his native State, Virginia. It was rendered more potent by the doctrine of State-supremacy; and it so weakened his patriotism that he yielded to the tempter. And when the Convention of Virginia passed an Ordinance of Secession, he resigned his commission, deserted his flag, and took up arms against his Government, saying, in the common language of men of the State-supremacy school: "I must go with my State." He had lingered in Washington city for a week after the evacuation of Fort Sumter; and received from General Scott, without giving a hint of his secret determination, all information possible from that confiding friend, concerning the plans and resources of the Government, to be employed in suppressing the rebellion. With this precious treasury of important knowledge, Lee hastened to Richmond, and was cordially received there, with marks of great distinction, by the vice-president of the Confederacy and officers of his State, and was informed that the supreme command of the forces of the Commonwealth was committed to his care.

No man had stronger inducements to be a loyal and patriotic citizen than Robert E. Lee. His associations with the founders of the Republic he tried to destroy, were very strong. He was a son of that "Lowland Beauty" who was the object of Washington's first love. His father was

glorious "Legion Harry" of the Revolution, whose sword had been gallantly used in gaining the independence of the American people; and he had led an army to crush an insurrection. Colonel Lee's wife was a great-granddaughter of Mrs. Washington. And his beautiful home, called Arlington, near Washington city, inherited from the adopted son of Washington, was filled with plate, china and furniture, that had been used by the beloved Patriot at Mount Vernon. But these considerations, so calculated to expand the generous soul with National pride and make the possession of citizenship of a great nation a cherished honor and privilege, seem to have had no influence with Colonel Lee. The narrow political creed of his class of thinkers, taught no broader doctrines of citizenship than the duty of allegiance to a petty State whose flag is utterly unknown beyond our shores—an insignificant portion of a great Republic whose flag is honored and respected on every sea and in every port of the civilized world. Acting upon these narrow views, Colonel Lee said, "I must go with my State;" and going, he took with him precious information which enabled him to make valuable suggestions to the insurgents concerning the best methods for seizing the National capital. In time Colonel Lee became the general-in-chief of all the armies in rebellion against his Government, at whose expense he had been educated in the art of war.

Colonel Lee advised the Virginians to erect a battery of heavy guns on Arlington Heights, not far from his own home, which would command the cities of Washington and Georgetown. They were about to follow this advice, when, late in May, their plans were frustrated by the General-in-Chief, who sent National troops across the Potomac to the Virginia shore by way of the Long Bridge at Washington, and the Aqueduct Bridge at Georgetown, to take possession of Alexandria and Arlington Heights. Ellsworth's New York Fire Zouaves went to Alexandria in two schooners, at the



ROBERT E. LEE.

same time, to be assisted by a third column that crossed the river at the Long Bridge.

The troops that first passed the Long Bridge constructed a battery at the Virginia end of it, which they named Fort Runyon, in compliment to General Runyon of New Jersey, who was in command of a part of them. The troops that passed Aqueduct Bridge were led by General Irwin McDowell; and upon the spot where Lee proposed to erect a battery of siege-guns, to destroy the capital, the troops erected a redoubt to defend it, which they named Fort Corcoran, in compliment to the commander of an Irish regiment among them. These were the first redoubts constructed by the National troops in the Civil War; and this was the initial movement of the Government forces in opening the first campaigns of that war. It occurred on the morning of the 24th of May, 1861.

The troops sent by land and water reached Alexandria about the same time, and took possession of the city. They seized the Orange and Alexandria railway station and much rolling stock, with some Virginia cavalry who were guarding it. The Secessionists in the city were defiant; and one of them, the keeper of a tavern, persisted in flying the Confederate flag over his house. The impetuous young Ellsworth proceeded to pull it down with his own hands, when the proprietor shot him dead, and was killed, in turn, by one of the Zouaves. This tragedy caused great bitterness in both sections of the country for a time.

Meanwhile the Confederates had erected batteries on the Virginia shores of the Potomac River to obstruct its navigation by National vessels. They



A SCENE AT ALEXANDRIA.

had also cast up redoubts near Hampton Roads, not far from Fortress Monroe. Captain J. H. Ward was sent to the Roads with a flotilla of armed vessels. The insurgents then possessed Norfolk, and had erected a battery on Sewall's Point at the mouth of the Elizabeth River, where, on the morning of the 20th of May, when Ward's vessels appeared in the Roads, there were about two thousand Confederate soldiers. Ward opened the guns of his flag-ship (the *Freeborn*) upon the battery. It was soon silenced, and the insurgents were dispersed. Then Ward proceeded immediately up the Potomac toward Washington, after reporting to Commodore Stringham, and patrolled that important stream. At Aquia Creek, about sixty miles below Washington, he encountered some heavy batteries, and a sharp but indecisive engagement ensued on the first of June. Soon afterward, in an attack upon other batteries at Matthias's Point, the flotilla was repulsed, and Captain Ward was killed. At that place and vicinity the Confederates established batteries which defied the National vessels on those waters; and for many months, the Potomac, as a highway for supplies for the army near Washington, was effectively blockaded by them.

The Union element in the Virginia Secession Convention was chiefly from Western Virginia, a mountain district, where the slave-labor system had not been profitable; and the loyalty of the people there to the old flag, gave the Virginia conspirators much uneasiness. At the very beginning the Confederates perceived the importance of holding possession of that region, and so control the Baltimore and Ohio Railway that traversed it, and connected Maryland with the teeming West. For that purpose troops were sent from Richmond to restrain the active patriotism of the people, when the latter flew to arms under the leadership of Colonel B. F. Kelley, a native of New Hampshire, who set up his standard near Wheeling, where an important political movement had already taken place.

Before the adjournment of the Convention at Richmond the inhabitants of Western Virginia perceived the necessity of making a bold stand for the Union and their own independence of the oligarchy that ruled the State in the interest of the slaveholders. This first meeting was held at Clarksburg, on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio railway, on the 22d of April. John S. Carlisle, a member of the Convention then sitting at Richmond, offered a resolution at that meeting (which was adopted) calling a Convention of delegates at Wheeling on the 13th of May. Similar meetings were held at other places. One at Kingswood, Preston county, declared that the separation of Western from Eastern Virginia was essential to the maintenance of their liberties. They also resolved to elect a representative to sit in the National Congress; and at a mass Convention held at Wheeling on

the 5th of May, it was resolved to sever all political connection with the conspirators at Richmond.

The Convention of delegates met at Wheeling on the 13th of May. The National flag was unfurled over the Custom-House there with appropriate demonstrations of loyalty; and in the Convention the chief topic of discussion was the division of the State and the formation of a new Commonwealth composed of forty or fifty counties of the mountain region. It was asserted in the Convention that the slave oligarchy eastward of the mountains, and in all the tide-water counties, wielded the political power of the State, and used it for the promotion of their great interest, in the levying of taxes, and in lightening their own burdens at the expense of the labor and thrift of the citizens of West Virginia. These considerations, and an innate love for the Union, produced such unanimity of sentiment that the labors of the secret emissaries of the conspirators and of the open service of recruiting officers were almost fruitless in Western Virginia. The Convention itself, was an unit in feeling and purpose; but it was too informal in its character to take decisive action upon the momentous question of a division of the State. So, after condemning the Ordinance of Secession, a resolution was adopted, calling a Provisional Convention, at the same place, on the 11th of June, unless the people should vote adversely to that Ordinance, at the appointed time.

The proceedings at Wheeling alarmed the conspirators. They expected an immediate revolt in that region; and Governor Letcher ordered Colonel Porterfield, who was in command of State troops at Grafton, to seize and carry away the arms at Wheeling belonging to the United States, and to use them in arming such men as might rally around his flag. He also told Porterfield that it was "advisable to cut off telegraphic communication between Wheeling and Washington, so that the disaffected at the former place could not communicate with their allies at headquarters." Letcher added: "If troops from Ohio or Pennsylvania shall be attempted to be passed on the railroads, do not hesitate to obstruct their passage by all means in your power, even to the destruction of the road and bridge."

As we have observed, the people in Eastern Virginia, under the pressure of the bayonet, ratified the Ordinance of Secession. The Provisional Convention assembled at Wheeling on the appointed day, when about forty counties were represented. The meeting was held in the Custom-House, with Arthur Boreman president, and G. L. Cranmer secretary, A Bill of Rights, reported by J. S. Carlile, was adopted; all allegiance to the Southern Confederacy was denied; a resolution was passed declaring the determination of the inhabitants of Virginia never to submit to the Ordinance of

Secession, but to maintain the rights of the Commonwealth in the Union; and all citizens who had taken up arms against the National Government were exhorted to lay them down and return to their allegiance. An Ordinance was reported and adopted vacating all the offices in the State held by State officers acting in hostility to the General Government, and also providing for a Provisional government and the election of officers for a period of six months; also requiring all officers of the State, counties and towns, to take an oath of allegiance to the National Government. This movement, which formally deposed Governor Letcher and all State officers in rebellion against the National Government, but not a secession from the State, was purely revolutionary. The Convention adopted a declaration of independence of the old government of Virginia, which was signed by fifty-six members; and on the 19th a Provisional government was organized by the choice of Francis H. Pierrepont, Provisional governor of the State; Daniel Polsley, lieutenant-governor, and an Executive Council of five members. On the following day (June 20, 1861) the necessity of ultimate separation from Eastern Virginia was favored by resolution adopted by unanimous vote.

Mr. Pierrepont was a bold and energetic man. He at once notified the President of the United States that an insurrection in Virginia was too formidable to be suppressed by local power, and called for aid from the National Government to suppress it. He organized the militia, and borrowed money for the public service on the pledge of his own private fortune. He upheld the "restored government" against the extraordinary efforts of the conspirators at Richmond to crush the new organization and enslave the loyal people. A Legislature was chosen, and at its session, begun at Wheeling on the 1st of July, John S. Carlile and Waitman G. Willie were chosen to represent the restored Commonwealth in the National Congress. Finally a convention of delegates, held in November, 1861, adopted a new State constitution, in which Slavery was prohibited; and on 3d of May following, the people who voted upon it, ratified it.

The Legislature, at a called session, approved of a division of the State, and the establishment of a new Commonwealth. All the legal requirements having been complied with, the western counties, by Act of Congress, organized under a constitution, were admitted into the Union under the title of the State of *West Virginia*, on the 20th of June, 1863; and Arthur J. Boreman was chosen governor of the new Commonwealth. At mid-summer, Old Virginia presented the curious political spectacle, of Letcher, at Richmond, claiming authority over the *whole* State; Pierrepont, at Alexandria, claiming authority over the whole old State excepting West Virginia,

and Boreman, at Wheeling, the chief executive of the new Commonwealth, as legal governor.

The Unionists of Western Virginia needed help from the beginning; for the regiment that gathered around Colonel Kelley at Wheeling, though full eleven hundred strong, were too few to withstand the Confederate forces sent against them. Already General George B. McClellan, who had been called to the command of the Ohio troops, was assigned to the head of the Department of the Ohio, which included Western Virginia. With Ohio and Indiana troops he crossed the Ohio River. These, with Kelly's Virginians, moved on Grafton and drove Porterfield and his Confederates to Philippi, closely pursued by his foes. After a sharp engagement at the latter place, on the 2d of June, the Confederates were dispersed, and, for awhile, matters were quiet in that region. Kelley was severely wounded in the battle at Philippi. That was the first conflict on land after the President's call for troops.

While events in Western Virginia were assuming the character of open warfare between armed forces, others of great importance were occurring westward of the Alleghany Mountains; for, so early as the beginning of June, civil war had begun wherever the system of slavery prevailed. Political leaders in the "Border States"—slave-labor States bordering on free-labor States—took a position which finally brought great distress upon the inhabitants of those Commonwealths. A large class of these leaders professed to be friends of the Union, but *conditionally*. They would be its friends so long as the National Government did not interfere with slavery, nor "attempt to bring back the seceded States;" in other words, they were friends of the Republic so long as its Government did not raise a finger for the salvation of its life. When the President's call for troops to suppress the rebellion appeared, the *Louisville Journal*, the organ of the professed Unionists of Kentucky, hastened to say: "We are struck with mingled amazement and indignation. The policy announced in the proclamation deserves the unqualified condemnation of every American citizen. It is unworthy, not merely of a statesman, but of a man. It is a policy utterly hair-brained and ruinous. If Mr. Lincoln contemplated this policy in his inaugural address, he is a guilty dissembler; if he conceived it under the excitement aroused by the seizure of Fort Sumter, he is a guilty Hotspur. In either case, he is miserably unfit for the exalted position in which the enemies of the country have placed him. Let the people instantly take him and his administration into their own hands, if they would rescue the land from bloodshed, and the Union from sudden and irretrievable destruction." And at a large "Union meeting" at Louisville, over which James Guthrie and other leading men in the State held control, it was resolved

that "Kentucky reserved to herself the right to choose her own position; and that, while her natural sympathies are with those who have a common interest in the protection of Slavery, she still acknowledges her loyalty and fealty to the Government of the United States, which she will cheerfully render *until that Government becomes aggressive, tyrannical, and regardless of our rights in slave property.*" They declared that the States were peers of the National Government; and gave the world to understand that the latter should not be allowed to "use sanguinary or coercive" measures to "bring back the seceded States." The "Kentucky State Guard," which the governor had organized for the benefit of the Secessionists, were commended by this Union meeting as "the bulwark of the safety of the Commonwealth," and its members were enjoined to remember that they were "pledged equally" to fidelity to the United States and Kentucky.

The "Guard" was placed under the command of Captain Simon B. Buckner of the National army, who was then evidently in the secret service of the Confederacy, for he used his position effectively in seducing large numbers of the members of the "Guard" from their allegiance to the old flag, and sending them as recruits to the Confederate armies. It was not long before he led a large portion of them into the camp of the enemy, and he became a Confederate major-general. Then the *Louisville Journal*, that had so savagely condemned the President, more savagely assailed Buckner with curses, saying: "Away with your pledges and assurances—with your protestations, apologies and proclamations—at once and altogether! Away, parricide! Away, and do penance forever!—be shriven or slain—away! You have less palliation than Attila—less boldness, magnanimity and nobleness than Cariolanus. You are the Benedict Arnold of the day! you are the Catiline of Kentucky! Go, thou miscreant!" And when in February, 1862, Buckner and some of the "State Guard" were captured at Fort Donelson, and he was sent to Fort Warren; Boston, many of those who were deceived by the pretence that the "Guard" were the "bulwark of the Commonwealth," demanded his delivery to the authorities of Kentucky, to be tried for treason against the State. That was after the Legislature of that State had refused to favor the scheme of the disloyal governor, and Kentucky was feeling the effects of its peculiar "neutrality," a sort of Unionism that caused Missouri and Kentucky to become battle-fields, and to suffer untold miseries. Their soil was trodden and ravaged by contending armies, which had no respect for what was known as "Kentucky neutrality," for, in the hands of the Secessionists it was only an adroit scheme to mislead and confuse the people, a large majority of whom were sincerely attached to the Union.

Although the slaves were not more than one-tenth of the population of Missouri and the best interests of the State were allied to free-labor, the Slave power, wielded by the most active politicians, had such potential influence that it controlled the destiny of that State. By these the election of Claiborne T. Jackson, governor of Missouri, was effected, and he was now one of the most active of the Secessionists. His political friends formed a plan for placing the militia of the State under his absolute control for the benefit of the Confederacy. The chief leader in this scheme was D. M. Frost, of New York, a graduate of West Point, who was commissioned a brigadier and placed at the head of that militia. Frost resolved to seize the Arsenal at St. Louis, and hold possession of that chief city of the Mississippi Valley; and for this purpose he formed a camp near the town with the pretext of disciplining the men under his command. At that time the military post at St. Louis was in charge of Captain Nathaniel M. Lyon, who was vigilant and brave; and when he was satisfied of Frost's treacherous designs, he marched out with a large number of volunteers, surrounded the insurgent camp, and made the leader and his followers prisoners.

It was now late in May, and the Secessionists in Missouri took open issue with the National Government. The latter, satisfied that it was the design of the Confederates to hold military possession of that State and of Kentucky, fortified Cairo, Illinois, at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. It was made impregnable, and became of immense importance to the Union cause; for there some of the land and naval expeditions which performed signal service in the valley of the Mississippi were fitted out.

General W. S. Harney, a conservative in feeling, was at the head of the Department of the West, with his quarters at St. Louis. He returned to his post, after a brief absence, when the excitement was at its height. Wishing to preserve peace, he made a compact with the insurgent leaders not to employ the military arm so long as they should preserve public order. The loyal people were alarmed, for they would not trust the promises of the Secessionists. Happily for the Union cause, the National Government did not sanction the compact. Appreciating the great services of Lyon, he was commissioned a brigadier, and at the close of May he succeeded Harney with the title of Commander of the Department of Missouri.

Early in June, General Lyon, Colonel Blair and others, held a conference with Governor Jackson and General Price, on the subject of pacification. Jackson demanded the disbanding of the Home Guard, composed of loyal Missourians, and the withdrawal of National troops from the State. Lyon peremptorily refused, when Jackson and Price returned to Jefferson City.

the State capital. The Legislature had placed the purse and sword of Missouri in the hands of the governor; and on the 12th of June (1861) he issued a proclamation calling into active service fifty thousand of the militia, and raised the standard of revolt, with General Sterling Price as military leader. At the same time he ordered his son to destroy two important railway bridges, and cut the telegraph wires between St. Louis and the State capital. Then began those movements of troops within the borders of Missouri which continued almost incessantly during the entire period of the war, with the most disastrous results to the peace and prosperity of the State. At the same time the disloyal governor of Tennessee (Isham G. Harris) had placed that State in military relations to the Confederacy, similar to that of Virginia, and was working in concert with Jackson. General Gideon J. Pillow, an indifferent leader, was placed in chief command of the troops of both States, and with these he made an unsuccessful effort to seize Cairo. He was soon superseded by Leonidas Polk, a graduate of West Point, and then Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Louisiana, who had been commissioned a major-general, and became an earnest leader of Confederate armies in the West.

Civil War had now begun in earnest; and in all parts of the Union, North and South, hosts of armed men were marshaling for the dreadful struggle that ensued. The Confederate government, in order to be nearer the National capital, their coveted object, had resolved to leave Montgomery and make their headquarters at Richmond; while their forces, designed for the capture of Washington, were gathering in large numbers, under General Beauregard, at Manassas, about thirty miles from that city. The president of the Confederacy (Jefferson Davis) left Montgomery for Virginia, on Sunday the 26th of May, with the intention, it was said, of taking command of the Confederate troops there, in person. He was accompanied by his favorite aid, General Wigfall of Fort Sumter fame, and by Robert Toombs, his secretary of state. His journey was a continual ovation. At every railway station, men, women, and children greeted him with enthusiasm. A reporter of the *Richmond Enquirer* was sent to chronicle the events of the journey, whose admiration of the "presidential party" was very pronounced. He spoke of the "flute-like voice" of Davis, and of the excessive modesty of Wigfall and Toombs. "In vain he [Wigfall] would seek some remote part of the cars," said the chronicler; "the crowd hunted him up, and the welkin rang with rejoicings as he addressed them in his emphatic and fervent style of oratory." Of Toombs, he said: "He, too, sought to avoid the call, but the echo would ring with the name of 'Toombs! Toombs!' and the sturdy Georgia statesman had to respond." On the southern verge of

Virginia, some of the State riflemen, designed as an escort to the president, joined the party. With every step the popularity of their "chief magistrate" seemed to be more and more manifest, for the people felt that "the mantle of Washington had fallen gracefully upon his shoulders." At Goldsboro', "the Hall," said the reporter, "was thronged with beautiful girls, and many were decking him with garlands of flowers, while others fanned him. It was a most interesting occasion. Never were a people more enraptured with their chief magistrate."

At Richmond, Davis was received with equal enthusiasm; and at the Fair-ground he addressed an immense multitude of people. With a consciousness of power, he spoke bitter words against the Government whose kindness he had ever experienced. He flattered the vanity of the Virginians by reminding them that they had been chosen to "smite the invaders;" and he assured them there was "not one true son of the South who was not ready to shoulder his musket, to bleed, to die, or to conquer in the cause of liberty here. . . . We have now reached the point," he continued, "where, arguments being exhausted, it only remains for us to stand by our weapons. When the time and occasion serve, we shall smite the smiter with manly arms, as did our fathers before us, and as becomes their sons. To the enemy we leave the base acts of the assassin and incendiary. To them we leave it to insult helpless women; to us belongs vengeance upon man." The Virginians were too insane with passion to resent his virtual reiteration of the selfish words of Pickens: "You may plant your seed in peace, for Old Virginia will have to bear the brunt of the battle;" and they actually rejoiced with pride in the fact that, as he said, upon every hill around their State Capitol were "camps of soldiers from every State in the Confederacy." They purchased an elegant residence for the use of their president, and furnished it sumptuously. There he lived, and exercised the powers of his office for almost four years.



CHAPTER X.

BEAUREGARD'S PROCLAMATION—INSURGENTS AT HARPER'S FERRY—EXPLOITS OF AN INDIANA REGIMENT—EVENTS ON THE VIRGINIA PENINSULA—BATTLE AT BIG BETHEL—NATIONAL TROOPS ON THE UPPER POTOMAC—THE CAPITAL IN DANGER—A GUNPOWDER PLOT—ACTION OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE—PUNCH'S EPIGRAM—CONDUCT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE WESTERN EUROPEAN POWERS—RUSSIA—MEETING OF CONGRESS—DEPARTMENT REPORTS—APPROPRIATIONS—INCREASE OF THE NAVY—ENTHUSIASM OF THE PEOPLE—WOMEN'S WORK—MISS DIX—UNITED STATES SANITARY AND CHRISTIAN COMMISSIONS—BENEVOLENT WORK IN PHILADELPHIA.

THE fulfillment of the prediction that "Poor Old Virginia will have to bear the brunt of battle," had now begun. Beauregard was in command of a constantly increasing force at Manassas, at the beginning of June, and there was a general belief that under the instruction of President Davis, he would attempt the seizure of the capital. In characteristic words, he sent forth a proclamation calculated to "fire the Southern heart." "A reckless and unprincipled tyrant," he said, "has invaded your soil." He assured them that Lincoln had thrown "Abolition hosts" among them, and were murdering and imprisoning their citizens, confiscating and destroying property, and "committing other acts of violence and outrage too revolting to humanity to be enumerated. All rules of civilized warfare are abandoned, and they proclaim by these acts, if not on their banners, that their war-cry is 'Beauty and Booty.' All that is dear to men—your honor and that of your wives and daughters, your fortune and your lives—are involved in the momentous contest." No man knew better than Beauregard that, at that moment, the only National troops in Virginia, excepting those in the loyal western portion, were the handful of men holding Arlington Heights, the Long Bridge, Alexandria and the village of Hampton near Fortress Monroe, in a merely defensive attitude, against thousands of insurgents who were marshaling under that leader for the avowed purpose of seizing the National capital. He knew that the only "murder" and "outrage" yet committed by National troops was the single act of killing the assassin of Colonel Ellsworth. The author of the proclamation was noted throughout the war for ridiculous boastings, official mendacity, and conspicuous military failures.

Late in May, Joseph E. Johnston, a captain of Topographical Engineers and a meritorious officer who had deserted his flag and accepted the commission of brigadier-general from its enemies, took command of the insurgent troops at Harper's Ferry and in the Shenandoah Valley. At the same time General Robert Patterson, a veteran of two wars, was gathering troops at Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, to attack Johnston. He moved forward with fifteen thousand men early in June, under instructions from General Scott to "attempt nothing without a clear prospect of success," as the enemy were "strongly posted and equal in numbers." Already, as we have observed, the insurgents had been smitten at Philippi, in Western Virginia; and just as Patterson began his march, an Indiana Zouave Regiment, led by Colonel Lewis Wallace, struck the Confederates a blow at Romney, in that mountain region, which gave them great alarm. That regiment, one of the best disciplined in the field, had been chafing under forced inaction in Southern Indiana, and Wallace urged their employment in active service. He was gratified by being ordered to Cumberland, to report to General Patterson. In less than three days after the receipt of the order, they had traversed Indiana and Ohio; received their ammunition at Grafton, in Western Virginia, and were at Cumberland. Resting a single day, Wallace proceeded to strike a band of insurgents at Romney; and on the night of the 10th of June, 1861, led by a competent guide, the regiment made a silent march along a rough and perilous mountain-path, but did not reach the vicinity of the insurgents until late in the evening of the 12th. They at once attacked the Confederates with such skill and bravery, that they fled to the shelter of the forests, followed by all the villagers, excepting the few negroes. In the space of twenty-four hours, Wallace and his men had traveled eighty-four miles (forty-six of them on foot), engaged in a brisk skirmish, and returned; "and what is more," wrote Colonel Wallace in his report, "my men are ready to repeat it to-morrow." This dash caused Johnston to evacuate Harper's Ferry, for he believed the assailants to be the advance of a much larger force. He moved up the Valley, and took post near Winchester.

While the campaign was thus opening in Western Virginia, stirring events were occurring near Fortress Monroe. The possession of that post was of the first importance to both parties; and Colonel J. B. Magruder, who had deserted his flag, was sent down the Virginia Peninsula, with a considerable force, to attempt its seizure. General B. F. Butler, who was then in command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, with his headquarters at Fortress Monroe, took measures to oppose him. General E. W. Pearce was placed in command of an expedition that was to march

in two columns against the insurgents. He was to lead, from near Hampton, Duryea's Fifth (Zouave) New York Regiment, and Townsend's Third, to Little Bethel, where he was to be joined by detachments from Colonel Phelps's command at Newport-Newce. The latter were composed of battalions of Massachusetts and Vermont troops, Bendix's Germans of New York, known as the Steuben Rifle Regiment, and a battery of two light field-pieces in charge of Lieutenant John T. Greble of the regular army, with eleven artillery men.



A SCENE AT BETHEL.

Both columns marched at about midnight. An order to secure mutual recognition was neglected, and as the columns approached in the gloom, they mistook each other for enemies, and fired, killing and maiming some of the men. The mistake was instantly discovered, and the combined columns pressed on toward Magruder's fortifications at Big Bethel. The noise of the firing had been heard there, which caused the scattered Confederates to concentrate their forces in time to meet the Nationals. A sharp engagement ensued. The Nationals were repulsed; and just as Lieutenant Greble ordered his field-pieces to be made ready for the retreat, a cannonball struck his temple a glancing blow, and he fell dead. So perished, at

the very opening of the great Civil War, the first of the officers of the regular army who fell in that conflict. Generous, brave and good, Lieutenant Greble was beloved by all who knew him. His body was carried to Philadelphia, his native city, where it lay in state one day, in Independence Hall, and was buried with military honors in Woodland Cemetery. Major Theodore Winthrop, an accomplished young officer, was also killed at Bethel, while bravely contending with the insurgents. He was a member of General Butler's staff, and his military secretary. When Butler was informed of the action, he proceeded to join the expedition in person, but at Hampton he received tidings of the disaster. It was a result which alarmed and mortified the nation; but the public mind was soon absorbed in the contemplation of far greater and more momentous movements. The failure at Bethel was undoubtedly chargeable more to a general eagerness to do, without experience in doing, than to any special shortcomings of individuals.

For a month after the dash on Romney, Wallace and his men were in a perilous situation; but by boldness and audacity of action, a wholesome fear of the Zouaves was created among the Confederates. By ceaseless activity they guarded the Baltimore and Ohio Railway for more than a hundred miles; and so distinguished were their services, unaided, that General Patterson wrote to Wallace: "I begin to doubt whether the Eleventh Indiana needs reinforcements." Wallace was soon afterward commissioned a brigadier-general of volunteers.

When Johnston abandoned Harper's Ferry, General Patterson, who had received intimations that he was expected to cross the Potomac, pushed his columns forward from Hagerstown and threw about nine thousand troops across the river at Williamsport, where it was fordable. These were led by General George Cadwallader, who commanded five companies of cavalry. At that moment Scott telegraphed to Patterson to send him all his regular troops and a few others under his command. This order was repeated; and again it was repeated early in the morning of the 17th, when the General-in-Chief said: "We are pressed here; send the troops I have twice called for, without delay." Patterson obeyed, but was compelled to call back the remainder of his force into Maryland.

The danger hinted at by the General-in-Chief was great indeed. Beauregard was preparing to move on the capital before the assembling of Congress on the 4th of July. The Confederate government, aided by the Secessionists of Virginia and Maryland, were employing every means in their power to accomplish that end. Washington was swarming with enemies, open and secret. Plotters were at work. The Confederate archives

at the capital reveal some ugly facts; among others, that the Confederate secretary of war received a proposition to blow up the Capitol with gunpowder that should be conveyed secretly to its crypts, some time between the 4th and 5th of July, when Congress would be in session and possibly the President might be present. The proposition was entertained, and directions were given for a conference between the conspirators and Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate attorney-general. This scheme for wholesale murder was abandoned then, and Congress assembled quietly at the appointed time.

When Congress met (July 4, 1861) the public welfare demanded immediate and energetic action, and that legislation should be confined to providing means for the salvation of the Republic. Our foreign relations were in a critical state. Confederate emissaries at European courts had created a general impression among statesmen and publicists, that our nation was only a league of States that might be dissolved when a member became dissatisfied. They had magnified the power and unity of the Confederacy, and had made the most tempting offer of free-trade in cotton to Great Britain and France. The belief soon became general that the Republic was hopelessly shattered. Foreign representatives at Washington wrote to their respective governments that the United States were hopelessly dismembered; and leaders of public sentiment in Europe affected to be amazed at the seeming folly of Congress in legislating as if the Union, "one and inseparable," had a future. Some of them were anxious to widen the breach, and so diminish the power of the United States by disunity; for they were jealous of our expanding greatness as a nation, and regarded our republican form of government as a standing menace of the unstable thrones.

Great Britain and France seemed to be equally anxious for the overthrow of the Union, and they entered into a secret agreement to act in concert. They even went so far as to apprise other European governments of this understanding, with the expectation that the latter would concur with them. So, at the very beginning of our difficulties, these two professedly friendly powers had clandestinely entered into a combination for arraying all Europe on the side of the insurgents, and giving them moral and material aid. Our loyal people could not, at first, comprehend the unfriendly acts and tone of the British government and the chief representatives of the British people, until the touchstone of Montesquieu's assertion was applied: "Other nations have made the interests of commerce yield to those of politics; the English, on the contrary, have ever made political interests give way to those of commerce." And the traditional philanthropy of the English in

behalf of the slave, made the following notable epigram of the London *Punch*, appear to us, at first, like a good-natured slander:

“Though with the North we sympathize,
It must not be forgotten,
That with the South we've stronger ties
Which are composed of cotton,
Whereof our imports 'mount unto
A sum of many figures;
And where would be our calico
Without the toil of niggers?

The South enslaves their fellow-men,
Whom we love all so dearly,
The North keeps commerce bound again,
Which touches us more nearly.
Thus a divided duty we
Perceive in this hard matter—
Free-trade or sable brothers free?
O, will we choose the latter?”

This epigram gave the key to the secret motives of the English government. The astute Frenchman, Count Gasparin, clearly perceived them. He knew the seductive influence of the bribe of free cotton on a manufacturing people like those of Great Britain; and nearly two months before her public acts in favor of the insurgents were manifested, he gave this warning: “Let England beware! It were better for her to lose Malta, Corfu and Gibraltar, than the glorious position which her struggle against Slavery and the Slave-trade has secured her in the esteem of the nations. Even in an age of armored frigates and rifled-cannon, the chief of all powers, thank God! is moral power. Woe to the nation that disregards it, and consents to immolate its principles to its interests! From the beginning of the present conflict the enemies of England, and they are numerous, have predicted that the cause of cotton will weigh heavier in her scales than the cause of justice and liberty. They are preparing to judge her by her conduct in the American crisis. Once more, let her beware!”

The British ministry did not heed the warning. So early as the 9th of May (1861), Lord John Russell, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, said in Parliament, in reply to the question, What position has the government intended to take? “The Attorney and Solicitor-General and the Queen’s Advocate and the Government have come to the opinion that the Southern Confederacy of America, according to those principles which seem to them to be just principles, must be treated as a belligerent.” This was prepara-

tory to an open recognition of the independence of the Confederacy, a motion for which was then pending in Parliament. The Queen and her beloved husband, the Prince Consort, felt a real friendship for the Americans, who had treated their son, the Prince of Wales, so kindly only a few months before, but she yielded to ministerial pressure, and on the 13th of May, issued a proclamation of neutrality, in which belligerent rights were accorded to the insurgents, and a virtual acknowledgment of the Confederation as a national power. It was followed in the British Parliament, and among the Tory classes and in the Tory newspapers of the realm, by the most dogmatic assertions that the Republic of the West was hopelessly crumbling into ruins, and was unworthy of respectful consideration.

All this was done with unseemly haste, before Mr. Charles Francis Adams, chosen by the new Administration to represent the United States at the Court of St. James, had presented his credentials. When that event occurred, and the tone of Mr. Adams's instructions was known, the British ministry paused, and took counsel of prudence and expediency. Mr. Adams had been instructed by the American Secretary of State (Mr. Seward) especially to counteract the influence of Confederate agents at court. "You will in no case," said the instructions, "listen to any suggestions of compromise by this Government under foreign auspices, with its discontented citizens. If, as the President does not at all apprehend, you shall unhappily find her Majesty's government tolerating the applications of the so-called Confederate States, or wavering about it, you will not leave them to suppose, for a moment, that they can grant that application and remain the friends of the United States. You may even assure them promptly, in that case, that if they determine to recognize, they may at the same time prepare to enter into an alliance with the enemies of this Republic. You, alone, will represent your country at London, and you will represent the whole of it there. When you are asked to divide that duty with others, diplomatic relations between the government of Great Britain and this Government will be suspended, and will remain so until it shall be seen which of the two is most strongly intrenched in the confidence of their respective nations and of mankind."

The high position taken by Mr. Seward, in the name of his Government, in that able letter of instructions, was doubtless one of the chief causes for the fortunate delay of the British government in the matter of recognizing the independence of the Southern Confederacy. Its puissance was increased by the manifest opposition of the great mass of the "common people" of Great Britain, to the unfriendly conduct of their government and the ruling classes toward the real Government of the United States. The friendly atti-

tude of Russia toward the United States was another cause for delay. The cautious Emperor of the French followed Great Britain, and on the 17th of June, issued a decree according belligerent rights to the Confederates; so also did the Queen of Spain proclaim the neutrality of her government, and entered upon a scheme with Napoleon III. for replanting the seeds of monarchical institutions in America now that the great Republic was about to expire. The King of Portugal also recognized the insurgents as belligerents, on the 29th of July; but the enlightened Emperor of Russia (Alexander II.), who was about to strike the shackles from almost forty million slaves in his own dominions, instructed (July 10) his representative at Washington to say: "In every event, the American nation may count upon the most cordial sympathy on the part of our most august master during the important crisis which it is passing through at present." The powers of Western Europe, regarding the Russian Emperor as a promised ally of the Republic of the West, behaved prudently.

It was on Thursday, the 4th of July, 1861, and the eighty-fourth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, when the Thirty-seventh Congress assembled at the National capital, in extraordinary session. It was a critical time in the history of our country. Civil War was kindling over a quarter of a million square miles of the Republic, and enemies of the nation's life were menacing its Capitol and its archives with utter destruction. Within the sound of great guns, armies were then gathering for that purpose; and secret emissaries of the Confederacy, it was believed, intrusted with errands of deadliest mischief, were prowling about the halls of Congress and the President's house. As promptly as the militia of the country, the members of the National Legislature had responded to the President's call. Twenty-three States were represented in the Senate, and one hundred and fifty-four members of the Lower House were present on the first day of the session, while ten slave-labor States were not represented. In both Houses there was a large working majority of Unionists; yet there was a considerable faction who sympathized with the Confederates in their application of the doctrine of State-supremacy and in opposition to coercive measures.

The President, in his message, after setting forth the causes of trouble, the acts of the insurgents, and the necessity for giving strength to the Executive arm, said: "It is now recommended, that you give the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one; that you place at the control of the Government, for the work, at least four hundred thousand men, and four hundred millions of dollars." That number of men constituted only one-tenth of those of proper age for military service in the regions where, apparently, all were willing to engage; and the sum of money asked

for, was less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seemed willing to devote the whole.

The President's message was accompanied by important reports from three heads of departments. The Secretary of War (Simon Cameron) recommended the enlistment of men for three years; appropriations for extraordinary expenses; the appointment of an Assistant Secretary of War, and an increase of the clerical force in his department. The Secretary of the Treasury (Salmon P. Chase) asked for \$240,000,000 for war purposes, and \$80,000,000 for the current expenses of the Government. He proposed to raise these amounts by three different methods. For the civil service, he proposed to procure a revenue by increased duties on specified articles and a system of internal taxation; for war purposes, by a National loan in the form of Treasury notes bearing an interest of one cent a day on fifty dollars, or in bonds, made redeemable at the pleasure of the Government after a period not exceeding thirty years, and bearing an interest not exceeding six per centum a year. He further recommended the issue of Treasury notes for a smaller amount.

The Secretary of the Navy (Gideon Wells), who had been compelled to resort to extraordinary measures to save the Republic, asked Congress to sanction his acts; to authorize the appointment of an Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and to appoint commissioners to inquire into the expediency of using iron-clad steamers or floating batteries.

The suggestions of the President and the heads of departments were followed by prompt action on the part of Congress. They at once made provisions for the sinews of war and to strengthen the arm of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic. They approved of the President's call for militia and volunteers. They authorized the raising of five hundred thousand troops; and they made an appropriation of \$500,000,000 to defray the expenses of the kindling Civil War. They carried out the suggestions of the Secretary of the Treasury concerning methods for procuring the money, by increased taxes and the issue of interest-bearing Treasury notes or bonds. Each House was purged of disloyal members by the expulsion of ten Senators and one Representative. The Secretary of the Navy was upheld by Congress; and, putting forth extraordinary exertions to increase the naval force of the country, he purchased, before the close of the year, and put into commission, no less than one hundred and thirty-seven vessels, and contracted for the building of a large number of substantial steamships for sea service. He called attention to the importance of iron-clad vessels; and so promptly were his requisitions for recruits complied with, that no vessel was ever detained for more than two or three days by want of men. Two hundred

and fifty-nine officers had resigned or been dismissed from the service for disloyalty since the 4th of March, and several vessels were sent to sea without a full complement of officers ; but the want was soon supplied, for many retired officers, who had engaged in civil pursuits, now came to the aid of their country in its hour of need, and were re-commissioned. Many masters and mates were appointed from the commercial marine. The Naval School and public property at Annapolis had been removed to Newport, Rhode Island, for safety, and the seminary found temporary accommodations in Fort Adams there.

When Congress met, there were about three hundred thousand Union troops in the field, and the enthusiasm of the people in the free-labor States was at fever heat. They contributed men, money and soldiers, with lavish generosity. Women, animated by their natural zeal in labors of mercy, went to work with busy fingers preparing lint and bandages for the wounded, and hospital garments for the sick and maimed. In tens of thousands of households in the land, women and children might be seen engaged in the holy toil ; while hundreds of the gentler sex, many of whom had been tenderly nurtured in the lap of ease and luxury, hastened to hospitals in camps and towns, and there, with saintly self-sacrifice, they performed the duties of nurse, night and day, and administered, in every way, with all the tenderness of affectionate mothers and sisters, to the wants of the sick, the wounded, and the dying.

Associated efforts in this benevolent work were first organized by Miss Dorothea L. Dix, a woman extensively known in our country for her labors of love in behalf of the poor, the unfortunate, and the afflicted. Perceiving war to be inevitable, she offered her services to the Government gratuitously, in organizing a system for providing comfort for the sick and wounded soldiers. They were accepted. Only eight days after the President's call for troops, the Secretary of War proclaimed : " Be it known to all whom it may concern, that the free services of Miss D. L. Dix are accepted by the War Department, and that she will give, at all times, all necessary aid in organizing military hospitals for the care of all the sick or wounded soldiers, aiding the chief surgeons by supplying nurses and substantial means for the comfort and relief of the suffering ; also, that she is fully authorized to receive, control, and disburse special supplies bestowed by individuals or associations for the comfort of their friends or the citizen soldiers from all parts of the United States." Surgeon-General R. C. Wood, recognizing the ability of Miss Dix for the task she had volunteered to perform, publicly requested all women who offered their services as nurses to report to her.

Like an angel of mercy," says a historian of the war, "this self-sacrificing woman labored day and night throughout the entire war for the relief of the suffering soldiers, without expecting or receiving any pecuniary reward. She went from battle-field to battle-field when the carnage was over: from camp to camp, and from hospital to hospital, superintending the operations of the nurses, and administering with her own hands physical



WOMEN'S WORK IN THE WAR.

comforts to the suffering, and soothing the troubled spirits of the invalid or dying soldier with a voice low, musical and attractive, and always burdened with words of heartfelt sympathy and religious consolation. . . . Yet she was not the only Sister of Mercy engaged in this holy work. She had hundreds of devoted, earnest, self-sacrificing co-workers of the gentler sex all over the land, serving with equal zeal in the camp and hospitals of National and Confederate armies; and no greater heroism was dis-

played by soldiers in the field, than was exhibited by these American women everywhere."

At near the close of April, a large number of the best women of New York city, met at the Cooper Institute and formed *The Women's Central Association for Relief*, with the late Dr. Valentine Mott as President. Auxiliary associations of women were formed all over the free-labor States; and very soon there was such a perfect system of relief organized, that all demands were promptly met. As the war went on it was discovered that a better system was needed, to have an official connection with the War Department; and after much effort, *The United States Sanitary Commission* was organized, with Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D.D., as president. Out of this spontaneous movement of the women at the beginning, also grew *The United States Christian Commission*, a sturdy outgrowth of the *Young Men's Christian Associations* of the country. A brief history of these commissions will be given hereafter.

A great work of Christian benevolence, begun at this time in Philadelphia, went on through the war. That city lay in the pathway of troops going to Washington from the East. They crossed the Delaware at Camden, landed at Washington avenue, and took cars for the South. Many of them sought in vain for food before leaving on the railway trains. One morning, the wife of a mechanic, living near where the soldiers landed, touched by their condition, went out with her pot of coffee and a cup and distributed its contents among them. The generous hint was a prolific germ of charity. Other women in the neighborhood imitated the example of the mechanic's wife; and very soon they formed a Committee of Relief to give refreshments systematically to passing soldiers. Gentlemen in the neighborhood interested themselves in procuring supplies, and these were distributed in the shade of trees near a cooper-shop. Then the owner (Mr. Cooper) generously gave the use of his shop for a refreshment saloon, and very soon whole regiments were fed there at tables bountifully supplied with food and coffee by the contributions of the citizens of Philadelphia. The room was not spacious enough, and another "saloon" was opened the next day after that at the cooper-shop, and called the *Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloon*. The generous citizens of Philadelphia supplied these saloons so liberally, that a bountiful meal was furnished to every soldier who applied, during four years. The number fed at the two saloons was about twelve hundred thousand. Of that number, seven hundred and fifty thousand soldiers were fed at *The Union Volunteer Saloon*. Full forty thousand had a night's lodging there, and fifteen thousand refugees and freedmen were cared for and employment found for them. A hospital was attached to the saloon, and in

it twenty thousand soldiers had their wounds dressed. At all hours of the day and night devoted women were in readiness to prepare meals and wait upon passing soldiers, whenever a little signal-gun, warning them of the approach of troops, was fired. Who can estimate the vast sum of relief afforded during the war by the hands of patriotic, warm-hearted, sympathetic women?

The firemen of Philadelphia also did noble work. When sick and wounded soldiers began to be brought to the Government hospitals in Philadelphia, the Medical Department often found it difficult to provide vehicles to take them from the vessels to their destination, and there was much suffering on account of delays. The sympathetic firemen of the city made arrangements to give a signal when invalid soldiers arrived, when they would turn out with wagons to convey them to the hospitals. Finally, the Northern Liberties Engine Company had a fine ambulance constructed for the purpose. Other fire companies of the city followed the example; and in these ambulances, one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers were conveyed tenderly from vessels to the hospitals, during the war.



CHAPTER XI.

CONFEDERATES IN VIRGINIA—NATIONAL TROOPS IN WESTERN VIRGINIA—M'CLELLAN'S CAMPAIGN—SECESSIONISTS REPRESSED IN BALTIMORE—CONFEDERATE PRIVATEERS—TROOPS NEAR WASHINGTON—MANASSAS JUNCTION—PATTERSON CROSSES THE POTOMAC—MOVEMENTS OF NATIONAL TROOPS—BATTLE AT BLACKBURN'S FORD—BATTLE OF BULL'S RUN AND ITS EFFECTS—WAR IN THE WEST—GENERAL LYON'S CAMPAIGN—MILITARY OPERATIONS IN MISSOURI—DEATH OF LYON—UNION MOVEMENT—MOVEMENTS OF A DISLOYAL GOVERNOR.

THE gathering of Confederate troops at Manassas, under Beauregard, required prompt and vigorous action on the part of the Government. The main Confederate army was there. Johnston was at Winchester, with a large body, ready to reinforce Beauregard at any moment, unless prevented by General Patterson, who was at Martinsburg early in July, with eighteen thousand Nationals, keenly watching the movements of the Confederates. From their grand encampment at Manassas, the latter had sent out detachments along the line of the Upper Potomac from Georgetown to Leesburg, menacing various points, and foraging. At Vienna they had a severe skirmish (June 17) with an Ohio regiment, and were repulsed; and there the flag of the "Sovereign State of South Carolina" was first seen on a battle-field. The Confederates soon returned and took possession of Vienna and Falls Church Village, and the latter became famous for stirring scenes afterward. It was ten days after this event that Captain Ward of the *Freeborn*, was killed at Matthias Point.

The Confederates now put forth all their available strength to hold the mountain regions of Virginia. The Baltimore and Ohio Railway was guarded by National troops; and about twenty thousand of these from Ohio, Indiana and Virginia, were at Grafton, under the command of General George B. McClellan, at the beginning of July. Porterfield had been superseded by General R. S. Garnett, in command of the Confederate forces in Western Virginia, with his headquarters at Beverly and outlying posts at Bealington, Philippi, Buckhannon, and Romney. In the Great Kanawha region, a considerable body of Confederates were led by Ex-Governor H. A. Wise, where he was confronted by Ohio troops under General J. D. Cox. At the same time McClellan began offensive operations. He led ten thousand men to attack Garnett at Laurel Hill, near Beverly; and sent four thousand

men under General T. A. Morris toward the same point, by way of Philippi. Another body under General Hill was sent to a point eastward of Philippi, to prevent the escape of the insurgents over the Alleghany Mountains to join Johnston at Winchester.

When the Nationals approached Garnett's position, it was ascertained that Colonel John Pegram, with a considerable body of Confederates, was strongly intrenched in Rich Mountain Gap in the rear of his chief. McClellan immediately dispatched Colonel (afterward General) W. S. Rosecrans, with a body of Ohio and Indiana foot soldiers and a troop of cavalry, in light marching order, to dislodge Pegram. By a circuitous and perilous mountain march in the darkness, and under a heavy rain-storm, they made their way to the top of a ridge of Rich Mountain, above Pegram's camp and only a mile from it (July 11, 1861); but they were not unobserved. Pegram had discovered their approach, and now attacked them furiously with nine hundred men armed with muskets and cannon. A severe engagement ensued. The Confederates were repulsed; and for his gallantry on that occasion Rosecrans was commissioned a brigadier-general.

The National troops were in a perilous situation on Rich Mountain, for Pegram confronted them with an overwhelming force. McClellan had heard the sounds of battle, and pushed forward with troops for their relief. Pegram did not wait to be attacked, but stole away in the night, and so uncovered Garnett's rear. Advised of this fact, Garnett also withdrew in the darkness, leaving most of his cannon, tents and wagons behind, and fled toward Huttonsville. Headed off by McClellan, his forces were scattered in the mountains of the Cheat River region. Meanwhile Pegram and six hundred of his followers had surrendered (July 14) to McClellan. The other fugitives were pursued by General Morris, accompanied by Captain H. W. Benham (McClellan's chief engineer), and were overtaken at Carricksford, on a branch of the Cheat River. There a sharp engagement occurred, when Garnett was killed and his forces were dispersed. Another portion of Garnett's troops had fled toward Staunton, pursued to the summit of the Cheat Range, where an Indiana regiment established an outpost. Meanwhile Cox had driven Wise out of the Kanawha region, and at the middle of July (1861) the war in Western Virginia seemed to be at an end. On the 19th, McClellan said, in a despatch to the War Department, "We have completely annihilated the enemy in Western Virginia. Our loss is about thirteen killed and not more than forty wounded; while the enemy's loss is not far from two hundred killed; and the number of prisoners we have taken will amount to at least one thousand. We have captured seven of the guns of the enemy, in all."

The Confederates were not disposed to abandon the granary that would supply Eastern Virginia, without another struggle. General Robert E. Lee succeeded Garnett in the chief command in that region. John B. Floyd, the treacherous National Secretary of War, had succeeded Wise as a leader; but he, too, was now superseded by a better man, and after awhile the war in the mountain region of Virginia was renewed. McClellan had been called to the command of the Army of the Potomac, and was succeeded in Western Virginia by General Rosecrans.

At the beginning of June, it was manifest that a powerful combination of Secessionists in Baltimore were preparing to act with the armed insurgents in Virginia, in efforts to seize the National capital. The Legislature of the State were in sympathy with the Confederates, and a committee of that body assured Jefferson Davis that the people of Maryland were with him in sentiment. The National Government took energetic measures to avert the evil. General N. P. Banks was appointed to the command of the Department of Annapolis, with his headquarters in Baltimore; and he was so satisfied of a conspiracy ripening there, that he sent a force of armed men into the city, who arrested Chief of Police Kane and put him into Fort McHenry. At the same time Banks proclaimed that he had appointed Colonel (afterward General) John R. Kenly, of the First Regiment of Maryland Volunteers, provost-marshal. Kenly was a well-known and highly respected citizen of Baltimore, and acted with wisdom and energy. He was put at the head of the Police Department; but the old Board of Police Commissioners, who were Secessionists, refused to acknowledge him and defied the Government. They were arrested and sent as prisoners of State to Fort Warren in Boston harbor, and very soon afterward the Unionists of Maryland were encouraged to assert their loyalty. Banks withdrew the troops, and thereafter Maryland was justly counted one of the loyal States of the Union; yet for three years the Confederates were deceived by a belief that the people were Secessionists at heart. But the delusion was dispelled when, in 1863, General Lee invaded the State, set up his standard, and expected thousands would rally around it. On the contrary, he lost manifold more men by desertion than he gained by recruiting.

We have observed that Jefferson Davis issued commissions to privateers, and that a Confederate naval bureau was established. The first vessel of the Confederate navy was named the *Lady Davis*; and when the National Congress assembled on the 4th of July, there were no less than twenty Confederate armed vessels afloat and depredating upon the commerce of the United States. So early as the 1st of June they had sent twenty vessels, captured on the sea, into the port of New Orleans alone, as prizes. One of

these privateers (the *Savannah*) was captured, and her crew were tried and condemned as pirates; but the Government found it expedient to treat them as prisoners of war. Another (the *Petrel*) went out of Charleston harbor and mistaking the United States frigate *Lawrence* for a richly-laden merchantman, attempted to capture her. She opened her ports, and instantly the *Petrel* became a wreck. A flash of fire, a thunder-peal, the crash of timbers and engulfment in the sea, was the experience of a minute for her crew, four of whom were drowned, while the vessel went swiftly to the bottom of the ocean. Other privateers active during the war will be noticed hereafter.

It was now midsummer, 1861. A large body of troops were gathered around the National capital. General Irwin McDowell was in command of the Department of Virginia, with his headquarters at Arlington House. At Manassas Junction, about half way between the eastern range of the Blue Ridge and the Potomac at Alexandria, and thirty miles from Washington, were about forty thousand Confederate troops. It was considered the strongest military position between Washington and Richmond, and is connected with the capital of Virginia and the fertile Shenandoah Valley by railways. It was fortified by strong redoubts on which were mounted heavy Dahlgren guns, which the insurgents had seized at the Gosport Navy-yard, and these were managed by naval officers who had deserted their flag. At Winchester, Johnston had almost as strong a force, to prevent McClellan and his troops issuing from the mountain region and joining Patterson on the Potomac.

The loyal people had become impatient because of the delay of the troops at the capital in moving against the insurgents. They were delighted when, on the afternoon of the 16th of July, the telegraph spread the news over the land that fifty thousand soldiers, under General McDowell, had begun to move toward Manassas, leaving fifteen thousand behind to guard the capital. They were in five divisions, commanded respectively by Brigadier-Generals Daniel Tyler and Theodore Runyon, and Colonels David Hunter, Samuel P. Heintzelman, and Dixon S. Miles. The Confederate forces against whom they moved were distributed along Bull's Run, a tributary of the Occoquan, from Union Mills, where the Orange and Alexandria Railway crosses the stream, to the stone-bridge on the Warrenton turnpike, a distance of about eight miles, with reserves near Manassas Junction. They also had an outpost at Centreville, and slight fortifications at Fairfax Court-House, ten miles from their main army, in the direction of Washington.

General Patterson was at Martinsburg, charged with the duty of keep-

ing General Johnston from reinforcing Beauregard. He had crossed the Potomac at Williamsport on the 2d of July; and near Falling Waters, his advance-guard under Colonel Abercrombie, chiefly composed of Wisconsin and Pennsylvania troops, horse and foot, with a section of a battery, encountered Johnston's advance led by "Stonewall" Jackson, assisted by J. E. B. Stuart and his afterward famous cavalry corps. They fought sharply for half an hour, when Colonel George H. Thomas's brigade, coming to the support of Abercrombie, caused the Confederates to flee. They were hotly pursued five miles, when a heavy Confederate force appearing, the chase was abandoned. On the following day General Patterson and his army entered Martinsburg, and were speedily reinforced by troops under General Sandford of New York. There he remained in enforced inaction for a fortnight.

The aged General Scott was too feeble in mind and body to take command in the field, and that imbecility caused disaster. The duty devolved upon General McDowell. The latter ordered General Tyler to advance to Vienna on the evening of the 16th of July; and early the next morning the remainder of the army moved in four columns, with the intention, by making feints, to throw the Confederates off their guard, gain their rear, seize the railway, and compel both Beauregard and Johnston to fall back from their positions, so menacing to the seat of Government. But spies and traitors, yet swarming in Washington, kept Beauregard continually advised not only of the movements, but of the intentions of the National troops. There were traitors, evidently, in possession of the secrets of the office of the General-in-Chief, for a copy of a military map was found in a deserted Confederate camp only two days after the original was completed.

McDowell's columns moved by different roads, without much opposition. They entered the village of Fairfax Court-House unopposed; and when they approached Centreville, the Confederates fled. The Nationals were in high spirits, for it appeared as if the march to Richmond would be a pleasant excursion. But Beauregard was alluring them into a perilous position, as they found, on the 18th, when General Tyler made a reconnoissance in force at Blackburn's Ford, on Bull's Run, which was guarded by General James Longstreet with a strong force of men and concealed batteries. A severe conflict ensued, in which Michigan, Massachusetts and New York troops, with Ayers's battery, were engaged. At length the Nationals, defeated, withdrew to Centreville; and McDowell was satisfied that his plan for gaining the rear of the Confederates was impracticable.

The affair at Blackburn's Ford revealed the strength of the Confederates and McDowell perceived the necessity for an immediate and vigorous attack

upon the enemy, for the term of enlistment of about ten thousand of his troops was about to expire. He then had thirty-five thousand men under his immediate command. These were massed around Centreville ready to move; but for want of needed supplies they were detained until the close of the 20th, when the army had begun to melt away from the cause just mentioned.

At two o'clock the next morning (July 21, 1861) the troops moved from Centreville in three columns, the moon shining brightly, to attack the left flank of the Confederates. General Tyler, with the brigades of Schenck and Sherman, and the batteries of Ayres and Carlisle, moved on the Warrenton turnpike toward the stone-bridge, leaving Miles and Richardson to watch and guard Blackburn's Ford. The object was to make a feigned attack near the bridge, while the two columns of Hunter and Heintzelman should cross Bull's Run at Sudley Church, and fall upon the Confederate left. These movements were very slow; and General McDowell, who was ill, and in a carriage, becoming impatient, mounted his horse and with his cavalry escort, commanded by Colonel A. G. Brackett, he rode forward, passed the two columns toiling along a rough forest road, and first entered the open field which became a battle-ground.

Meanwhile important movements had been made on the Confederate side, of which McDowell was ignorant. When he advanced to Fairfax Court-House, Beauregard informed Davis, at Richmond, of the movement, who ordered Johnston to hasten to join the forces at Manassas with the army of the Shenandoah. It was necessary for Johnston to fight and defeat Patterson or elude him. He accomplished the latter, and with six thousand infantry he hastened to Manassas, where he arrived at noon on the 20th, the remainder of his army following at a slower pace. This reinforcement made Beauregard's army outnumber McDowell's by four thousand men, and being strongly fortified, he had an important advantage. Johnston, the senior in rank, took chief command.

General Tyler opened the memorable battle by firing a shell among the Confederates near the stone-bridge, commanded by Colonel Evans. Others followed; and Beauregard, believing it to be a real attack, sent reinforcements to Evans. At the same time Johnston ordered a quick and vigorous attack upon McDowell's left wing at Blackburn's Ford, not doubting, because of the superior force of Confederates in that quarter, that they would win a complete victory. The assailants were led by General Ewell. The movement miscarried; and from an eminence Johnston and Beauregard watched the opening conflict with great anxiety. A cloud of dust seen far to the northward gave Johnston apprehensions that Patterson, when he

discovered the departure of the army of the Shenandoah, had given chase or was hastening to reinforce McDowell.

Colonel Evans was soon satisfied that Tyler's attack and the cannonade below was only a feint. He had been informed of the march of heavy columns through the forests on his left, and before ten o'clock scouts told him that one column was crossing Bull's Run at Sudley Church. It was Hunter's, composed of Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Massachusetts troops, with the batteries of Griffin and Reynolds, the whole led by Colonel Burnside. Evans at once prepared to meet them; and General Bee, who commanded reserves, was sent forward to assist him. Very soon the Nationals appeared in the open field, and a battle began. Only a small stream in a little vale separated the combatants. Hard pressed, Evans's line began to waver, when General Bee advanced with fresh troops and gave it strength. The National line then began to tremble, and Burnside called for help. Colonel Andrew Porter responded by sending a battalion of regulars under Major Sykes.

The battle now raged furiously. Hunter was severely wounded and Colonel Slocum of Rhode Island was killed, when the youthful Sprague, governor of the little Commonwealth, took command of the troops from that State. At length Porter came up with his men and poured such a heavy fire upon Evans's left, that his line again began to bend. At that moment the head of Heintzelman's column appeared; also Sherman's brigade, whom Tyler had sent, under Colonel Corcoran, to assist Burnside. These reinforcements were timely; for the Nationals, who had been on their feet since midnight, were nearly exhausted.

A furious charge made by a New York regiment under Colonel H. W. Slocum, shattered the bending Confederate line, and the troops fled in confusion to a plateau whereon General T. J. Jackson had just arrived with reserves. "They are beating us back!" exclaimed General Bee. "Well, sir," calmly replied Jackson, "we will give them the bayonet!" Bee was encouraged. "Form! form!" he cried to the fugitives. "There stands Jackson like a stone wall." The effect of these words was wonderful. Their flight was checked, and order was soon brought out of confusion. Ever afterward, the calm general was called "Stonewall Jackson."

It was now noon. Alarmed by the unexpected strength of the Nationals, Johnston and Beauregard sent bodies of troops, under Holmes, Early, and Ewell, in the direction of the sounds of battle, four miles distant. The two commanders hastened to the plateau, when Johnston, the chief by seniority, after reorganizing the shattered columns, left Beauregard in command on the field and hastened to a position from which he had a view

of the whole area of operations and of the country toward Manassas, whence reinforcements from the Shenandoah Valley were momentarily expected. Without these, he had small hope of success. From his new position he also sent forward reinforcements; and at two o'clock in the afternoon, when the conflict was renewed, the Confederates had ten thousand soldiers, with twenty-two heavy guns in battle order on the plateau. Meanwhile the Nationals had been preparing for the struggle. At one o'clock they had gained possession of the Warrenton Turnpike, the grand objective of the march against the Confederate left; but their enemies must be driven from the plateau before victory would be secured. To accomplish this five brigades, namely, Porter's, Howard's, Franklin's, Wilcox's and Sherman's, with the batteries of Rickett's, Griffin and Arnold, and cavalry under Major Palmer, were to turn the Confederate left, while Keyes was sent to annoy them on the right.

Colonel Heintzelman accompanied McDowell as his lieutenant on the field, and his division began the attack. They pressed forward in the face of a storm of balls from batteries, and gained possession of a portion of the plateau. There was an elevation near that commanded the whole plateau, and McDowell ordered Ricketts and Griffin to plant their batteries upon it, with the immediate support of Ellsworth's Fire Zouaves, under Colonel Farnham. It was accomplished, while New York, Massachusetts and Minnesota troops took a position to the left of the batteries. As the artillery and Zouaves went boldly forward in the face of a severe fire from the enemy, they were suddenly attacked on the flank by Alabamians in ambush, and then by two companies of Stuart's Black-horse cavalry, in the rear. The Zouaves recoiled, and the horsemen dashed entirely through the shattered column. Colonel Farnham rallied his men, and with some assistance they attacked the Confederate horsemen so furiously that they were dispersed.

When the Zouaves gave way, Heintzelman ordered up a Minnesota regiment to the support of the batteries. Suddenly the Confederates, in overwhelming force, delivered a murderous fire that disabled the batteries by prostrating the men, when the struggle for the plateau became fearful. Both sides suffered dreadfully. Johnston heard of the slaughter and lost heart. He had ordered Early up, at eleven o'clock, with three fresh regiments, but they did not come. It was now three o'clock. "Oh for four regiments!" said Johnston, bitterly, to Colonel Cocke. His wish was more than satisfied. Just then he saw a cloud of dust in the direction of the Manassas Gap Railway. It was caused by a part of his own Shenandoah army, four thousand strong, under General E. Kirby Smith. They were received with joy, and were ordered into action immediately. Beauregard's

force was almost doubled by these and other fresh troops; and the blow that now smote McDowell's troops, just as they were about to grasp the palm of victory, was sudden, unexpected, heavy, and overpowering. In fifteen minutes the Nationals were swept from the plateau. As regiment after regiment gave way and hurried toward the turnpike in confusion, panic seized others, and at four o'clock a greater portion of the National army were flying across Bull's Run toward Centreville. With many it was not a retreat but a disorderly rout. They left behind them over three thousand men killed, wounded, or made prisoners. The Confederates lost over two thousand. The Confederate congress had assembled at Richmond the day before; and Jefferson Davis, who arrived on the battle-field just as the flight began, sent back to his associates an exultant shout of victory, by the telegraph. It was echoed, in varying notes, over the Confederacy, while the vanquished army was hastening, in fragments, back to the defence of the capital. For a moment the gloom of deep despondency settled upon the hearts of the loyal portion of the nation.

The gravity of the occasion was so little appreciated, that when it was known at Washington that McDowell was to attack Beauregard on Sunday, the 21st, scores of men, and even women—Congressmen, officials of every grade, and plain citizens—went out in carriages as to a spectacular show for amusement. Passes from military commanders were like tickets to a Roman gladiatorial combat in the circus; and the vicinity of the battle-field was gay, on Sunday morning, with civilians, who indulged in wine and cigars at the headquarters of Colonel Miles at Centreville. The heights there were crowded with spectators; and as the battle went on, and bombs "burst in air," their cheeks were made to glow with delicious excitement. Before night those cheeks were made pale by terror as the crowd of spectators rushed back, pell-mell, toward places of safety, pursued by the Confederates. Soldiers and citizens and well-dressed women were mingled in picturesque confusion in the line of fugitives who crowded the highways. In several places the roads were blocked with overturned vehicles or abandoned cannon; and horses and human kind seemed equally eager to escape from the whirlwind of destruction that followed in fury behind them for awhile. But the pursuit of the Confederates was soon stayed by misinformation. Had they pressed on, their coveted prize, the National capital, might have been in their possession before Monday morning.

The battle at Bull's Run depressed the loyal people only for a moment, and there was a quick rebound from despair to hope. Another uprising by the loyalists in favor of the Union took place, and the gaps in the National armies were more than filled within a fortnight by new recruits. The Con-

federates were weakened by their victory, for it gave them undue confidence in their strength and prowess, and made them neglect to profit by it. But circumstances soon afterward caused a "solid South" to be arrayed against the National Government, and the Confederate armies were wonderfully sustained by their people.

General Patterson was unjustly censured for his failure to hold Johnston at Winchester or to reinforce McDowell. When the truth was made known by positive testimony, it appeared clear that he did all an obedient soldier, bound by instructions, could do under the circumstances, and the public mind was satisfied.

While the events we have just considered were occurring in the East, the war was making rapid progress in the West, especially in Missouri, where General Lyon, as we have seen, had taken vigorous measures to quell the rebellion. The disloyal governor of Missouri, who raised the standard of revolt at Jefferson City, fled westward with troops who were led by General Price, and took a stand at near Booneville. There they were attacked by Lyon and defeated, when they retreated toward the southwestern portion of Missouri, and halted not far from the Arkansas border. Lyon now held military control over the whole region northward of the Missouri River, and east of a line from Booneville to the Arkansas border, thus giving to the Government the important points of St. Louis, Hannibal, St. Joseph, and Bird's Point on the Mississippi, as bases of operations, with railways and rivers for transportation. General Lyon remained about a fortnight at Booneville preparing for a vigorous campaign against the insurgents whom Jackson was gathering around him in southwestern Missouri. He issued a proclamation which quieted the people and strengthened the Union cause, for he assured them that his Government had no other end in view than the maintenance of its authority over the persons and property of the whole people of the State.

On the 1st of July (1861) there were at least ten thousand loyal troops in Missouri, and as many more might have been thrown into it from camps in Illinois, in the space of forty-eight hours. At the same time, Colonel Franz Sigel, a German soldier and patriot, was pushing eager soldiers toward insurgent camps on the borders of Kansas and Arkansas. On the 5th of July he encountered a considerable force under Jackson and Brigadier-General Rains, near Carthage. Their force was much greater in number than his own, and after a sharp fight he was pressed back and retreated in good order to Springfield. Lyon, who was then at the head of a small force, eighty miles from Springfield, satisfied of Sigel's peril, hastened forward to his relief, by forced marches, and encamped not far

from him on the 13th of July and took command of the combined forces. In the meantime troops from Texas under Generals McCulloch, Rains, Pearce and McBride, had joined Price, making his whole force about twenty thousand men. They were now marching on Springfield. To confront them Lyon had not more than six thousand men, horse and foot (the former



SCENE AT WILSON'S CREEK.

about five hundred in number), and eighteen pieces of artillery. With this comparatively feeble force Lyon went out to meet his enemies, and at Dug Springs, about nineteen miles west from Springfield, they met and fought a desperate battle on the 2d of August. The Confederates were led by General Rains. So furious was the charge of Lyon's cavalry, in the engagement, led by Captain Stanley, that Confederate prisoners seriously inquired: "Are they men or devils?" The Confederates were beaten and fled to Wilson's Creek, about ten miles south of Springfield, where they encamped on the evening of the 9th wearied and half-starved.

The Confederates anxiously sought rest and refreshment, but Lyon would not grant them the boon. Before the dawn the next morning he marched against them in two columns, one led by himself to fall upon their front; the other, under Sigel, twelve hundred strong, with six field-pieces, to attack their rear. A battle began at an early hour. Lyon's column bore the brunt of the conflict. His words and deeds inspired his men to fight valiantly. Wherever the storm of battle was raging fiercest, there Lyon was seen. Very early in the severe engagement, his horse was shot under him. Then he received a wound in the leg. Another in the head soon followed and partially stunned him. Mounting the horse of one of Major Sturgis's orderlies, and placing himself at the head of Kansas troops, he swung his hat over his head, and called upon the men to follow. While dashing forward with a determination to gain the victory, a rifle-ball passed through his body, near his heart, and he expired in a few minutes. The conflict continued about two hours longer, and at eleven o'clock it ceased, the Confederates, discomfited, withdrawing from the field. The loss of Nationals in the battle was between twelve and thirteen hundred, and of the Confederates full three thousand. The former fell back to Springfield, and the next morning (August 11) the whole Union force, under the general command of Sigel, retreated from Springfield to Rolla, one hundred and twenty-five miles in the direction of St. Louis, safely conducting a Government train valued at \$1,500,000.

When Governor Jackson set up the standard of revolt at the capital of Missouri, the loyal men of the Commonwealth tried to stay the hand of secession. They had held a State Convention in February, at which no openly avowed disunionist appeared. That Convention reassembled at Jefferson City, on the 22d of July, and declared the government of which Jackson was the head, to be illegal. They organized a provisional government for service until a permanent one might be established by the people. The Convention issued an address to the inhabitants, in which the treason of the governor was exposed. Meanwhile General Pillow, by invitation of the governor, had entered the Commonwealth at the head of Tennessee troops to act in concert with M. Jefferson Thompson, the leader of the State militia. The shallow Pillow, vain as he was incompetent, assumed the pompous title of "Liberator of Missouri," and dated his orders and despatches, "Headquarters Army of Liberation." Missouri was not annexed to the Confederacy; but persons claiming to represent that State, sat in the Confederate Congress at Richmond during a greater part of the period of the Civil War.

CHAPTER XII.

FREMONT IN MISSOURI—SIEGE AND FALL OF LEXINGTON—KENTUCKY NEUTRALITY VIOLATED BY THE CONFEDERATES—EVENTS IN EASTERN KENTUCKY—BUCKNER'S RAID—FREMONT SUPERSEDED—BATTLE AT BELMONT—MILITARY MOVEMENTS IN NORTHWESTERN VIRGINIA—LEE, FLOYD AND WISE—CIVIL WAR ENDED IN WEST VIRGINIA—CAPTURE OF HATTERAS FORTS—EVENTS NEAR FORT PICKENS AND SOUTHWEST PASS—OPERATIONS ON THE COAST OF SOUTH CAROLINA—M'CLELLAN IN COMMAND—"ON TO RICHMOND!"—BOLDNESS OF THE CONFEDERATES—THEY ARE PUSHED BACK—BATTLE AT BALL'S BLUFF.

JOHAN C. FREMONT, the eminent explorer and meritorious soldier, who was in Europe when the war began, after purchasing arms for the Government there, hastened home and was commissioned major-general of volunteers. On the 6th of July, he was appointed to the command of the Department of Missouri, with his headquarters at St. Louis, where, in consequence of General Lyon having taken the field in person, he found everything in confusion. He entered upon his duties with vigor. He caused St. Louis to be fortified; and Bird's Point, opposite Cairo, on the Mississippi, was made secure from the operations of the Confederates.

When, on the death of General Lyon and the retreat of the National troops from Springfield toward St. Louis, Fremont perceived the secession element in Missouri to be strong and defiant, he took the civil as well as the military power in his department into his own hands, and soon caused his opponents to act with circumspection. He proclaimed martial-law, and assured the disaffected that it would be vigorously enforced. His energy created jealousies; and such misrepresentations were laid before his Government that his actions, which promised the best results, were restrained, and the wholesome rigors of martial-law were removed.

Fremont had already formed a plan for ridding not only Missouri, but the whole Mississippi Valley, of armed insurgents, and for opening the navigation of the great river which was then obstructed by Confederate batteries at Memphis and elsewhere. His plan contemplated the capture or dispersion of troops under General Price, in Missouri, and the seizure of Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas. By so doing Fremont expected to turn the position of the forces under Pillow and others, in the vicinity of New

Madrid, cut off their supplies from the southwest and compel them to retreat, at which time a flotilla of gun-boats then a-building near St. Louis, might descend the Mississippi and assist in military operations against the batteries at Memphis. In the event of this movement being successful, he proposed to push on toward the Gulf of Mexico, with his army, and take possession of New Orleans.

After the battle of Wilson's Creek, General McCulloch, the Texan leader, abandoned General Price, because they could not agree, when the latter, in sole command, called upon the Secessionists to fill up his ranks. They responded with alacrity; and at the middle of August, Price moved northward in the direction of Lexington, which was situated in a curve of the Missouri River. It occupied an important position, and was garrisoned by less than three thousand troops under Colonel James A. Mulligan. Early in September, when Price had reached its vicinity, Mulligan resolved to defend the place, with his small army, and cast up intrenchments around his camp. At that time a larger Union force was at the State capital, under Colonel Jefferson C. Davis, and General John Pope was coming down from the country northward of the Missouri River, with five thousand more. Price perceived his danger, and pressing vigorously forward, besieged Lexington on the 11th of September, with twenty thousand men, which number soon increased to twenty-five thousand, by reinforcements. Mulligan was inadequately supplied with heavy guns and ammunition to sustain a siege; and after a gallant defence of the post against overwhelming numbers, until the morning of the 20th, he was compelled to surrender. This disaster was severely felt by the Unionists; and Fremont, resolving to retrieve it, at once put in motion an army of more than twenty thousand men to drive Price and his followers out of Missouri.

Early in the summer the disloyal governor of Kentucky declared that arrangements had been made at Cincinnati; with General McClellan, that neither National nor Confederate troops should enter Kentucky. McClellan denied the truth of the assertions; but for several months the neutrality of Kentucky was as much respected as if such an arrangement was in force; and the purposes of the governors of Kentucky and Tennessee were promoted, for it gave them more time to prepare for war. In the meantime Pillow had been unsuccessfully trying to capture Cairo by military operations in Missouri. He urged the seizure of the bluff at Columbus, in Western Kentucky, from which he believed he might take Cairo in reverse, turn its guns upon Bird's Point, drive out and disperse the Nationals, and so make a free passage for the Confederates to St. Louis. The solemn pledges of his masters to respect Kentucky neutrality, restrained Pillow; but in

September (1861) the Confederates resolved to violate that neutrality. General (Bishop) Polk, seized the strong position at Columbus, with a considerable body of troops, under the pretext that National forces were preparing to occupy that place. The Confederate secretary of war publicly telegraphed to Polk to withdraw his troops; and at the same time Jefferson Davis privately telegraphed to him to hold on, saying: "The necessity must justify the means." So Columbus was held by the Confederates. The loyal members of the Kentucky Legislature requested the governor to call out the militia of the State to expel the invaders, and asked the National Government to aid him. The governor did nothing; but General Ulysses S. Grant, then in command of the district around Cairo, took military possession of Paducah, in Northern Kentucky, at the mouth of the Tennessee River. The seizure of Columbus by the Confederates, opened the way to all the horrors of war which Kentucky suffered; and the occupation of Paducah by National troops ended the "neutrality" of that State. Thenceforth Kentucky was numbered among the loyal States.

On the day after Polk seized Columbus, a Confederate force under General Zollicoffer (formerly a member of Congress), invaded Kentucky from East Tennessee, where the loyalists were suffering peculiar hardships at the hands of the Secessionists. At the same time, Simon B. Buckner, who had been placed in command of the professed "neutral" *Kentucky State Guard*, formed a Confederate camp in Tennessee, just below the Kentucky border, and, acting in co-operation with Polk and Zollicoffer, attempted to seize Louisville. He was foiled by the vigilance of General Anderson (late of Fort Sumter), who was in command there, with General W. T. Sherman as his lieutenant. Buckner fell back to Bowling Green, on the Nashville and Louisville Railroad, and there established a camp as a nucleus of a powerful Confederate force that was gathered soon afterward.

Buckner's raid and the invasion of Zollicoffer aroused the Unionists of Eastern Kentucky, who flew to arms under various leaders. In an attack upon a camp of Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio troops, under Colonel Garrard, at the Rock Castle Hills, a picturesque region of the Cumberland Mountains, Zollicoffer was repulsed, on the 21st of October. Further eastward, near Piketon, the capital of Pike county, a Confederate force under John S. Williams was dispersed by some Union troops under General William Nelson, early in November. These successes inspired the loyalists of East Tennessee with hopes of a speedy deliverance from their oppressors; but they were compelled to wait long for relief, for toward the close of 1861 the Confederates had established a firm military foothold in Tennessee, and occupied a considerable portion of Southern Kentucky from the Cumber-

land Mountains to the Mississippi River, along a line about four hundred miles in length. They also occupied a greater portion of Missouri, south of the Missouri River.

Fremont was censured for his failure to reinforce Mulligan. The public knew very little of his embarrassments at that time. Pressing demands came for reinforcements, from General Grant at Paducah. Cries for help were heard at various points in his department; and a peremptory order was received from General Scott to forward five thousand troops immediately to Washington city, notwithstanding McClellan (who was in chief command there) had seventy thousand men within easy call. Fremont's forces did not, at any time, number more than fifty-six thousand, and these were scattered over his department. Chafing under unjust complaints, he proceeded to put his plan for ridding the Mississippi Valley of Confederate troops into operation at once. On the 27th of September, he put more than twenty thousand soldiers (five thousand of them cavalry) in motion under the respective commands of Generals Hunter, Pope, Sigel, McKinstry and Asboth, accompanied by eighty-six heavy guns. These five columns were moving southward early in October; and on the 11th, when his army was thirty thousand strong, Fremont wrote to his Government: "My plan is New Orleans straight; I would precipitate the war forward, and end it soon and victoriously."

Fremont felt confident of success. His army were in high spirits, and small victories were won by his detachments in various places. He had strengthened the forces in Eastern Missouri, so that St. Louis was safe; and General Hardee at Greenville, and General Pillow near New Madrid, dared not advance. He knew the bitterness of his political enemies, and the jealousies of envious men; and he was in continual expectation of interference with his plans. That interference soon came. False accusers, public and private, had such influence in the military councils at Washington that, just after his superb body-guard of one hundred and fifty cavalry, led by Zagonyi, a Hungarian, had charged upon and routed about two thousand Confederates, foot and horse, at Springfield, Fremont received an order from General Scott, directing him to turn over his command to General Hunter, then some distance in the rear. Hunter arrived just as the troops were about to attack Price. He countermanded Fremont's orders for battle; and nine days afterward General H. W. Halleck was placed in command of the Department of Missouri. The disappointed and disheartened army were turned back, and made a retrograde march to St. Louis in sullen sadness. Fremont was afterward presented with an elegant sword, inscribed: "*To the Path-finder, by the Men of the West.*"

Just before he was deprived of his command, Fremont ordered General Grant to move a co-operative force along the line of the Mississippi River. It was promptly done. A column, about three thousand strong, and composed chiefly of Illinois volunteers, under General John A. McClernand, went down from Cairo in transports and the wooden gun-boats *Tyler* and *Lexington* to menace Columbus by attacking the post at Belmont opposite; and at the same time another column, under General C. F. Smith, marched from Paducah to menace Columbus in the rear. Grant accompanied McClernand's column. The troops were landed on the morning of November 7th, three miles above Belmont, and pushed on for that post, while the gun-boats opened fire upon Columbus. General Polk, still in command there, acted with vigor and promptness. He sent Pillow across the river with troops to reinforce the garrison at Belmont. In a sharp battle that ensued, the Nationals won the victory, but, exposed to a sharp fire of artillery on the bluff at Columbus, that position was untenable; so, giving three cheers for the Union, they set fire to the Confederate camp, and withdrew with captured men, horses, and artillery. But Polk determined not to let the victors escape. He opened seven of his heaviest guns upon them, and at the same time sent over fresh troops under General Cheatham, and crossed over himself with two regiments, making the whole Confederate force about five thousand. There was a desperate struggle; but Grant fought his way back to his transports, and escaped under cover of a fire from the gun-boats. These were admirably handled in the engagement respectively by Commanders Walke and Stemple. The Nationals lost about five hundred men, and the Confederates over six hundred.

We have observed that the Confederates, though defeated in Western Virginia in the summer of 1861, resolved not to relinquish possession of that granary without another struggle. It occurred in the autumn of that year. The troops left by Garnett and Pegram were placed in charge of General Robert E. Lee, and early in August he was at the head of about sixteen thousand fighting men. John B. Floyd, the late Secretary of War, was sent with some troops to reinforce those under General Wise, and to take the chief command in the region of the Gauley River. Lee made his headquarters at Huntersville, in Pocahontas county, and he placed a strong guard on Buffalo Mountain, at the crossing of the Staunton turnpike. Much was expected from Floyd, for he promised much. It was expected that he would move swiftly down the Kanawha Valley, and drive General Cox across the Ohio River; while Lee should disperse the army of ten thousand men under Rosecrans, McClellan's successor, at Clarksburg, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and so open a way for an invading force of

Confederates into the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Floyd made his headquarters a few miles from Summerville.

Early in September, Rosecrans marched southward in search of Floyd. He scaled the Gauley Mountains with great difficulty, and on the 10th found his foe at Carnifex Ferry on the Gauley River. Rosecrans fell upon the Ex-Secretary furiously, and for three hours they fought desperately. The contest ceased at twilight; and during the night Floyd stole away

under cover of darkness, and did not halt until he reached the summit of Big Sewell Mountain, thirty miles distant. Meanwhile the Nationals under General J. J. Reynolds, whom Rosecrans had left to confront Lee in the Cheat Mountain region, were watching the roads and passes of the more westerly of the Alleghany range of hills. They observed that Lee's scouts were very active, and that he was evidently preparing to strike a blow somewhere. Finally the object of his movements was made clear, which was to attack the Nationals at Elkwater, and the outpost of Indiana troops on the summit of Cheat Mountain, so as to secure the Pass and have a free communication with the Shenandoah Valley, at Staunton. For that object Lee marched from Hun-



W. S. ROSECRANS.

tersville on the night of the 11th of September, with nine thousand men and nearly a dozen pieces of artillery, to strike the post at Elkwater, the Summit and the Pass at the same moment. A storm was sweeping over the mountains and favored the enterprise. But it was unsuccessful. Lee was repulsed at Elkwater and the Summit, when he withdrew and joined Floyd on Big Sewell Mountain between the forks of the Kanawha. Their combined forces numbered about twenty thousand men, and they were there confronted by about ten thousand Nationals under Rosecrans, assisted by Generals Cox, Schenck, and Benham.

Very soon afterward, General Lee, whose campaign had been a failure, was recalled and sent to Georgia. He was succeeded by Floyd. The incompetent Wise was also recalled. Floyd, as chief commander in Western Virginia, took post on New River, from which he was driven by Rosecrans on the 12th of November, and was pursued about fifty miles. Then he retired from the army, but reappeared in command at Fort Donelson not long afterward. Vigorous movements made by Generals Kelly and Milroy, toward the close of the year, were successful in dispersing the Confederate troops in Northwestern Virginia. A successful expedition sent against a Confederate post at Huntersville (Lee's old quarters) by Milroy, closed the campaign of 1861, in that region, and armed rebellion was effectually crushed in West Virginia.

In the summer of 1861, the Confederates built two forts on Hatteras Island, off the coast of North Carolina, which guarded the entrance to Hatteras Inlet, through which the British blockade-runners had begun to carry in supplies to the insurgents. General B. F. Butler, then in command at Fortress Monroe, proposed the sending of a land and naval force against these forts. It was undertaken late in August; and when, toward the close of summer (just after the village of Hampton had been laid in ashes by Virginia troops under Magruder), Butler was succeeded in command at Fortress Monroe by the veteran General John E. Wool, the former volunteered to command the land forces for the purpose. An expedition, composed of eight transports and war-ships under Commodore Stringham, bearing almost nine hundred land troops commanded by Butler, left Hampton Roads for Hatteras Inlet on the 26th of August, and on the morning of the 28th the vessels of war opened fire upon the forts (Hatteras and Clarke) and some of the troops were landed. An assault by both arms of the service was kept up until the 29th, when the forts were surrendered, and the expedition returned to Hampton Roads, leaving a portion of Colonel Hawkins's New York Zouaves, with their commander, to garrison the captured post. During the siege, Mr. Fiske, acting aide-de-camp to General Butler, performed a gallant deed. When one of the forts (Clarke) was abandoned, he swam ashore, through heavy breakers, with orders for Colonel Weber, who was on the island. Fiske entered the evacuated fort, and found books and papers containing valuable information. These he formed into a package, strapped it high upon his shoulders, and swam back with them to the ship. The information they contained gave the assailants great advantages.

The victory at Hatteras finally led to important results, as we shall perceive hereafter. The politicians of North Carolina had annexed that

State to the Confederacy. A conciliatory address to the inhabitants, issued by Colonel Hawkins, led to a Convention on the Eastern Shore, which, on the 16th of November, 1861, adopted a declaration of independence of the Confederacy. It promised so much good that President Lincoln authorized the election of a Congressman from that district. But the heel of despotic power soon crushed this germ of active loyalty among four thousand inhabitants, and it almost disappeared for a time.

We have observed that Fort Pickens, on Santa Rosa Island off the harbor of Pensacola, was saved from the insurgents early in 1861, by the vigilance and bravery of Lieutenant Slemmer. He was furloughed for rest, and Colonel Harvey Brown took his place. The garrison was reinforced



EXPLOIT OF AIDE-DE-CAMP FISKE.

from time to time. In June, Wilson's Zouaves from New York arrived on Santa Rosa Island to assist in the defence of the fort, which the Confederates ardently coveted. The latter had gathered in large numbers on the main; and in October they attempted to surprise and capture Wilson's troops, on a dark night, landing and rushing upon their camp with the cry of "Death to Wilson! No quarter!" The Zouaves fought desperately in the gloom, and, with the aid of men from the fort, drove the assailants to their boats. The Confederates lost one hundred and fifty men; the Nationals, sixty-four. Wilson's camp was burned by the enemy, and that was the most that the assailants achieved.

These events were followed, late in November, by a severe cannonade and bombardment of the Confederate works on the main, by Fort Pickens

and war-vessels. There were seven thousand men under General Braxton Bragg, encamped behind these works and in a curved line from the Navy-yard to Fort McRee, a distance of about four miles. The works consisted of forts and batteries. In the course of forty-eight hours after the bombardment was begun, most of the heavy guns of the Confederates were silenced, and a greater portion of the Navy-yard and the villages of Wolcott and Warrington adjoining, were laid in ashes by shells from Fort Pickens. After that, for a few weeks, quiet prevailed in Pensacola Bay, when it was broken by another artillery duel on the 1st of January, 1862. It lasted about twelve hours, but with very little damage to either party.

Meanwhile a speck of war had appeared at the Southwest Pass at the mouth of the Mississippi River. Captain J. S. Hollins of the National navy, who had deserted his flag, was in command there of a Confederate "ram"—an iron-clad gun-boat with a sharp and heavy iron beak to crush or punch holes in the sides of wooden vessels. It was called *Manassas*. With this formidable monster, which might have been very mischievous in competent hands, Hollins attacked the National blockading squadron under Captain Pope; but he was soon driven up the river to Fort Jackson, after doing slight damage to one or two of the vessels.

Late in the same month (October, 1861), another more formidable land and naval armament left Hampton Roads for a destination unknown to all but the chief commander. It was composed of fifty war-ships and transports commanded by Admiral S. F. Dupont, and fifteen thousand land troops under General T. W. Sherman. Dupont's flag-ship, the *Wabash*, led the way out to sea, and each ship sailed under sealed orders to be opened in case of the dispersion of the fleet. A terrible tempest smote them off Cape Hatteras, and very soon only one vessel could be seen from the deck of the flag-ship. The sealed orders were opened, by which each commander was directed to rendezvous at Port Royal entrance, on the coast of South Carolina. There all but four transports, which were lost, were gathered around the *Wabash* on the evening of the 4th of November. Fortunately no human life perished with the transports lost.

The entrance to Port Royal Sound is between Hilton Head and Phillips's Island, and was guarded by a battery on each, erected by the Confederates. Within the Sound was a small flotilla of armed vessels commanded by the veteran Commodore Tattnall, late of the United States navy, who had espoused the Confederate cause. On the morning of the 7th of November, Dupont's ships attacked the guarding forts, the guns of which were soon silenced, when the fleet moved into the Sound and drove Tattnall's vessels into shallow water. The National forces took possession

of Port Royal Island and the neighboring ones, and found them deserted by the planters and their families. Most of the slaves remained. They had refused to follow their masters, who tried to frighten them by horrible stories about the people of the North—the “Yankees”—who, they told them, were coming to steal and sell the negroes in Cuba, or to kill them and bury them in the sand. The colored people did not believe these tales; and when the National ships approached, and the masters and mistresses of the slaves fled in terror, these simple people—men, women and children—stood in groups on the sea-shore, with little bundles of clothing in their hands, desiring to go on board.

The last efforts of the Confederates to defend the Sea Islands below Charleston, where the most valuable cotton was raised, was made at Port Royal Ferry, between Port Royal Island and the main, on the 1st of January, 1862. After a severe conflict the Confederates were defeated and dispersed. Dupont, in the meantime, had taken possession of Big Tybee Island, near Fort Pulaski, at the mouth of the Savannah River; and before the close of 1861, the National authority was supreme over the coast islands from Warsaw Sound to the mouth of the North Edisto River. A fleet of twenty old wooden ships, chiefly whalers, heavily laden with rough blocks of granite, which had been sent from New England to be sunk in the four channels of the entrance to Charleston harbor, and so assist in the blockade services, arrived at their destination at about this time. It was when this “stone fleet” approached, that a fire which laid a large portion of Charleston in ashes (an event already mentioned), was raging. Quicksands swallowed the “stone fleet,” and its services were of very little account.

We have seen that General McClellan was called from Western Virginia to take charge of the army of the Potomac, as the forces around Washington were called after the battle of Bull’s Run. He assumed command on the 27th of July. He brought to the service youth, a spotless moral character, robust health, a sound theoretic military education with some practical experience, untiring industry, the prestige of recent success in the field, and the unlimited confidence of the loyal people. He found at his disposal about fifty thousand infantry, less than one thousand cavalry, six hundred and fifty artillerymen, and thirty pieces of cannon. He was very popular, and was called a “Young Napoleon;” and when on the 1st of November, 1861, General Scott resigned his place as General-in-Chief of the armies, McClellan was appointed to fill that office. The act was hailed as a promise of a speedy termination of the conflict, for he had said that the war should be “short, sharp, and decisive.” He thoroughly reorganized the army which had been shattered by the terrible blow of Bull’s Run; and it was

believed that Richmond, which had become the Confederate capital, would be in the possession of the National troops before the close of September.

The Confederates under General Johnston remained encamped at Manassas, and were compelled to be idle for want of cavalry and adequate subsistence; while the National army was hourly increasing in strength at the rate of two thousand men a day from the teeming free-labor States, with ample supplies of munitions of war. Beauregard urged Johnston to attack the National fortifications which were rising around Washington, but the wise leader prudently refused; and while the hearts of the loyal people yearned to see a forward movement, and some of the newspapers raised and prolonged the insane cry of "On to Richmond!" the civil and military leaders of the Government, remembering the disaster at Bull's Run, were circumspect and cautious. For several months these two principal armies lay within thirty miles of each other, the quiet of camp life broken only by an occasional skirmish or midnight alarm. Detachments of Confederates reconnoitering, sometimes approached within a few miles of Washington; and they held possession of Munson's Hill, within six miles of the dome of the Capitol, as the bird flies. They also kept up the blockade of the Potomac River by batteries on the Virginia shore, already alluded to—a state of things not only perilous to the capital and the army that surrounded it, but exceedingly disgraceful to that great army. So felt the Government, and in September it was resolved to remove these obstructions. McClellan was ordered to co-operate with the naval force on the river, in the necessary business; but his unfortunate habit of procrastination paralyzed the efforts of the naval commanders, and the blockade was kept up until the Confederates voluntarily abandoned their position in front of Washington, in the spring of 1862.

When the Government ordered the removal of the blockade of the Potomac, the National troops began to push back the Confederate advance on the Virginia side of the river. Late in September the latter retired from Munson's Hill; and struggles for the possession of the Upper Potomac occurred at Lewinsville in Virginia, and Darnestown in Maryland. In these struggles the Nationals won the victory; and by the middle of October (1861) they occupied a line from Fairfax Court-House well up toward Leesburg, and the most advanced outpost of the Confederates was at or near Centreville. Meanwhile some National troops had crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry to seize some wheat, when they were menaced by a large body of Confederates. Colonel (afterward General) Geary went over with reinforcements for the invaders, and on the hills back of the village, he had

a severe engagement with the insurgents, and repulsed them. Then all the Nationals recrossed the river with their spoils.

This event was soon followed by a more important one at Ball's Bluff, on the Upper Potomac. The left wing of the Confederate army was commanded by General (late Colonel) Evans. It lay at Leesburg, and was confronted by a National force commanded by General Charles P. Stone,



DEATH OF A BRAVE LEADER.

who were encamped between Conrad's and Edwards's ferries. His head quarters were at Poolesville. Misinformation had caused a belief that the Confederates had left Leesburg at a little past the middle of October, when McClellan ordered General McCall, who commanded the advance of the right of the National forces in Virginia, to move forward and occupy Drainsville. At the same time he ordered General Stone to co-operate with General McCall, which he did by making a feint of crossing the river at the two ferries above-named, on the afternoon of Sunday the 20th of October. At the same time a part of a Massachusetts regiment, under Colonel

Devens, was ordered to take post on Harrison's Island in the Potomac, abreast of Ball's Bluff. Devens went with four companies in flat-boats taken from the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Three thousand men commanded by Colonel E. D. Baker, a member of the National Senate, acting as a brigadier, were held in readiness as a reserve, in the event of a battle.

These movements of the Nationals caused an opposing one on the part of the Confederates, who had watched their antagonists with keen vigilance, at a point of concealment not far off. Misinformed as to the position of the insurgents, and supposing McCall to be near enough to give aid, if necessary, Stone, on the morning of the 21st, ordered some Massachusetts troops under Colonels Lee and Devens, to cross to the Virginia main, from Harrison's Island, to reconnoitre. They did not find the foe in the neighborhood. But Evans, unperceived, lay near with a strong force; and when the detachment fell back to the vicinity of Ball's Bluff, he attacked them. It was at a little past noon. Colonel Baker had been sent to Harrison's Island, with his reserves, invested with discretionary power to withdraw or reinforce the other troops. He concluded to go forward, supposing the forces of McCall and others to be near; and on reaching the field he took the chief command by virtue of his rank. Very soon afterward he was instantly killed by a bullet that pierced his brain. His troops, unsupported by others, were crushed by a superior force. Pressed back to the verge of the bluff and down the declivity, they fought desperately for awhile at twilight, for they had no means for transportation across the swollen flood. They were soon overpowered. A large number of the Nationals were made prisoners, and many perished in trying to escape by swimming in the dark. Some were shot in the water, and others were drowned. A large flat-boat, overloaded with the wounded and others, was riddled by bullets, and sank. In this affair, the Nationals lost full one thousand men and two pieces of artillery. The loss of Colonel Baker was irreparable. He was a genuine patriot, an acute statesman, and eloquent orator. His death caused sadness wherever his worth was appreciated.



CHAPTER XIII.

INACTION OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC—CAPTURE OF MASON AND SLIDELL—CONDUCT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND PRESS—PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S WISDOM—RELEASE OF THE CAPTIVES—EXPEDITION TO THE COAST OF NORTH CAROLINA—CAPTURE OF ROANOKE ISLAND—PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA—DEPARTMENT COMMANDERS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI—MISSOURI PURGED OF ARMED INSURGENTS—THE CAMPAIGN IN MISSOURI—INSURGENTS CHASED INTO ARKANSAS—BATTLE OF PEA RIDGE—MILITARY OPERATIONS IN NEW MEXICO—BATTLE AT VALVERDE—INSURGENTS EXPELLED FROM NEW MEXICO—CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS IN KENTUCKY—BATTLE OF MILL SPRING—THE CONFEDERATE LINE ACROSS KENTUCKY BROKEN AND SHORTENED—BEAUREGARD IN THE WEST.

FOR the space of almost two months after the battle at Ball's Bluff, the ears of the loyal people were vexed with the unsatisfying announcement made every morning, "All is quiet along the Potomac!" The autumn was dry and the roads in Virginia were never in a better condition for the movement of troops, and particularly of heavy artillery. Washington seemed to be perfectly secure, and there was an ample supply of troops not only for its defence, but to make an easy conquest of Richmond. At the close of the year (1861) there were full two hundred thousand men in the Army of the Potomac, while the Confederates that opposed them were never more than sixty thousand strong. The politicians sneeringly called the latter a mob, and plain people naturally wondered how such a rabble could hold so large an army of disciplined soldiers, under a "young Napoleon" who had promised that the war should be "short, sharp, and decisive," so long and so tightly in and near the National capital. They were impatient because of the delay in the promised forward movement of the Army of the Potomac; and there was a sense of relief that amounted to joyfulness, when, at near Christmas, the monotony was broken for a moment by a fight at Drainsville between the brigade of Nationals under General O. C. Ord, and a smaller force of Confederate foragers led by Colonel J. E. B. Stuart, the famous cavalry leader. The excitement was only momentary. The Confederates, worsted in the sharp conflict, fled, and the people were again teased with the daily croon—"All quiet along the Potomac!" Their hearts were becoming sick with hopes deferred, when two events occurred which

awakened the liveliest feelings of satisfaction in the public mind. These were the capture of two Confederate ambassadors and leading conspirators, and the permanent lodgement of the National power on the coast of North Carolina.

We have seen that the Confederates, at an early period in the contest, sent diplomatic agents to European courts. These proved to be incompetent, and the Confederate government undertook to correct the mistake by sending two of their ablest men to represent their cause at the courts of Great Britain and France, respectively. These were James M. Mason of Virginia, author of the Fugitive-Slave Act, and John Slidell, who was deeply interested in the scheme for opening the African slave-trade. The ambassadors, each accompanied by a "secretary of legation," left Charleston harbor on a stormy night (the 12th of October, 1861), eluded the blockading squadron, and landed at Havana, Cuba, where they were cordially greeted by the British consul and other sympathizers. There they embarked for St. Thomas, in the British mail-steamer *Trent*, intending to go to England in the regular packet from the latter port. While the *Trent* was on her way to St. Thomas, and when off the northern coast of Cuba, she fell in with the American war-ship *San Jacinto*, Captain Wilkes, then on his way home from the coast of Africa. He touched at Havana, where he heard of the movements of the Confederate ambassadors. Satisfied that the English rule concerning neutrals and belligerents would justify him in seizing these two men on board the *Trent*, and transferring them to his own vessel, he had gone out in search of that steamship. He found her on the 8th of November, and brought her to by a shell fired across her bow. Then he sent Lieutenant Fairfax, a kinsman of Mason, on board the *Trent* to demand the delivery of the ambassadors and their secretaries to Captain Wilkes. The officers of the *Trent* protested, and the ambassadors refused to leave the ship unless forced by physical power to do so. Lieutenant Greer and a few marines were sent to the aid of Fairfax, who then took Mason by the shoulder and placed him in a boat belonging to the *San Jacinto*. Then the lieutenant returned for Slidell. The passengers were greatly excited. They gathered around him, some making contemptuous allusions to the lieutenant, and some crying out, "Shoot him!" The daughter of Slidell slapped Fairfax in the face three times as she clung to the neck of her father. The marines were called, and Slidell and the two secretaries were compelled to go, when the *Trent* proceeded on her voyage to St. Thomas. The captive ambassadors were conveyed to Boston and confined in Fort Warren, as prisoners of State.

The act of Captain Wilkes was applauded by all loyal men. It was

in exact accordance with the British interpretation of the law of nations, as exhibited theoretically and practically by that government, yet it made a great ado about the "outrage." By most of the writers on international law in the United States, instructed by the doctrines and practices of Great Britain, the essays of British publicists, the decisions of British courts, and by the law as laid down by the Queen's recent proclamation, the act of Captain Wilkes was decided to be abundantly justified; yet, with the same "unseemly haste" that characterized the issuing of the royal proclamation on the 13th of the previous May, the British government prepared for war. It did not wait for a communication on the subject to be received from the United States, but made extensive provisions for hostilities preparatory to sending a peremptory demand for the release of the prisoners; and the Tory press of Great Britain, conducted in the interest of the government, abused the Americans without stint. A single specimen from the columns of the *London Times* will suffice. Speaking of the courteous and accomplished gentleman, Captain Wilkes, the *London Times* said: "He is, unfortunately, but too faithful a type of a people in whose foul mission he is engaged. He is an ideal Yankee. Swagger and ferocity, built upon a foundation of vulgarity and cowardice—these are his characteristics, and these are the most prominent marks by which his countrymen, generally speaking, are known all over the world. To bully the weak, to triumph over the helpless, to trample on every law of country and custom, wilfully to violate the most sacred interests of human nature, to defy as long as danger does not appear, and, as soon as real peril shows itself, to sneak aside and run away—these are the virtues of the race which presumes to announce itself as the leader of civilization and the prophet of human progress in these latter days. By Captain Wilkes, let the Yankee breed be judged."

While the British government was preparing for war, and our Congress was officially thanking Captain Wilkes for his conduct, and other public bodies were bestowing honors upon him, our Government, acting upon the wise counsel of President Lincoln, and true to its long-cherished principles, proceeded to disavow the act of Wilkes and to release the prisoners. That act was in violation of a principle for the maintenance of which, as we have seen, the United States went to war with Great Britain—the principle that the flag of a neutral vessel is a protection to all beneath it. A few hours after the news of the capture reached Washington, the calm and thoughtful President said to the writer: "I fear the traitors will prove to be white elephants. We must stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals. We fought Great Britain for insisting, by theory and practice, on

the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done. If Great Britain shall now protest against the act, and demand their release, we must give them up, apologize for the act as a violation of our doctrine, and thus forever bind her to keep the peace in relation to neutrals, and so acknowledge she has been wrong for at least sixty years." Under the instructions of the President, the Secretary of State (Mr. Seward) acted in accordance with these utterances. The prisoners were released, and the British people blushed for shame because of the impotent bluster of their government, when the fact was promulgated by the American minister, Mr. Adams.



JOHN M. MASON.

JOHN SLIDELL.

Then the London *Times*, which had called most vehemently for war on "the insolent Republic," in speaking of the demand of the British government for the release of the ambassadors, superciliously declared that they were "worthless booty;" and added, "England would have done as much for two negroes." The ambassadors were treated, in England, with a coolness that amounted to contempt, and they soon passed into obscurity.

The British government acted not only unwisely but dishonorably in the matter. Lord John Russell, the Foreign Secretary, wrote to Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, to demand from our Government the liberation of the captives and "a suitable apology for the aggressions which

had been committed;" and if the demand should not be speedily complied with, to leave Washington, with all the members of the legation. On the day of the date of Earl Russell's despatch, Mr. Seward wrote a confidential note to Mr. Adams, calling attention to the fact that Captain Wilkes did not act under orders from his Government, and expressed a hope that the British government would consider the subject in a friendly manner. He gave Mr. Adams permission to read his note to Lord Russell and the Prime Minister. Mr. Adams did so; and yet the British government, with this voluntary assurance that a satisfactory arrangement of the difficulties might be made, continued its preparations for war with vigor, to the alarm and distress of the people. The fact that such assurance had reached the government was not only suppressed, but, when rumors of it were whispered, it was semi-officially denied. And when the fact could no longer be concealed, it was, by the same authority, affirmed, without a shadow of justice, that Mr. Adams had suppressed it, at the same time suggesting, as a reason, that the American minister might profit by the purchase of American stocks at panic prices!

When the excitement, in our country, caused by the "*Trent* affair," was subsiding, early in 1862, public attention was attracted by the fitting out of a third naval armament at Hampton Roads. It was composed of over one hundred war-vessels and transports commanded by Commodore L. M. Goldsborough, and bearing sixteen thousand land troops under General Ambrose E. Burnside, of Rhode Island. The armament left the Roads on the 11th of January (1862), with its destination unknown except to proper officers. That destination was Roanoke Island and Pamlico Sound, on the coast of North Carolina. Off Cape Hatteras the fleet encountered a heavy gale, and it was several days before the whole armament had entered the Inlet.

The Confederates had strongly fortified Roanoke Island with batteries that commanded the Sounds on each side of it. There was also a fortified camp that extended across a narrow part of the island. These fortifications were garrisoned by North Carolina troops then under the command of Colonel H. M. Shaw, and mounted about forty guns. They had also placed obstructions in the channel leading to the island; and above them, in Croatan Sound, was a flotilla of small gun-boats—a sort of "mosquito fleet" like Tatnall's in Port Royal Sound—commanded by Lieutenant W. F. Lynch, late of the National navy. Preparations were made for an attack by land and sea, the first week in February. Goldsborough drew up his fleet of seventy vessels in Croatan Sound, and opened a bombardment upon the batteries. It was kept up all the afternoon, the flotilla and the batteries

responding to Goldsborough's guns. At midnight, while a cold storm of wind and rain was sweeping over the land and water, about eleven thousand troops were landed on the island, many of them wading ashore. These were New England, New York, and New Jersey troops. They were without shelter, and were drenched. At dawn, led by General J. G. Foster (Burnside's lieutenant), they moved forward to attack the line of intrenchments that crossed the island. The Confederates, far inferior in number, made a gallant defence, going from redoubt to redoubt as one after another fell into the hands of the Nationals. They made a vigorous stand in a well-situated redoubt that was approached by a causeway. There was to be the last struggle in defence of the line. At the head of a part of Hawkins's Zouaves, Major Kimball (a veteran of the war with Mexico) undertook to take it by storm. Colonel Hawkins was then leading a flank movement with a part of his command. Seeing Major Kimball pushing forward, the Colonel joined him, when the whole battalion shouted, "Zou! Zou! Zou!" and pressed to the redoubt. The affrighted Confederates fled and were pursued by Foster five or six miles, when they surrendered, and Roanoke Island passed into the possession of the National forces, with three thousand prisoners and forty-two cannon. The Confederate flotilla went up Albemarle Sound, followed by National gun-boats under Commodore Rowan.

Near Elizabeth, not far from the Dismal Swamp, Rowan attacked the flotilla and some land batteries, driving the Confederates from both, when Lynch and his followers retired into the interior. Then the United States flag was placed upon a shore battery, and this was the first portion of the main of North Carolina that was "repossessed" by the Government. Other portions of the coast of that State were speedily recovered; and on the 18th of February, 1862, Burnside and Goldsborough issued a proclamation jointly to the inhabitants of eastern North Carolina, assuring them



CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

that the Government forces were there not as enemies but as friends, and inviting them to separate themselves from the Confederacy and to return to their allegiance. This disaster, worked by the National forces, produced great depression throughout the Confederacy, for it exposed nearly the whole of the North Carolina main, and opened a way by which Norfolk might be smitten in the rear.

Let us now return to the Mississippi Valley, where we left Fremont's disappointed army sullenly marching back to St. Louis.

Late in 1861, the Department of Missouri was enlarged, and General H. W. Halleck was appointed to the command of it. General Hunter was assigned to the Department of Kansas; General Don Carlos Buell to that of the Ohio, and General E. R. S. Canby to that of New Mexico. Halleck's headquarters were at St. Louis, and he restrained the Secessionists with a vigorous hand. Since the retrograde movement of Hunter, with Fremont's army, Price had been gathering a Confederate force in Missouri, and General John Pope was placed in command of a considerable body of troops to oppose him. Pope acted with great vigor and skill. He made a short, sharp, and effective campaign. Detachments from his army struck some blows here and there that were telling. One was inflicted by troops under General J. C. Davis, on the Blackwater, near Milford, which gave a stunning blow to the insurgents in that State. Davis found the enemy in a wooded bottom opposite his own forces. He carried a well-guarded bridge by storm, and struck the Confederates so hard that they fled in much confusion; and when they were closely pursued, they surrendered, in number about thirteen hundred, cavalry and infantry. The spoils of victory were eight hundred horses and mules, a thousand stand of arms, and over seventy wagons loaded with tents, baggage, ammunition, and supplies of every kind. In a brief space of time, the power of the insurgents in that quarter was paralyzed, and Halleck complimented Pope on his "brilliant campaign."

Pope had not only prevented organized troops from joining Price, but had compelled the latter to withdraw to the borders of Arkansas for supplies and safety. Feeling strengthened by Pope's success, Halleck prepared to put forth more vigorous efforts to suppress the insurrection. On the 3d of December he declared martial-law in St. Louis; and, by a subsequent proclamation, he extended that system of rule to all railroads and their vicinities. Meanwhile, Price, relieved from immediate danger, and being promised reinforcements from Arkansas, moved back to Springfield, and there concentrated about twelve thousand men, halted his army, and prepared to spend the winter there. Halleck sent troops in that direction under General S. R. Curtis, assisted by Generals Davis, Sigel, Asboth, and

Prentiss. They moved in three columns early in February (1862), when Price fled southward, and did not halt until he reached a good position in northern Arkansas. Curtis pursued him, and drove him further south; and Halleck was enabled to write to his Government, late in February, that he had "purged Missouri," and that the flag of the Union was "waving in triumph over the soil of Arkansas." The campaign in Missouri, for a few months, had been very active, beginning with Lyon's pursuit of the fugitive governor and his followers. From June, 1861, until late in February, 1862, there had been fought on Missouri soil sixty battles and skirmishes, with an aggregate loss on both sides, in killed, wounded and prisoners, of about twelve thousand men.

Curtis crossed the Arkansas line on the 18th of February in pursuit of Price, and had driven him and his followers over a range of hills known as the Boston Mountains. He then fell back and encamped in a strong position in the vicinity of Pea Ridge, a spur of the Ozark Mountains. In the meantime Price had been joined by General Earl Van Dorn, a dashing young officer, who was his senior in rank and now took the chief command. Forty heavy guns thundered a welcome. "Soldiers!" cried Van Dorn, in response, "behold your leader! He comes to show you the way to glory and immortal renown. He comes to hurl back the minions of the despots at Washington, whose ignorance, licentiousness, and brutality are equalled only by their craven natures. They come to free your slaves, lay waste your plantations, burn your villages, and abuse your loving wives and beautiful daughters."

Van Dorn came from western Arkansas with Generals McCulloch, McIntosh, and Pike. The latter was a New Englander and poet, who had joined the Confederate army on the borders of the Indian country with a body of savages whom he had lured into the service. The whole insurgent force now numbered twenty-five thousand; the National troops, soon to measure strength with them, did not exceed eleven thousand men in number with fifty pieces of artillery.

When, on the 5th of March (1862), Curtis's scouts told him of the swift approach of the Confederates in overwhelming force, he concentrated his little army in the Sugar Creek Valley. He perceived his perils, but there was only the alternative to fight or make a disastrous retreat. Choosing the former, he prepared to meet the foe from whatever quarter he might approach. Meanwhile Van Dorn, by a quick and stealthy movement, flanked Curtis and gained his rear; and on the morning of the 7th he advanced to attack the Nationals, not doubting his ability to vanquish them and seize their train of two hundred wagons. He found Curtis in battle

order, his first and second division being on his left and commanded by Generals Asboth and Sigel; the third, under General Davis, composing his centre, and the fourth, commanded by Colonel Carr, formed his right. His line of battle extended about four miles, and was confronted by the heavy Confederate force with only a broad and deep ravine covered with fallen trees separating the two armies. The battle was opened toward noon by a simultaneous attack by the Nationals and Confederates. A very severe conflict ensued, which continued a greater part of the day with varying fortunes to each party, the lines of strife swaying like a pendulum. Generals McCulloch and McIntosh of the Confederates were killed, and the slaughter on both sides was dreadful. At night the Confederates fired the last shot, but the Nationals held the field, slept on their arms, and anxiously awaited the dawn to renew the battle.

Both armies lay among the dead and dying that night. At dawn (March 8, 1862) the conflict was renewed, when the Nationals hurled such a destructive tempest of shot and shell upon the Confederates, that the latter soon broke and fled in almost every direction in wildest confusion. The Confederate army, so strong, and confident of victory twenty-four hours before, was broken into fragments. The losses of each were about the same. Curtis's was thirteen hundred and eighty men. Pike's Indians, who had been maddened with liquor before the battle, tomahawked and scalped a number of the Nationals, and were the first to fly from the field, in terror.

While Halleck was purging Missouri of armed insurgents, Hunter, with his headquarters at Fort Leavenworth, was vigorously at work suppressing the insurrection on the borders of Kansas. Active and armed rebellion was now co-extensive with the slave-labor States. Civil war was kindling in General Canby's Department of New Mexico. An attempt was there made to attach that Territory to the Confederacy by the method employed by General Twiggs in Texas, when he betrayed the National forces under his command. Disloyal officers had been sent by Secretary Floyd, for that purpose, a year before the insurrection broke out; but failing to corrupt the troops (for not one of the twelve hundred men abandoned his flag), and incurring their hot displeasure, these leaders fled from their wrath toward Texas. On the borders of that State they found the commander and other officers of Fort Fillmore ready to co-operate with them. These men led out their unsuspecting men and betrayed them into the power of Texan insurgents.

Miguel A. Otero, the representative of New Mexico in the National Congress, was in practical, active sympathy with the Secessionists; and the success of the Confederate cause in that quarter seemed to be assured.

until Canby appeared and raised the standard of the Union, in strength. Around it the loyal people of the Territory gathered; and his regular troops, New Mexican levies, and volunteers, gave him a force sufficient to meet over two thousand Texans, most of them rough rangers under Colonel H. H. Sibley, a Louisianian, who invaded the Territory at the middle of February. He had twenty-three hundred followers, many of them veterans who had much experience in fighting the Indians.



ROUGH RANGERS.

Canby was then at Fort Craig, on the Rio Grande. Sibley issued a proclamation to the people of New Mexico, in which he denounced the National Government, and demanded from the inhabitants allegiance to the Confederacy and support for his troops. Feeling confident of success, he moved slowly toward Fort Craig to attack Canby, when he was astonished to find the general prepared to meet him. He perceived that his light field-pieces would have no effect upon the fort. Unable to retreat or to remain with safety, and unwilling to leave a well-garrisoned post behind him,

Sibley was perplexed. At length he forded the Rio Grande, and took a position out of reach of Canby's guns, for the purpose of drawing out the latter. In this he was successful. After some skirmishing, there was a severe conflict at Valverde, about seven miles from the fort, on the 21st of February. Canby was about to make a general advance, with an assurance of victory, when about a thousand Texans, horse and foot, armed with carbines, revolvers and bowie-knives, suddenly burst from a thick wood and attacked two of the National batteries commanded respectively by Captains McRea and Hall. The cavalry were repulsed; but the insurgent infantry pressed forward while the grape-shot were making fearful lanes through their ranks, and captured the battery of McRea. The brave captain defended his guns with great courage. Seated upon one of them, he fought the assailants with a pistol until he was shot dead. At length the Nationals, panic-stricken by the fierceness of the charge, broke and fled, and did not halt until they reached the shelter of Fort Craig. That flight was one of the most disgraceful scenes of the war; and Canby was compelled to see the victory snatched from him, just as it seemed to be secured. But Sibley, alarmed at the sudden and unexpected development of Canby's strength by accessions to his ranks, hurried toward Santa Fé, the capital of the Territory which he captured but could not hold; and he was soon afterward driven over the mountains into Texas. The Civil War now extended from Maryland in the northeast to New Mexico in the southwest, and was everywhere marked by the vigor and malevolence which generally distinguish such wars.

While these events were occurring westward of the Mississippi, others of great importance had been in progress immediately eastward of its waters, where efforts had been made to expel the Confederates from Kentucky and release Tennessee from their grasp. The region of southern and western Kentucky was then held by the Confederates. They were commanded by an able officer and veteran soldier, A. S. Johnston, who was in charge of the Confederate Western Department, with his headquarters at Nashville. Under the shadow of his military power, the Secessionists of Kentucky had met in Convention in November, 1861, and performed the farce of declaring the State to be independent. They passed an ordinance of secession; organized a provisional government; chose George W. Johnson provisional governor; appointed delegates to the Confederate congress at Richmond, and called Bowling Green the State capital. Fifty-one counties were represented in that "Sovereignty Convention" by about two hundred men, without the sanction of the people. At the same time General Johnston had concentrated a large force at Bowling Green, and

strengthened the position of Polk at Columbus. General Hardee superseded General Buckner; and General Zollicoffer was firmly planted at Cumberland Gap, the chief passage between Eastern Kentucky and East Tennessee. Between the extremes of the Confederate line across Kentucky were fortified posts, the most important of which were Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, and Fort Henry on the Tennessee River.



CAPTAIN McREA'S DEFENCE OF HIS GUN.

Early in the year, General Buell had organized a large force at Louisville and its vicinity, by which he was enabled to strengthen various advanced posts, and throw forward, along the line of the Nashville and Louisville Railway, a large force destined to break the Confederate line across the State. The whole number of troops under his command was one hundred and fourteen thousand, arranged in four columns, commanded respectively by Brigadier-Generals Alexander McDowell McCook, Ormsby M. Mitchel, George H. Thomas and Thomas L. Crittenden acting as major-generals, and aided by twenty brigade commanders. These troops, who were citizens of

States northward of the Ohio River, with loyalists of Kentucky and Tennessee, occupied an irregular line across the first-named State, almost parallel with that of the Confederates.

General McCook was sent, with fifty thousand troops, down the railway toward Bowling Green, and pushed back the Confederate outposts to the south side of the Green River, at Mumfordsville, where a sharp contest occurred, when the insurgents were compelled to move on to Bowling Green. In the meantime stirring events were occurring in eastern Kentucky. On the 7th of January (1862) a body of Confederates under Humphrey Marshall were struck by Union troops, infantry and cavalry, led by Colonel James A. Garfield, near Prestonburg, on the Big Sandy River. The Confederates were dispersed and disheartened, and there Marshall's military career ended. The gallant services rendered by Garfield on that occasion won for him the commission of a brigadier-general. A few days later (January 19) a more important event occurred on the borders of the Cumberland River, further westward, at Beech Grove, near Mill Spring. Near there General Zollicoffer had established a strongly intrenched camp; but early in January he was superseded in command by General George B. Crittenden, his senior in rank. To General Thomas was assigned the duty of attacking this force, and if successful there to push on over the Cumberland Mountains into East Tennessee, where the Secessionists were persecuting the Union people without stint. When he was within ten miles of the Confederate camp, Thomas made preparations for battle. The Confederates had marched to meet the Nationals. They were led by Zollicoffer, and at early dawn on the 18th of January, the hostile troops met. A severe battle was fought, with great persistency on both sides, for the winner would gain an immense advantage for his cause. Thomas won the battle after a fierce contest, in which Zollicoffer was slain; and the discomfited Confederates fled into northeastern Tennessee, suffering intensely for lack of food and shelter in their flight across an almost barren country.

This blow effectually severed the Confederate line in Kentucky, and opened the way for a series of successful movements by which the insurgents were soon driven out of that State, and also Tennessee. The loss of the Nationals was two hundred and forty-seven men; and of the Confederates, three hundred and forty-nine. The spoils of victory were twelve pieces of artillery, a large amount of munitions of war, and more than a thousand horses, with wagons, intrenching tools, camp equipage, etc. For their bravery in the battle of Mill Spring or Somerset, the President publicly thanked General Thomas and his men. They had paralyzed the power of the Confederate line eastward of Bowling Green, and shortened it full one-

half. The bulk of the insurgents and their chief fortifications were then between Nashville and Bowling Green, and the Mississippi River. The defeat was severely felt by the Confederates. They perceived the urgent necessity for a bold, able, and dashing commander in the west, and supposing Beauregard to be such an one, he was ordered to Johnston's Department late in January (1862), and General G. W. Smith, who had been an active Democratic politician in New York city, was appointed to succeed him at Manassas.

The Confederates attributed their disaster at Mill Spring to the misconduct of the leader of the troops, General Crittenden. Some loudly accused him of treachery to the Confederate cause; while others, more charitable and better informed, charged his intemperate habits with the calamity. It was acknowledged by all to be an almost irretrievable misfortune.

When Beauregard left the army at Manassas, he issued a characteristic address to the troops, expressing a hope that he would be among them again, soon. "I am anxious that my brave countrymen here in arms," he said, "fronting the haughty array and muster of Northern mercenaries, should thoroughly appreciate the exigency." In allusion to the disquietude that was manifested by them because of their long enforced inaction, he said that it was no time for that army "to stack their arms, and furl, even for a brief period, the standards they had made glorious by their manhood." But they were much dispirited by the defeat of their armies at Mill Spring, and this was deepened by the capture of Roanoke Island soon afterward. This feeling amounted almost to despair when a more important reverse to their arms occurred on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers at the middle of February.



CHAPTER XIV.

GUN-BOAT FLEET—EXPEDITION AGAINST FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON—CAPTURE OF FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON—NAVAL EXPEDITION UP THE TENNESSEE—ITS DISCOVERIES—ARMY REORGANIZED—SIEGE OF FORT DONELSON—CHANGE IN TEMPERATURE—ENGAGEMENTS ON LAND AND WATER—A DESPERATE MEASURE ATTEMPTED—COUNCIL OF WAR—COWARDICE—SURRENDER OF FORT DONELSON—ARMY POSTAL SERVICE—PANIC AT NASHVILLE—SURRENDER OF THE CITY—PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR TENNESSEE—EVENTS ON THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF ISLAND NUMBER TEN—MOVEMENT TOWARD CORINTH—NATIONAL ARMY AT PITTSBURG LANDING—BUELL'S ARMY ON THE MARCH.

WHEN the Confederate line in Kentucky was broken, the National Government determined to concentrate the forces of Halleck and Buell for a great forward movement to push the Confederates toward the Gulf of Mexico. Fremont's plan for providing gun-boats for the western rivers, to co-operate with the armies, had been carried out. Twelve of these vessels (some of them covered with iron-plates) had been constructed at St. Louis and Cairo, and at the close of January these were armed with one hundred and twenty-six heavy guns and some lighter artillery, and were placed under the command of flag-officer A. H. Foote of the National navy. When everything was in readiness, some feints were made to deceive the Confederates. These were reconnoissances down each side of the Mississippi River from Cairo; and Thomas feigned a movement in force against East Tennessee.

In the meantime an expedition against Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, where those streams approach each other to within a distance of about twelve miles, had been prepared. The land troops were placed under the command of General U. S. Grant, assisted by General C. F. Smith. Commodore Foote was called to the Tennessee with his flotilla of gun-boats; and at dawn on the 3d of February, 1862, a portion of that flotilla was only a few miles below Fort Henry, on that stream, and the land troops were disembarking from transports. The fort lay at the bend of the stream, on the right bank, and its guns commanded a reach of the river for about two miles. It was armed with seventeen guns, twelve of which could sweep the river. At the time we are considering, the garrison in the fort and troops encamped around it,

numbered less than three thousand, commanded by General Tilghman, of Maryland, a graduate of the West Point Academy. Grant and Foote had asked and obtained permission of Halleck to attack Fort Henry, and that was the task which they attempted on the morning of the 3d of February.

Both arms of the service proceeded to strike Fort Henry simultaneously. The land force was composed of the divisions of McClelland and Smith. The armed flotilla in hand consisted of the gun-boats *Essex*, *St. Louis*, *Carondelet*, and *Cincinnati*. The river below Fort Henry had been strewn with torpedoes, but these were successfully fished up before the attack. Opposite Fort Henry was Fort Hieman, situated upon a great hill, from which artillery might be brought to bear upon assailants of the former. To silence its batteries a portion of the land troops went up that side of the river, while others proceeded to gain a point between Forts Henry and Donelson. The flotilla moved forward and opened the contest at noon on the 6th, and before the land troops could reach a position to co-operate, the fort, with its little garrison, had been surrendered to Foote. A tremendous rain-storm, with thunder and wind, which occurred the night before, had made the roads so heavy, and so swelled the little streams, that the march of the troops was difficult and slow. The garrison made a gallant defence; but at the end of one hour's conflict, they were compelled to strike their flag. Fort Hieman was also surrendered. This was a naval victory of great importance, because it proved the efficiency of gun-boats on the narrow western rivers in co-operation with land forces. Therefore the fall of Fort Henry was hailed as a most happy omen of the success of the Union cause. Halleck telegraphed to McClellan: "Fort Henry is ours! the flag of the Union is re-established on the soil of Tennessee. It will never be removed!" The Secretary of the Navy wrote to Foote: "The country appreciates your gallant deeds; and this department desires to convey to you and your brave associates, its profound thanks for the service you have rendered."

This victory inflicted a severe blow upon the power of the Confederates. It gave to the Nationals the possession of formidable and important posts; also a firm footing in the vicinity of stronger Fort Donelson and in the rear of Columbus, on the Mississippi. There was now no obstacle to the river navy in its passage up the Tennessee to the fertile regions of northern Alabama toward the heart of the Confederacy. Thitherward Foote sent Lieutenant-commander S. L. Phelps, on the night after the capture of the fort, with three vessels, to reconnoitre the borders of the river. Those vessels went steadily onward, seizing Confederate vessels and destroying Confederate property, as far up as Florence, in Alabama, at the foot of the

Muscle Shoals. The reconnoissance was a perfect success, for it discovered the weakness of the Confederacy in that region, and developed a most gratifying evidence of genuine Union feeling among the inhabitants of Tennessee which had been repressed by Confederate despotism. Phelps was assured that nothing but the dreadful reign of terror kept thousands from openly manifesting their love for the old flag.

The report of Phelps's reconnoissance was very cheering, and it was determined to attack Fort Donelson, near Dover, the capital of Stewart county, Tennessee. It was a formidable work, situated with a front on the high left bank of the Cumberland River, among hills furrowed by deep ravines, and its irregular lines of outlying intrenchments covering about one hundred acres. General Grant reorganized his army in three divisions, under Generals McClernand, Smith, and Lewis Wallace; and Commodore Foote hurried back to Cairo with three of his gun-boats to take his mortar-boats to the Cumberland River to assist in the attack on Fort Donelson.

The divisions of McClernand and Smith left Fort Henry on the morning of the 12th of February (1862), and marched for Fort Donelson, leaving Wallace with a brigade to hold the vanquished forts on the Tennessee. They invested Fort Donelson the same evening; and after some picket-firing the next morning, General Grant resolved to wait for the arrival of the flotilla (bearing troops that would complete Wallace's division) before making a general attack. On the same morning Ex-Secretary Floyd arrived from Virginia, with troops, and superseded General Pillow, who was in command of Fort Donelson. Floyd and Pillow were materially assisted by General S. B. Buckner, a better soldier than either of them, but he was subordinate to both of the inefficient commanders. All that day (February 13th) there was skirmishing, and toward evening an unexpected enemy appeared in the form of severe frost. The morning had dawned in uncommon splendor, and the air was as balmy as that of late spring; but toward evening a violent rain-storm arose, the temperature fell, and before morning the ground became frozen almost as hard as iron and everything was mailed in ice. The National troops were bivouacked without tents, and they dared not light fires for fear of exposing themselves to the guns of the fort. They were without sufficient food and clothing, and their sufferings were so dreadful that they anxiously awaited the dawn and expected reinforcements.

General Grant perceived the peril of his situation, and had sent to General Wallace to bring his troops over from the Tennessee. The latter moved at day-break on the 14th, the ground encrusted with frozen sleet and the air filled with drifting frost. These troops were in high spirits. With

cheering and singing of songs they pressed forward, and at noon their commander dined with General Grant on crackers and coffee. Meantime the armored flotilla, with the transports, had arrived, and Wallace's division was perfected. It was immediately posted between the divisions of McClernand and Smith, and so the thorough investment of the fort was completed. At three o'clock that afternoon, the *Carondelet*, Captain Walke, began the assault on Fort Donelson, and was soon joined by the *St. Louis*, *Pittsburg*, and *Louisville*. Unarmored vessels formed a second line; and the flotilla boldly attacked the water-batteries, but without much effect. The mortar-boats had not arrived; and never were war-vessels exposed to a more tremendous pounding than were the four armored gun-boats in this fight by missiles from the shore batteries. They received, in the aggregate, one hundred and forty wounds, and fifty-four men were killed or wounded. Foote was compelled to withdraw, when he hastened to Cairo to have damages repaired, and to bring up a competent naval force to assist in carrying on the siege. Grant resolved to await Foote's return and for expected reinforcements.

The night of the 14th was an anxious one for both parties. The Confederates, perceiving their peril, held a council of war. Floyd's opinion was that the fort was untenable with less than fifty thousand men to defend it; and that the garrison might be saved only by a *sortie* the next morning to route or destroy the investing army, or to cut through it and escape to the open country in the direction of Nashville. This desperate measure was attempted at five o'clock on the morning of the 15th, by about ten thousand men, led by Pillow and Buckner, the former striking McClernand on the right of the Nationals, and the latter prepared to attack Wallace in the centre. Pillow had boasted that he would "roll the enemy in full retreat over upon Buckner, when the latter, attacking them on the flank and rear, would cut up the Federals and put them completely to rout." The attack was quick and furious; but the troops that first received the shock of battle (Oglesby's brigade), maintained their ground gallantly until their ammunition began to fail. Relief was sent, but the pressure was so great that the whole line gave way excepting the extreme left held by Colonel John A. Logan's Illinois regiment, which stood as firm as a wall and prevented a panic. The good service of the light batteries of Taylor, McAllister and Dresser, made the Confederate line recoil again and again. But fresh troops continually strengthened it, until at length the whole of McClernand's division were in great peril. Then he called upon Wallace for help, and it was given so effectually, that after a hard and skillful struggle on the part of the Nationals, with the Confederate forces of Buckner and Pillow combined,

the latter were compelled to fall back to their trenches. "I speak advisedly," wrote Colonel Hillyer (Grant's aide-de-camp) to Wallace, the next day, "God bless you! You did save the day on the right."

In the meantime General Smith had been smiting the Confederate right such telling blows, that when darkness fell upon the scene, the Nationals were victorious and the vanquished Confederates were imprisoned within their trenches, unable to escape.

Finding themselves closely held by Grant, the question, "How shall we escape?" was a paramount one in the minds of the Confederates, especially of Floyd and Pillow. They were both terror-stricken by the impending danger of falling into the hands of their outraged Government. At midnight, Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner held a private council at Pillow's quarters in Dover, where it was concluded that the garrison must be surrendered. "But, gentlemen," said Floyd, nervously, "*I cannot surrender; you know my position with the Federals; it won't do, it won't do.*" Pillow then said: "I will not surrender myself nor my command—*will die first.*" "Then," said Buckner, coolly, "I suppose, gentlemen, the surrender will devolve upon me." The terrified Floyd said, quickly, "General, if you are put in command, will you allow me to take out, by the river, my brigade?" "If you will move before I offer to surrender," Buckner replied. "Then, sir," answered Floyd, "I surrender the command." Pillow, who was next in rank, and to whom Floyd offered to transfer the command, quickly exclaimed, "I will not accept it—I will never surrender." As he spoke he turned toward Buckner, when the latter, with the courage, the manliness and the honor of a soldier, said: "I will accept, and share the fate of my command."

Within one hour after that conference, Floyd, with a part of his Virginians, deserted his companions-in-arms and fled up the river, toward Nashville, in a steamboat. At the same time Pillow sneaked away in the darkness, after declaring he would "die" before he would surrender, and finally escaped to his home in Tennessee. History affords no meaner picture than this. The indignant authorities at Richmond suspended both the cowards from command; and an epigrammatist of the day wrote as follows concerning Floyd's escape:

"The thief is a coward by Nature's law;
Who betrays the State, to no one is true:
And the brave foe at Donelson saw,
Their light-fingered Floyd was light-footed too."

Early the next morning—the Christian Sabbath—Buckner asked for the appointment of commissioners to agree upon terms of surrender. Grant

replied: "No terms other than unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." This answer was followed by the speedy surrender of the fort, and of thirteen thousand five hundred men as prisoners of war; and the spoils of victory were three thousand horses, forty-eight field-pieces, seventeen heavy guns, twenty thousand muskets, and a large quantity of military stores. This catastrophe greatly dispirited the Confederates; and from the time when the fact became known in Europe, no court ever entertained an idea of recognizing the independence of the Southern Confederacy. It was estimated that during the siege the Confederates lost two hundred and thirty-seven killed and one thousand wounded. The estimated loss of the Nationals was four hundred and forty-six killed, seventeen hundred and fifty-five wounded, and one hundred and fifty who were made prisoners, and who, being sent across the river, were not recaptured.

The admirably arranged army mail-service was begun at Forts Henry and Donelson, under the auspices of General Grant, to whom it was suggested by Colonel A. H. Markland, special agent of the National Post-office. In the following letter to me, dated "July 30, 1866," General Grant gives a brief account of its origin:

"DEAR SIR—

"Among the subjects that occupied my mind when I assumed command at Cairo, in the fall of 1861, was the regular supply of mails to and from the troops; not only those in garrison, but those on the march when active movements should begin. When I commenced the movement on Fort Henry, on January 7, 1862, a plan was proposed by which the mails should promptly follow, and as promptly be sent from the army. So perfect was the organization that the mails were delivered to the army immediately upon its occupation of the fort. Within one hour after the troops began to march into Fort Donelson, the mail was being distributed to them from the mail wagons. The same promptness was always observed in the armies under my command, up to the period of the final disbandment. It is a source of congratulation that the postal service was so conducted, that officers and men were in constant communication with kindred and friends at home, and with as much regularity as the most favored in the large cities of the Union. The postal system of the army, so far as I know, was not attended with any additional expense to the service. The system adopted by me was suggested and ably superintended by A. H. Markland, special agent of the Post-office Department. Respectfully,

"U. S. GRANT, *General.*"

The chaplain of each regiment was recognized at first as "Regimental Postmaster." Afterward, the mails were "brigaded." They were placed in canvas bags at the General Post-office and sent to each brigade, under charge of military authority. The Post-office Department had no further control of the army mails after they left the office at Washington city. The regularity with which the great armies of Grant, Sherman, Thomas and others in the West, as well as those in the Atlantic States, were supplied with mails, under the general superintendence of Colonel Markland, was marvelous. He and his assistants encountered dangers as appalling as those to which the soldiers were exposed—perils from bullets, fatigue and privations—yet they never lost a mail by capture, over which they had personal control. The mail was nearly always in advance of the armies, or moving in a direction to meet them. The number of letters thus carried was enormous. "For months," wrote Mr. S. J. Bowen, the Postmaster of Washington city, in a letter to me dated July 26, 1866, "we received and sent an average of 250,000 military letters per day. It is believed that this number was exceeded after General Sherman's army reached Savannah, and up to the time of the review of the troops in this city in the month of May, 1865." He says that the vast number of packages of clothing and articles of every kind which were sent by the mails, reached their destination as regularly as if the recipient lived in a large city. The only loss of any moment which this extra service inflicted upon the Post-office Department, was in mail-bags. "It is estimated," wrote Mr. Bowen, "that at least thirty thousand of these were sent out which never found their way back to this office, though every effort was made by us to have them returned." This army mail-service presents one of the moral wonders of the great conflict; and its value, in keeping whole armies in continual communication with friends at home, is incalculable. It was a powerful preventive of that terrible home-sickness with which, at first, raw troops are often prostrated; and it brought the sweet influence of the domestic circle to bear most powerfully in strengthening the men against the multifarious temptations of army life.

It was clearly perceived by General A. S. Johnston, that the fall of Fort Donelson rendered Bowling Green and Columbus untenable, and their evacuation was ordered to take place immediately. The troops at Bowling Green, who were menaced by the swiftly approaching advance of Buell's army under the energetic General Mitchel, were ordered to retire to Nashville. They did so, in haste, after destroying their property at Bowling Green valued at half a million dollars, and were followed by the *Army of the Ohio*. At the same time National gun-boats ascended the Cumberland

River and co-operated with troops marching on that place. These movements created a fearful panic among the Secessionists. The governor of Tennessee (Harris) was made almost crazy by alarm. He rode through the streets of Nashville, with his horse at full speed, crying out that the papers in the Capitol must be removed, for he well knew what evidences of his treason they contained. He and his guilty compeers gathered as many of the archives as possible and fled by railway to Memphis, while officers of the banks in Nashville bore away the specie from the vaults of those institutions. Citizens, with their most valuable possessions that were portable, crowded the stations of railways that extended to Decatur and Chattanooga. Every kind of wheeled vehicle was brought into requisition, and the price of hack hire was raised to twenty-five dollars an hour. The authorities gave up all as lost. The public stores were thrown wide open, and everybody was allowed to carry off provisions and clothing without hindrance. The panic was more intense because of the sudden reaction from joy occasioned by a foolish boast of Pillow, on Saturday, that victory for the Confederates was sure. It was followed by a despatch from him while the armies were yet struggling and the Confederates had gained a slight advantage, in which he said: "*Enemy retreating! Glorious result! Our boys following and peppering their rear!! A complete victory!!*" The people were comfortably seated in the churches, and the ministers were prepared to preach congratulatory sermons, when the astounding news of the fall of Fort Donelson and the cowardly desertion of the post by Floyd and Pillow reached them. Pillow's act was a crushing commentary on his foolish boast, and the people pronounced his doom of disgrace before the authorities at Richmond had promulgated it.

Johnston and his troops moved rapidly southward from Nashville, and the city was surrendered to the Nationals by the municipal authorities, on the 26th of February, 1862. These events, following so closely upon the capture of Roanoke Island and the operations in its vicinity, produced great alarm throughout the Confederacy. The loyal people of the land were elated; and the Confederates being virtually expelled from Tennessee, the State government abdicated by its fugitive governor, and much latent loyalty being displayed, the National Government proceeded to re-establish civil government there. Andrew Johnson, of East Tennessee, was appointed provisional governor with the military rank of brigadier-general, and he entered upon his duties, at Nashville, on the 4th of March, 1862.

The Mississippi River now became the theatre of stirring events. Beauregard, as we have observed, had been sent West, and was now in command of troops on the borders of the mighty stream, above Memphis: and,

obedient to orders from Richmond, he directed General Polk to evacuate Columbus, and transfer his troops and as much of the munitions of war as possible to places of greater safety. New Madrid, Madrid Bend, and Island Number Ten were chosen for this purpose. Meanwhile Commodore Foote had put in motion a fleet of gun-boats on the Mississippi, and accompanying transports bore two thousand troops under General W. T. Sherman. When, on the 4th of March, this armament approached Columbus, the Union flag was seen floating there. It had been unfurled the previous evening by a scouting party of Illinois troops from Paducah, who found the fortifications deserted. Sherman left a garrison at Columbus, and Foote returned to Cairo to prepare for a siege of New Madrid and Island Number Ten, which constituted the key to the Lower Mississippi. The Confederates at the former place were commanded by General McCoun, and those on Island Number Ten were under the charge of General Beauregard, in person, who sent forth pompous proclamations to the inhabitants. He called for bells wherewith to make cannon, and there was a liberal response. "In some cities," wrote a Confederate soldier, "every church gave up its bells. Court-houses, public institutions, and plantations sent theirs. And the people furnished large quantities of old brass of every description—andirons, candlesticks, gas-fixtures, and even door-knobs. I have seen wagon-loads of these lying at depots waiting shipment to the foundries." They were all sent to New Orleans. There they were found by General Butler, who sent them to Boston, where they were sold at auction.

General Pope, dispatched from St. Louis by General Halleck, drove the Confederates from New Madrid on the night of the 13th of March. They fled to Island Number Ten, which then became the chief object of attack by the Nationals. Beauregard had thoroughly fortified it, and Foote attacked it with heavy guns and mortars on the morning of the 16th of March. The siege went on with varying fortunes for both parties until early in April. While Foote was pounding and rending the fortifications of Beauregard, Pope at New Madrid was chafing with impatience to participate in the siege. His guns easily blockaded the river (there a mile wide, and then flowing at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour); but he desired to cross it to the peninsula and attack the Island in the rear, and so insure its capture with its dependencies, their garrisons and munitions of war. But the Tennessee shore was lined with batteries garnished with heavy guns; and until these could be silenced, it would be madness to attempt to cross the river with any means at Pope's command. Pope was at his wit's end, when General Schuyler Hamilton made the extraordinary proposition to

cut a canal from the bend of the Mississippi, near Island Number Eight, across the neck of a swampy peninsula, to the vicinity of New Madrid, of sufficient capacity to allow the passage of gun-boats and transports, and thereby effectually flank Island Number Ten, and insure its capture. Hamilton offered to do the work with his division of soldiers, and to have it completed in the space of a fortnight. Pope sanctioned the measure, and it was performed in nineteen days under the direction of Colonel Bissell of the Engineers. The labor was most fatiguing. The canal was twelve miles long, one-half the distance through a growth of heavy timber, where a way was made, fifty feet wide, by sawing off trees in some places four feet under water.

Meanwhile Foote had not been idle, but made preparations for closer assaults than the long reach of great guns and mortars afforded. On the night of the first of April an expedition composed of Illinois troops and seamen, to the number of one hundred, proceeded to take one of the seven formidable redoubts on the Kentucky shore, and were successful. This daring feat was followed on the night of the 3d, by another. Pope had frequently called upon Foote to send gun-boats to his assistance. At length the gallant Captain Walke, of the *Carondelet*, obtained permission of his commander to attempt to run by the Confederate batteries with his vessel. The feat was successfully performed at midnight while a fearful thunder-storm was raging. The flashes of lightning revealed her passage to the commanders of batteries on the shore, and she was compelled to run the gauntlet of a tremendous cannonade from them all. The *Carondelet* did not return a shot. Only after she had reached a place of safety below were her guns heard; then three of them announced to anxious Commodore Foote that she had escaped all perils. She was welcomed by the troops at New Madrid with wildest huzzas.

Perceiving the peril that awaited them when the canal should be completed, the Confederates sunk steamboats in the channel of the river to prevent gun-boats descending it, and they unsuccessfully attempted to escape from the Island. After the *Carondelet* had passed the batteries, Beauregard was satisfied that the siege must speedily end in disaster, and he was not disposed to bear the responsibility; so, after turning over the command on the Island to General McCall, and leaving the troops on the Kentucky and Tennessee shores in charge of General McCoun, he, with a considerable number of the best soldiers, departed for Corinth to check a formidable movement of National troops through middle Tennessee toward northern Alabama and Mississippi. McCall, on assuming the command, issued a flaming proclamation; but within thirty-six hours he and his troops

prepared to escape from the Island. They were interrupted in their movements by General Pope's forces under Generals Stanley, Hamilton, and Paine; and Island Number Ten, with the troops, batteries and supports on the main, were surrendered to the Nationals on the 8th of April. Over seven thousand men were surrendered prisoners of war; and the spoils of victory were one hundred and twenty-three cannons and mortars, seven thousand small-arms, many hundred horses and mules, four steamboats afloat, and a very large amount of ammunition.

The fall of Island Number Ten was a calamity to the Confederacy from which it never recovered. It produced widespread alarm in the Southern States; for it appeared probable that Memphis, one of their strongholds on the Mississippi, where they had immense workshops and armories, would soon share the fate of Columbus, and that National war-vessels would speedily patrol the great river from Cairo to New Orleans. Martial-law was proclaimed at Memphis, and the specie in the banks there was taken to places of supposed safety. Troops that guarded the city and panic-stricken residents proposed to lay the town in ashes if it could not be saved from "northern invaders." The zeal of these madmen was cooled by the sensible Mayor Park, who publicly proclaimed that "he who attempts to fire his neighbor's house, or even his own whereby it endangers his neighbor's, regardless of judge, jury, or the benefit of clergy, I will have him hung to the first lamp-post, tree, or awning." At Vicksburg, preparations were made for flight, and the disloyal inhabitants of New Orleans were oppressed with fearful forebodings of impending calamity. The governor of Louisiana, who was a leading Secessionist, issued a despairing appeal to the people. "An insolent and powerful foe is already at the castle gate," he said. "The current of the mighty river speaks to us of his fleets advancing for our destruction, and the telegraph wires tremble with the news of his advancing columns. In the name of all most dear to us, I entreat you to go and meet him." But there was little disposition to comply with the governor's wishes; and when a letter from Beauregard, which he sent by his surgeon-general, making an urgent demand for New Orleans to send five thousand troops to him, at once, "to save the city," was read to the First and Second City Brigades, who were called out, their reply was, "We decline to go." Their city then needed defenders below instead of above it.

It seemed as if the plan devised by Fremont was about to be successfully carried out. Curtis had already broken the military power of the Confederacy west of the Mississippi, at the battle of Pea Ridge; and a heavy force was then making its way up the Tennessee toward Alabama and Mississippi, and had, at the moment of the surrender of the famous Island,

achieved a most important victory on the left bank of that stream not a score of miles from Corinth. Curtis, after the battle and the flight of the vanquished Confederates, finding no enemy to fight in that region, gave his army ample time to rest, and then marched in a southeasterly direction toward the Mississippi River and encamped at Batesville, the capital of Independence county, Arkansas, on the White River.

After the capture of Fort Donelson, General Grant had prepared to push toward Corinth, an important position on the line of the Charleston and Memphis Railway. Troops had been sent up the Tennessee River; and finally, at the beginning of April, the main body of Grant's army were encamped between Pittsburgh Landing, on the left bank of that stream, and the Shiloh Meeting-House, the latter in the forest two miles from the river. The grand objective was Corinth. There the Mobile and Ohio Railway intersected the Charleston and Memphis roads. The seizure of that point, as a strategic position of vital importance, was Grant's design. It would give the National forces control of the great railway communication between the Mississippi and the East, and the border slave-labor States and the Gulf of Mexico. It would also facilitate the capture of Memphis, toward the accomplishment of which Foote was now bending his energies, and it would add strength to the movements of Curtis in Arkansas.

In the meantime General Buell's army had slowly made preparations to march southward and join Grant's forces, which were, at first, encamped at Savannah, on the right bank of the Tennessee; but it was not until near the close of March, when Grant's position had become really perilous, that Buell left Nashville. He sent part of his force under General Mitchel in the direction of Huntsville, in northern Alabama, to seize and hold the Charleston and Memphis Railway; while the main body, composed of the divisions of Generals Thomas, McCook, Nelson, Crittenden and T. J. Wood, moved more to the westward by way of Columbia, at which place the troops left the railway and marched slowly toward the Tennessee River.



CHAPTER XV.

THE NATIONALS AND CONFEDERATES AT SHILOH—BATTLE OF SHILOH: ITS EVENTS AND RESULTS
—THE CONFEDERATE RETREAT TO CORINTH—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CORINTH—GENERAL MITCHEL'S RAID INTO ALABAMA—RECOVERED TERRITORY—RAID UPON A RAILWAY—CAPTURE OF MEMPHIS—CAPTURE OF NEW BERNE AND FORT MACON—EVENTS ON THE COAST OF NORTH CAROLINA—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF FORT PULASKI—CONQUESTS ON THE SOUTHERN COASTS—EXPEDITION AGAINST NEW ORLEANS—CAPTURE OF FORTS ON THE MISSISSIPPI—DESTRUCTION OF THE CONFEDERATE FLOTILLA—SEIZURE OF NEW ORLEANS—HATRED OF GENERAL BUTLER.

GENERAL BEAUREGARD, who had left Island Number Ten with a considerable body of Confederate troops, and had hastened to Corinth to prepare for resisting the grand movement of the Nationals southward, now confronted the latter near Shiloh Meeting-House with a very large force. He had been joined by the troops under General A. S. Johnston that fled from Nashville, and that officer was now Beauregard's chief lieutenant, assisted by Generals Polk, Hardee, Bragg, and Breckenridge. With these expert leaders, the Confederates came up from Corinth in a heavy rain-storm in separate columns, and concentrated a few miles from Shiloh Meeting-House. They came so stealthily that they were within four miles of the National camp before they were discovered by Grant's sentinels. There they halted on the 5th of April, 1862, to await the arrival of Van Dorn and Price, who were approaching Memphis with a large force from central Arkansas. Already the Confederate army of eleven thousand men at Corinth a short time before, had increased to forty thousand men.

Intelligence came of Buell's march to join Grant, and on the evening of the 5th it was resolved to strike the Nationals before the dawn next morning, for it was evident the latter were not aware of the near presence of the strong force of the Confederates. At a council of war that made this decision, Beauregard, pointing toward the Union army, said: "Gentlemen, we sleep in the enemy's camp to-morrow night." At that time General W. T. Sherman's division was lying in the woods near Shiloh Meeting-House. General Prentiss's division was planted across the road leading directly to Corinth, and General McClernand's division was behind Prentiss's

right. In the rear of these and between them and Pittsburg Landing lay General Hurlburt's division, and that of General Smith led by General W. H. L. Wallace. General David Stuart's brigade of Sherman's division lay upon a road leading to Hamburg, above Pittsburg Landing, and General Lewis Wallace, with his division, was at Crump's Landing, several miles below, observing Confederate movements at Purdy, and covering the river connections between Pittsburg Landing and Savannah. To the latter place General Halleck forwarded supplies for the National army. So little was an attack by the Confederates suspected, that no intrenchments had been cast up by the Nationals, and Buell's army was marching leisurely across Tennessee.

Almost the first intimation of the near presence of the Confederates was the wild cry of pickets flying into camp and a sharp attack upon Sherman's troops by Hardee's division, before the day had fairly dawned on Sunday morning, the 6th of April. Some of the officers were slumbering; some were dressing; a portion of the troops were washing and cooking, and others were eating breakfast. Screaming shells crashed through the forest, and bullets whistled among the tents. Hardee's troops poured into the camp of the bewildered Nationals, fighting desperately, driving half-dressed and half-armed troops before them, and dealing death and terror on every hand. Fearful results followed. Prentiss's division was next attacked. His column was shattered; himself and a large portion of his followers were made prisoners, and his camp was occupied by the Confederates. The struggle soon became general, and for ten hours the battle raged, with varying fortunes on both sides. General W. H. L. Wallace of the Nationals and General Johnston of the Confederates had been killed, and the slaughter on both sides had been severe. The National army was pushed back to the Tennessee River, then brimfull with a spring flood, and the day was fairly lost by the Union troops. The victorious Confederates occupied all the Union camps excepting that of the slain Wallace, where General McArthur was now in command. In the rear of this division the smitten army had now gathered in a space not more than four hundred acres in extent, on the verge of the river. They could be pushed back no further; and so certain was Beauregard of his final triumph, that he telegraphed a shout of victory to Richmond.

General Grant had directed the storm on the National side with great skill, but his forces, at twilight, were in a most perilous position. A single vigorous blow, then given by Beauregard, might have justified his shout of victory; but he dealt a feeble one, that was parried by the guns of two boats, the *Tyler* and *Lexington*, which had just appeared, and by those of

a hastily formed battery on the shore. Grant's safety was fully assured when, at evening, the van of the slow-moving army of Buell appeared on the opposite shore of the Tennessee, and other portions of it came up the river during the night. At midnight General Lewis Wallace arrived with his division, and then the palm of victory was snatched from the hands of Beauregard.

In the morning twilight of the 7th, Wallace opened the contest anew on the Confederate left, where Beauregard commanded in person. Others soon joined in the battle, and it became general all along the line. The Confederates fought gallantly, but were speedily pushed back by a superior force; and when they perceived that all was lost, they fled, under a storm of blinding sleet and cold rain, to the heights of Monterey in the direction of Corinth. They were covered, in their retreat, by a rear-guard of twelve thousand men commanded by Ex-President Breckenridge. The Confederates had lost over ten thousand men in the engagement, of whom full three thousand died during the retreat of nine miles. Fifteen thousand Nationals were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. The slain on the battle-field were soon buried, the dead horses were burnt, and the hospital-vessels sent down the Tennessee by the Nationals were crowded with the sick and maimed. Beauregard's shattered army fell back to Corinth, and Grant was about to pursue and capture it, when General Halleck, his superior in rank, who had come up from St. Louis and took the supreme command, caused the impatient troops to loiter until the Confederates, recuperated, were prepared for another contest.

Twenty days after the battle, Halleck and his army had advanced nine miles toward Corinth; and a week later (May 3) they were near that place, making vigorous use of pickaxe and spade in piling up fortifications for prosecuting a siege. This labor continued twenty-seven days longer, interrupted by frequent sorties from Corinth, when the Confederates were driven from their advanced batteries, and Halleck prepared for a sanguinary conflict the next day. The Confederates had been much strengthened by delay; but Beauregard was not disposed to fight the *Grand Army of the Tennessee*, as it was now called. All the night of the 29th of May, the National sentinels had heard and reported the unceasing roar of moving cars at Corinth; and at daybreak, just as Halleck sent out skirmishers to "feel the enemy," the earth was shaken by a series of explosions, and dense columns of smoke rose above the town. There was no enemy to "feel." Beauregard had evacuated Corinth during the night, burnt and blown up whatever of stores he could not carry away, and fled, in haste, to Tupelo, many miles southward from Corinth, where he left General Bragg in com-



RETREAT OF THE CONFEDERATES FROM SHILOH

mand, and retired to mineral springs in Alabama, for the restoration of his impaired health. Halleck took possession of Corinth, and was soon afterward called to Washington to perform the duties of General-in-Chief of all the armies of the Republic. He left General Thomas in command at Corinth, and General Grant of his old army, with enlarged powers.

When General Buell moved from Nashville to join Grant, he sent the energetic General Mitchel southward, as we have observed. After Mitchel left the more cautious Buell, his was a sort of independent command, and he pushed on vigorously. On the 4th of April, he was at Shelbyville, Tennessee, sixty miles from Nashville, where he established a depository of supplies. There he left the railway, and after rapid marches with a light supply-train, he crossed the State line on the 10th into Alabama, and was in front of Huntsville on the morning of the 11th before the dawn. Fatigue parties tore up the railway at each end of the town, while the cavalry marched directly into the place. The unsuspecting sleepers were awakened by the clatter of the horses' hoofs in the streets. The surprise was complete. The inhabitants, wrote an eye-witness, "flocked to door and window, exclaiming, with blanched cheek and faltering tongue, 'They come! they come! the Yankees come!' Men rushed into the streets half-dressed, the women fainted, the children screamed, the darkies laughed, and for a time a scene of perfect terror reigned." The spoils of this bloodless victory were seventeen locomotives, more than a hundred passenger cars, and a large amount of supplies of every kind; also one hundred and sixty prisoners. By it Mitchel secured the control of the Charleston and Memphis Railway from Tusculumbia on the west to Stevenson on the east, a distance of about one hundred miles. He also won the control of the Tennessee River for about the same distance.

This work was accomplished without the loss of a single man; and when Corinth fell into the possession of the Nationals at the beginning of June, all Kentucky, western and middle Tennessee, and northern Mississippi and northern Alabama, were recovered from the Confederates. It was confidently expected that East Tennessee would be immediately released from the power of the insurgents; but General Buell, who had now joined Mitchel, would not listen to the earnest entreaties of that officer, to add that loyal and sorely oppressed region to the emancipated territory. The way had been prepared by General Negley and others. Negley had climbed over the almost impassable mountains northeast of Stevenson, driven the Confederates from Jasper (June 7), and appeared on the Tennessee River opposite Chattanooga. He needed only a little help to enable him to seize and hold that key to East Tennessee and Northern Georgia. The help was

refused by General Buell. When, at the middle of June, the East Tennesseans saw the insurgents evacuate Cumberland Gap, voluntarily, they surely expected the long hoped-for deliverance, by the advent of National troops; but Buell refused to walk in at that open door. That cautious leader and the fiery Mitchel could not work in harmony, and the latter was now transferred to another field of duty.

Mitchel had performed important services for the National cause by the exercise of judicious audacity. He smote so swiftly and effectually, that he appalled his enemies; and one of the most daring enterprises undertaken during the war was put in motion by that general. It was an effort to break up railway communication between Chattanooga and Atlanta. For this purpose he employed J. J. Andrews, who had been in the secret service of General Buell. With twenty-two picked men Andrews walked to Marietta in the guise of Confederate citizens of Kentucky seeking in Georgia freedom from persecution. At Marietta they took the cars for a station not far from the foot of the Great Kenesaw Mountain, and there, while the conductor and engineer were at breakfast, they uncoupled the engine, tender and a box-car, from the passenger train, and started up the road at full speed, answering questions where they were compelled to stop by saying they were conveying powder to Beauregard. They had passed several trains before they began their destructive work. Then the next train that reached the broken spot, had its engine reversed and became a pursuer. Onward they sped with the speed of a gale, passing other trains, when, at an important curve in the road, after destroying the track, Andrews said, exultingly, "Only one more train to pass, boys, and then we will put our engine to full speed, burn the bridges after us, dash through Chattanooga, and on to Mitchel, at Huntsville."

The exciting chase continued many miles. The pursued having less burden than the pursuers, were fleetest; but so much time was lost in stopping to cut telegraph wires and tear up the track, that at length the pursued were prevented from doing either, for the pursuers were close upon them. Finally their lubricating oil became exhausted; and such was the speed of the engines that the brass journals on which the axles revolved were melted. Fuel failing, the fugitives were compelled to leave their conveyance fifteen miles from Chattanooga. They took refuge in the tangled woods of Chickamauga Creek. A great man-hunt was organized. The mountain passes were picketed; and thousands of horsemen and foot-soldiers, with several blood-hounds, scoured the country in all directions. The whole party were finally captured, and thus ended one of the most exciting events in human history. The sequel was that Andrews and seven

of his companions were hanged. To each of the survivors of that daring raid, the Secretary of War presented a bronze medal, in token of approval.

While these events were occurring in the interior of Tennessee, Commodore Foote had been busy on the Mississippi River. He went down that stream from Island Number Ten, with his armed vessels, and transports bearing Pope's army, to attempt the capture of Memphis, but was confronted at the first Chickasaw Bluffs, eighty miles above that city, by a Confederate flotilla under Captain Hollins, and three thousand troops under General Jeff. Thompson, who occupied a military work on the bluff called Fort Pillow, then in command of General Villepigue, an accomplished engineer. Foote began an attack on the 14th; but General Pope's troops, who had landed on the Arkansas shore, could not co-operate because the country was flooded. Pope was soon called by Halleck to Shiloh, and the navy was left to do the best it could. Foote was soon obliged to turn over the command to Captain C. H. Davis, on account of the painfulness of his foot from a wound received at Fort Donelson.

On the 10th of May, Hollins, who had reorganized his flotilla, attacked Foote, and was assisted by the heavy guns of Fort Pillow, but the Confederate vessels were repulsed. For a fortnight afterward the belligerent fleets watched each other, when a "ram" squadron, prepared by Colonel Charles Ellet, Jr. (the builder of the Niagara Suspension Bridge), joined Foote's flotilla, and prepared to attack the foe. The Confederates, having heard of their disaster at Corinth, fled precipitately to Memphis on the 4th of June. Two days afterward the National flotilla won a victory over the Confederate squadron in front of that city, when Memphis passed into the possession of the Union forces, and it was speedily occupied by troops commanded by General Lewis Wallace. For a short time after these events, there was a lull in the storm of war westward of the Alleghany Mountains.

We left General Burnside and Commodore Rowan in Albemarle Sound after the capture of Roanoke Island and Elizabeth City and vicinity, preparing to make other important movements on the coast of North Carolina. They appeared in the Neuse River, eighteen miles below New Berne, on the evening of the 12th of March (1862); and early the next morning National troops led by Generals Foster, Reno and Parke, about fifteen thousand strong, were landed and marched against the defences of that town. The Confederates, under General Branch, who were inferior in numbers, occupied a strongly intrenched position. The Nationals moved against them at daylight on the morning of the 14th. The Confederates sustained a severe battle with great bravery and skill until, closely pressed on all sides by superior numbers, they broke, and fled across the Trent

closely pursued by Foster. They burned the bridges behind them and so escaped, leaving their killed and wounded and two hundred men, who were made prisoners. The Nationals then took possession of New Berne; when General Parke proceeded to capture Fort Macon, on a point of Bogue Island near the entrance to Beaufort harbor. In this enterprise the National troops were assisted by gun-boats controlled by Commander Samuel Lockwood. The garrison made but slight resistance, and on the 25th of April, it was surrendered. At the same time the National troops under General Reno were quietly taking possession of important places on the coast of North Carolina, and threatening Norfolk in the rear. Plymouth, Winton and Washington were occupied by the National forces. Garrisons for these places so widely dispersed Burnside's troops, that he could no longer make aggressive movements, and he remained quietly in his department until he was summoned to Fortress Monroe at the middle of July. He held almost undisputed sway over the coast region from the Dismal Swamp to the Cape Fear River.

At the close of 1861, the National authority (as we have observed) was supreme along the Southern coast from Warsaw Sound, below the Savannah River, to the North Edisto well up toward Charleston. At the close of the year, General T. W. Sherman, in command in that region, directed his chief engineer, General Q. A. Gillmore, to reconnoitre Fort Pulaski, and report upon the feasibility of a bombardment of it. It was done, and Gillmore reported that it might be reduced by planting batteries of rifled guns and mortars on Big Tybee Island southeast of Cockspur Island, on which the fort stood. Explorations were made to discover some channel by which gun-boats might get in the rear of the fort, and a New York regiment was sent to occupy Big Tybee Island. A channel was found, and land troops under General Viele, borne by gun-boats commanded by Captain John Rodgers, went through it to reconnoitre. Another expedition composed of land troops under General Wright, and gun-boats commanded by Fleet-Captain Davis, were sent by Admiral Dupont up to the Savannah River, by way of Warsaw Sound, Wilmington River and St. Augustine Creek, in rear of Fort Pulaski. The gun-boats of Rodgers and Davis had a skirmish with Tattnall's "musquito" fleet; and having accomplished their object, the whole National force returned to Hilton Head, to the great relief of the inhabitants of Savannah, who supposed the expedition was abandoned. Soon afterward, however, the Nationals made a lodgement on Jones's Island, and erected a heavy battery at Venus's Point, also a smaller one on Bird Island, and so effectually closed the Savannah River in the rear of Fort Pulaski. It was absolutely blockaded near the close of February

(1862); and on the 8th of March General David Hunter arrived as successor of General Sherman in command of the Department of the South, and he and Commodore Dupont, who was in command of the navy on that coast, acted in concert.

With great skill General Gillmore had planted his siege-guns on Big Tybee Island that commanded the fort; and on the 10th of April (1862), after Hunter had demanded its surrender and the commander of the fortress had refused compliance, thirty-six heavy rifled cannons and mortars were opened upon it under the direction of Generals Gillmore and Viele. It was gallantly defended until the 12th, when it was so battered that it was untenable, and it was surrendered. This was an important victory, for it enabled the Nationals to close the port of Savannah against the blockade-runners, which had become numerous and bold all along our coast.

In the meantime Commodore Dupont and General Wright had been making easy conquests on the coast of Florida. Early in February they captured Fort Clinch, on Amelia Island, which the Confederates had seized, and drove the insurgents from Fernandina. The Confederates speedily abandoned their other forts along the coasts of Florida and Georgia, which the Nationals took possession of; and a flotilla of gun-boats and transports, bearing land troops under Lieutenant T. H. Stevens, went up the St. John's River and captured Jacksonville on the 11th of March. St. Augustine was taken possession of at about the same time by Commander C. P. Rodgers, and the alarmed Confederates abandoned Pensacola and all their fortifications on the main opposite Fort Pickens. When Dupont returned to Port Royal, he found General T. W. Sherman in possession of Edisto Island; and before the first anniversary of the evacuation of Fort Sumter, the whole coast from Cape Hatteras to Perdido Bay west of Fort Pickens,



S. F. DUPONT.

excepting at Charleston and its immediate vicinity, had been abandoned by the Confederates.

At the beginning of 1862 the National Government had determined to repossess itself of the important positions of Mobile, New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Galveston, by which it might maintain the National supremacy over the Lower Mississippi, and attempt the occupancy of Texas. General Benjamin F. Butler was placed in command of the Department of the Gulf, which included these points, and comprised the whole theatre of proposed operations. He was directed to co-operate with the navy in the important enterprise; and as the first object of the expedition was New Orleans, he suggested Ship Island, off the coast of Mississippi, as a rendezvous for the land and naval forces. He gathered his troops at Fortress Monroe. When all was in readiness, he visited Washington, and on leaving the President, he said: "Good-bye; we shall take New Orleans or you will never see me again." Secretary Stanton said: "The man who takes New Orleans is made a lieutenant-general." Butler embarked at Fortress Monroe, with his wife, his staff, and about fourteen thousand troops, in the magnificent steamship *Mississippi*. He suffered vexatious delays at Port Royal; and it was thirty days before he reached Ship Island, a desolate sand-bar, without a house; and only a few charred boards could be found to make a shanty for the shelter of Mrs. Butler. General Phelps was there with Massachusetts and Connecticut troops, and had strengthened an unfinished fort on the Island. Admiral Farragut had also arrived with a naval force; also a fleet of bomb-vessels commanded by Commodore David D. Porter, prepared to co-operate with the land and naval forces.

At a short bend in the Mississippi River, seventy-six miles from its passage into the Gulf of Mexico, were two forts—Jackson and St. Philip. These, with some fortifications above and obstructions in the river below, seemed to the Confederates to make the stream absolutely impassable by vessels of an enemy; and they believed New Orleans, where there were ten thousand insurgent troops under General Mansfield Lovell (a former politician of New York), to be perfectly safe from invasion. The people continued their occupations, as usual; and one of the journals said: "Our only fear is, that the northern invaders may not appear. We have made such extensive preparations to receive them that it were vexation if their invincible armada escapes the fate we have in store for it." The test was soon made.

General Butler and the two naval commanders arranged a plan for the capture of New Orleans, which comprehended an attack on the forts below the city, first, by Porter's bomb-vessels, Farragut with his stronger vessels

remaining as a reserve until the guns of the fort should be silenced. Failing in this, Farragut was to attempt to run by the forts, clear the river of Confederate vessels, isolate the forts and cut off their supplies and supports. Then General Butler was to land his troops in the rear of Fort St. Philip (the weaker one), and attempt to carry it by assault. This done, the land and naval forces were to press on toward New Orleans. The general command of the river defences of the Confederates was intrusted to General J. K. Duncan, formerly an office-holder in New York.

On the 17th of April the fleets of Farragut and Porter were in the river, with the former as chief commander of the naval forces; and Butler, with about nine thousand troops, was at the Southwest Pass. The fleets comprised forty-seven armed vessels, and these, with transports bearing troops, went up the river, Porter's mortar-boats leading. When these approached the forts, their hulls were besmeared with Mississippi mud; and the masts, yards and rigging, were so covered with the branches of trees, that under this disguise they were enabled to take a position near the forts unsuspected. As when "Birnam Wood" moved "toward Dunsinane," the stratagem was successful. The Mississippi was full to the brim; and a boom and other obstructions near Fort Jackson was swept away by the flood.

A battle was begun on the morning of the 18th (April, 1862), by a shot from Fort Jackson. Porter's mortar-boats responded. The latter were supported by the gun-boats; but after pounding the fortifications several days, Farragut, satisfied that he could not reduce them, prepared to run by them in the night of the 23d. The mortar-boats led the way, and the remainder of the navy followed, gallantly breasting the swift-flowing current that went over the river banks and flooded every bayou. The perilous passage of the forts was begun at two o'clock in the morning. The mortar-boats were to cover the movement of the gun-boats. Farragut, in his flag-ship *Hartford*, with two other strong vessels, was destined to keep near the right bank of the river and fight Fort Jackson; while Captain Theodorus Bailey, commanding eight gun-boats, was to keep closely to the eastern bank and fight Fort St. Philip. To Captain Bell was assigned the duty of attacking the Confederate fleet above the forts, with six gun-boats.

The night was intensely dark, and a tremendous battle was waged between the mortar-boats and the forts. The gun-boats as they came up gave the latter heavy broadsides of grape and canister shot, which drove the garrison from their barbette guns. The scene soon became grand and terrible. Fire-rafts, sent down by the Confederates, blazed fearfully, and "rams" plunged against the National vessels with terrible force. The *Hartford* (Farragut's flag-ship), which was a wooden vessel, was set on fire,

but the flames were soon extinguished. The fleet had scarcely passed the forts when it was assailed by a large flotilla of "rams" and gun-boats. A grand and awful scene followed. The noise of twenty mortars and two hundred and sixty great guns, afloat and ashore, made a terrific sound. The explosion of shells that struck deep in the oozy ground, shook the land and water like an earthquake. "Combine," wrote an eye-witness, "all that you ever heard of thunder, and add to it all that you have ever seen of

lightning, and you have, perhaps, a conception of the scene," in the darkness before daylight.



D. G. FARRAGUT.

In that fearful struggle, the Nationals were victorious. From the fore-rigging of his ship *Farragut* had watched the combat through his night-glass, and conducted it as far as possible. Within the space of half an hour after the National vessels had left their anchorage, the forts were passed, the great struggle had occurred, and eleven vessels—nearly the whole of the Confederate flotilla—were destroyed. For awhile Captain Bailey sustained the fight with the Confederate flotilla almost unsupported, when Captain Boggs came to his assistance with the gun-boat *Varuna*, which immediately became the chief object of the wrath of the enemy.

In his report Captain Boggs said that immediately after passing the forts, he found himself "amid a nest of rebel steamers." The *Varuna* rushed in among them (for the river was too narrow to permit her to avoid them), and fired broadsides right and left as she passed. The first one that received her fire was crowded with troops. Its boiler was exploded, and the vessel was run ashore. The *Varuna* ran three other gun-boats ashore, and had desperate struggles with the "rams," until, badly wounded, she began to sink, when her commander tied her bow to trees and took out her crew and the wounded, while his latest antagonist was burning to the water's edge. So ended one of the fiercest combats

of the war. It was "short, sharp, and decisive." In that struggle on the bosom of the river, the Nationals lost only thirty killed and not more than one hundred and twenty-five wounded. The fleet, after the fight, rendezvoused at Quarantine, just above Fort St. Philip, and that was the first public property "repossessed" by the Government, in Louisiana.

While the battle was raging near the forts, General Butler landed his troops, and in small boats they went through narrow and shallow bayous in the rear of Fort St. Philip. The alarmed garrison mutinied, spiked the guns, and sallying out surrendered to Butler's pickets, declaring that they had been pressed into the service, and would fight no more. Porter had continued to bombard Fort Jackson, and after the fall of Fort St. Philip, it was surrendered to that officer with nearly one thousand men.

Meanwhile Farragut (who had thirteen vessels in safety above the forts) had gone up to New Orleans with his fleet, where a fearful panic prevailed, for the inhabitants had heard of the disasters below. Drums were beating; soldiers were seen hurrying to and fro; merchants had fled from their stores; women without bonnets and brandishing pistols were seen in the streets crying, "Burn the city! Burn the city! Never mind us! Burn the city!" Military officers impressed vehicles into the service of carrying cotton to the levees to be burned; and specie to the amount of \$4,000,000 was sent out of the city by railway. Millions worth of other property, with a large number of citizens, had left the doomed town, among them General Twiggs, who betrayed his troops in Texas. Like Floyd, he feared the wrath of his injured Government, and fled, leaving behind him the two swords which had been awarded him for gallantry in Mexico, to fall into the hands of the invaders. And when, on the 25th of April, 1862, Farragut approached the city with nine vessels, General Lovell and his troops fled, the torch was applied to the cotton on the levee, and along the river front for miles a sheet of roaring flames burst forth. In that conflagration fifteen thousand bales of cotton, a dozen large ships and as many fine steamboats, with unfinished gun-boats and other large vessels, perished. The value of cotton, sugar, and other products destroyed, was immense. The citizens were held in durance by Farragut's guns, until the arrival of General Butler on the first of May, when the latter landed with his troops, took formal possession of the defenceless town, and made his headquarters at the St. Charles hotel. Butler ruled New Orleans with the rigor of martial-law. Informed that a man named Mumford had pulled down the National flag where Farragut had unfurled it over the Mint, and had treated it in derision, Butler caused his arrest and his immediate trial on a charge of treason. He was convicted and hanged; the only man who has ever

suffered death for that crime since the establishment of our National Government.

The loss of New Orleans was a terrible blow for the Confederates. "It annihilated us in Louisiana," wrote a Confederate historian, "diminished our resources and supplies by the loss of one of the greatest grain and cattle countries within the limits of the Confederacy, gave to the enemy the Mississippi River with all its means of navigation for a base of operations, and finally led, by plain and irresistible conclusions, to our virtual abandonment of the great and fruitful valley of the Mississippi."

The loss of New Orleans produced the greatest irritation in the public mind throughout the Confederacy, and the rigor of Butler's rule there excited the most violent personal hatred of the general. When he was about to leave New Orleans, Jefferson Davis, the chief of the Confederacy, issued a proclamation in which he pronounced Butler to be "a felon deserving of capital punishment;" and he ordered that he should not be "treated simply as a public enemy of the Confederate States of America, but as an outlaw, and common enemy of mankind;" and that, "in the event of his capture, the officer in command of the capturing force, do cause him to be immediately executed, by hanging." He also ordered that the same treatment should be awarded to all commissioned officers serving under Butler. A "Georgian" offered a reward of \$10,000 "for the infamous Butler." Richard Yeadon, a prominent citizen of Charleston, publicly offered a reward of \$10,000 "for the capture and delivery of the said Benjamin F. Butler, dead or alive, to any Confederate authority." A "Daughter of South Carolina," in a letter to the *Charleston Courier*, said: "I propose to spin the thread to make the cord to execute the order of our noble President Davis, when old Butler is caught; and my daughter asks that she may be allowed to adjust it around his neck." And Paul R. Hayne, a South Carolina poet, wrote:

"Yes! but there is *one who shall not die*
In battle harness! One for whom
Lurks in the darkness silently
Another and a sterner doom!
A warrior's end should crown the brave,
For *him*, swift cord and felon's grave!"

CHAPTER XVI.

ARMY OF THE POTOMAC—ARMIES ORDERED TO MOVE—M'CLELLAN'S PLAN OF OPERATIONS—EVACUATION OF MANASSAS—"PROMENADE" OF THE UNION ARMY—M'CLELLAN RELIEVED—THE "MONITOR" AND "MERRIMAC"—EVENTS IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY—BATTLE AT KERNSTOWN—ARMY OF THE POTOMAC ON THE PENINSULA—SIEGE OF YORKTOWN—MAGRUDER'S STRATEGY—BATTLE AT WILLIAMSBURG—TARDY MOVEMENTS—M'CLELLAN AND THE PRESIDENT—CAPTURE OF NORFOLK—MILITARY EVENTS IN THE VALLEY—BATTLES AT WINCHESTER, CROSS KEYS AND PORT REPUBLIC—THE "WHITE HOUSE"—ON THE CHICKAHOMINY—CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT REBUKED—FATAL HESITATION—BATTLE AT FAIR OAKS—STUART'S RAID.

WHILE great activity prevailed in the valley of the Mississippi, the *Grand Army of the Potomac*, under General McClellan, had been lying almost inactive much of the time, in the vicinity of the National capital. It had, however, been growing in numbers and discipline; and early in 1862, it was composed of full two hundred thousand men. The battles of Ball's Bluff and Drainsville, already mentioned, had prevented its rusting into absolute immobility; and the troops were gladdened, from time to time, by promises of an immediate advance upon the Confederates at Manassas. On account of that expectation, very little had been done toward placing the troops in winter-quarters, and much suffering and discontent were the consequence. Efforts were made by many officers to break the monotony of camp-life; and the Secretary of War (Mr. Cameron) permitted the musical Hutchinson family to visit the camps and sing their simple and stirring songs. They were diffusing sunshine through the gloom of the army by delighting crowds of soldiers who listened to their sweet melody, when their career was suddenly checked by the following order:

"By direction of General McClellan, the permit given to the 'Hutchinson Family' to sing in the camps, and their pass to cross the Potomac, are revoked, and they will not be allowed to sing to the troops."

Why not? Because a few of the officers of the army were afraid of offending the confederated slaveholders, and the Hutchinson's had been guilty of singing Whittier's stirring song, then lately written, to the tune of

Luther's Hymn, "Ein feste burg ist unser Gott," in which, among eight similar verses, was the following:

"What gives the wheat-fields blades of steel?
What points the rebel cannon?
What sets the roaring rabble's heel
On th' old star-spangled pennon?
What breaks th' oath
Of th' men o' th' South?
What whets the knife
For the Union's life?
Hark to the answer: *Slavery.*"

On the 13th of January, 1862, the energetic Edwin M. Stanton succeeded Simon Cameron, as Secretary of War, and infused new life into the service. The people had become impatient; and the President, satisfied that longer delay was unnecessary, issued a general order on the 27th of January, in which he directed a simultaneous forward movement of "all the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces on the 22d day of February next ensuing. This order sent a thrill of joy through the heart of the loyal people, and it was heightened when the President ordered McClellan to move against the inferior force of Confederates at Manassas. Instead of obeying, McClellan remonstrated, and proposed to take his army to Richmond by the circuitous route of Fortress Monroe and the Peninsula, between the York and James rivers, instead of attempting, with his large and well-equipped army, to press the Confederates back to their Capital. The President strongly urged the trial of the direct movement, as less expensive in time and money, and less perilous to the army; but McClellan so steadily resisted this plan, that the patient Lincoln consented to submit the matter to a council of officers. They decided in favor of McClellan's plan by a vote of eight to four. The President acquiesced, but with many misgivings, which the result justified. The General-in-Chief had declared that he intended to wait for the forces in the West to gain victories before he should move upon Richmond. Well, the *Grand Army of the Potomac* had not fairly inaugurated its campaign in the spring of 1862, before the active little army of General Grant, and the forces under Generals Pope, and Buell, and Mitchel, and the gun-boats of Foote, had accomplished far more in the West than McClellan ever dreamed of being possible.

Informed that McClellan (who would not trust his commander-in-chief with his military secrets) intended to take to the Peninsula nearly the entire *Grand Army of the Potomac*, the President issued an order on the 8th of

March, that no change of base in the operations of that army should be made without leaving a competent force for the protection of the Capital, that not more than fifty thousand troops should be removed toward the Peninsula until the navigation of the Potomac from Washington to the Chesapeake should be freed from the enemy's batteries and other obstructions; that the new movement should begin as early as the 18th of March and that the army and navy should co-operate in an immediate attack upon the Confederate batteries on the Potomac. Meanwhile the Confederates at Manassas had retired, and were falling back toward Richmond, in fear of the execution of the President's order to move upon them on the 22d of February. When McClellan heard of this evacuation he crossed the Potomac and ordered his whole army to advance, not, as he afterward explained, to pursue the alarmed fugitives and to take Richmond, but to give his own army a little active experience "preparatory to the campaign!" After making a grand display of power at abandoned Manassas and a little beyond, the army moved back to Alexandria. This "promenade" (as one of McClellan's aids, a scion of the royal Orleans family of France called it) of the *Grand*



GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

Army of the Potomac, disappointed the people and disgusted the President, who, satisfied that McClellan's official burdens were greater than he could profitably bear, kindly relieved him of the chief care of the armies, on the 11th of March, giving him command of the *Department of the Potomac*.

At the moment when the Confederates evacuated Manassas, a strange naval battle occurred in Hampton Roads. The insurgents had raised the *Merrimac*, one of the vessels that was sunk in the river at Norfolk, and had converted it into an iron-clad warrior, which they named *Virginia*, commanded by Captain Buchanan of our navy. On the 8th of March, this

vessel attacked and destroyed the wooden sailing frigates *Congress* and *Cumberland*, at the mouth of the James River, and it was expected she would annihilate other transports and war-vessels in Hampton Roads, the next morning. Anxiously the army and navy officers in that vicinity passed the night of the 8th. There seemed to be no competent human agency near to arrest the impending disaster, when, at a little past midnight, a strange craft entered the Roads, from the sea, unheralded and unknown. It appeared like a floating platform, sharp at both ends, lying almost level with the surface of the water, and having a round tower made of heavy iron. This tower was pierced for two guns. It was twenty feet in diameter, and about ten feet in height above the platform; and it was made to revolve so as to bring its heavy guns within to bear upon an object, independently of the position of the vessel. This strange craft had been constructed at New York, under the direction of the eminent civil engineer and scientist, Captain John Ericsson, and took the name, so appropriate after its first display of power, of *Monitor*. The little vessel was in command of Lieutenant John L. Worden, of the navy, and had been towed to the Roads, after encountering a heavy gale and rolling sea, by a steamship. It was her trial-trip.

On his arrival, Worden reported to the flag-officer in the Roads, and learning the situation of affairs there, he promptly prepared to meet the iron-clad monster from Norfolk the next morning—the Sabbath. That morning dawned brightly, and in the gray twilight (March 9, 1862), the *Merrimac* was seen sweeping out of the Elizabeth River on its destructive errand. The *Monitor*, like a little David, moved to meet the Confederate Goliath, whose commander looked with contempt upon the “floating cheese-box,” as he called his strange antagonist; but he soon found it to be a citadel, strong and well filled with destructive energy. Her revolving turret was invulnerable to the heaviest shot and shell thrown by her antagonist, and they glanced from the tower like pebbles from granite. The conflict that ensued was terrific. The ponderous missiles hurled from the *Monitor* soon bruised the *Merrimac* so fatally, that she fled up to Norfolk, her wounded commander confounded by the energy of his mysterious little antagonist. The *Merrimac* did not venture out again. The gallant Worden, who was regarded as the saviour of his country at a critical moment, was severely injured by having cement around the “peep-hole” in the turret through which he was watching his antagonist, thrown violently in his face by a heavy shot that struck that point. He has been rewarded with the commission of Admiral.

The exploit of the *Monitor* seemed to promise safety to National vessels



ATTACK OF THE "MONITOR" ON THE "MERRIMACK."

navigating the James River; and McClellan prepared to transfer the Army of the Potomac to Fortress Monroe, which place he designed to make a base of supplies for his army while marching on Richmond. To secure Washington city, it was necessary to hold the Confederates in check in the Shenandoah Valley, where they were led by the zealous and gallant "Stonewall Jackson." He had been defeated by the dashing General Lander, at Blooming Gap, on the 14th of February; and when Johnston and his Confederates evacuated Manassas, Jackson had taken post at Winchester. General N. P. Banks was then in command of National troops near Harper's Ferry, destined for operations in the Shenandoah Valley; and when Jackson went further up that valley, he sent General Shields in pursuit. Shields soon turned back, and with a considerable body of troops encamped at Winchester. Jackson, reinforced, came down the Valley in force, infantry and cavalry, and attacked Shields at Kernstown just west of Winchester. Shields had only about seven thousand men, and twenty-four heavy guns. The battle that ensued (March 22, 1862) was short and severe. Shields was badly wounded. The Confederates were defeated, and fled up the valley closely pursued by Banks, who remained in that region to watch the insurgents while McClellan should move upon Richmond.

It was not until April when the Army of the Potomac began its campaign on the Virginia Peninsula. General McClellan had transferred a larger part of that army to Fortress Monroe, leaving about seventy-three thousand troops for the defence of Washington. At the beginning of April there were one hundred and twenty-one thousand men at Fortress Monroe (exclusive of the forces of General Wool), and a large portion of these now moved, in two columns, up the Peninsula; one column under General Heintzelman marching near the York River, and another under General Keyes, near the James River. A comparatively small Confederate force, under General J. B. Magruder, had formed a fortified line across the Peninsula, in the pathway of the Nationals; and by skillful tricks, Magruder so deceived McClellan as to the number of the Confederates, that the invaders were kept at bay, below Yorktown, nearly a month, while their leader was calling for reinforcements to enable him to break through the opposing line. Yorktown was regularly besieged under the direction of General Fitz John Porter, though the number of the Nationals was ten times as large as that of the Confederates. An attempt to carry the intrenchments on the Warwick River, by a division under General Smith of Keyes's column, caused a sharp engagement. It failed; and finally Magruder fell back to a line of strong intrenchments

in front of Williamsburg, where, on the 3d of May, he wrote, after describing his strategy: "Thus, with five thousand men, exclusive of the garrison, we stopped and held in check over one hundred thousand of the enemy. . . . I was amused when I saw McClellan, with his magnificent army, begin to break ground before miserable earthworks [at Yorktown] defended by only eight thousand men." General Sumner, with the main body of the Nationals, had pursued the Confederates to Williamsburg, while McClellan remained at Yorktown to forward troops under General Franklin up the York River, to strike the left flank of the insurgents.

General Joseph E. Johnston, who had hastened to the Peninsula after the evacuation of Manassas, was now in chief command in front of McClellan. Leaving a strong guard at Williamsburg to check the pursuers, Johnston fell back with his main army toward Richmond, with the intention of fighting the Nationals when they should approach that city. But he was compelled to fight sooner than he expected, for gallant and energetic men—Generals Hooker, Kearney and Hancock—attacked that rear-guard on the 5th of May. Hard-pressed, Johnston sent back a large portion of his army to help them. A sanguinary battle followed. Hooker began the assault, knowing a large body of troops were within supporting distance, and for full nine hours he bore the brunt of the battle. Then Kearney came to his aid, and Hancock having turned the flank of the Confederates, the latter precipitately retreated. In this perilous movement they were led by General James Longstreet, the ablest and best of the Confederate leaders in the war.

On the morning after the conflict, McClellan came upon the battle-field, just as the victors were about to press on in pursuit of the fugitives, who had left about eight hundred of their wounded behind them in their flight. He had kept Franklin so long at Yorktown, that the latter could not flank the Confederates; and now, when the latter were flying evidently in a panic, the Commander-in-Chief would not allow a pursuit, but moved leisurely forward during the next ten or twelve days, reaching the Chickahominy River when Johnston was safely encamped beyond it. Experts on both sides declared, that had a vigorous pursuit followed the events at Williamsburg, the Confederate army might have been captured or dispersed. Franklin had secured a firm foothold at near the head of the York River, which was made the base of supplies for the Army of the Potomac in its earlier operations against Richmond. In the battle at Williamsburg, the Nationals lost twenty-two hundred men, of whom four hundred and fifty-six were killed. The Confederate loss was about one thousand.

More than a month, after General McClellan arrived at Fortress Monroe, had been consumed in moving only thirty-six miles toward Richmond, and the army had suffered fearful losses by sickness. Very few perished by the weapons of the enemy during the month's siege of Yorktown, "but disease," said General J. G. Barnard, McClellan's chief engineer, in his report at the close of the campaign, "took a fearful hold of the army; and toil and hardships, unredeemed by the excitement of combat, impaired their *morale*. We did not carry with us from Yorktown so good an army as we took there. Of the bitter fruits of that month gained by the enemy, we have tasted to our heart's content." Twenty of the thirty days that the army lay before Yorktown were marked by heavy thunder-showers, following in quick succession. The troops, wearied and overheated by labor, lay on the damp ground at night, and were chilled. "In a short time," wrote Dr. Marks, a participant, "the sick in our hospitals were numbered by thousands, and many died so suddenly that the disease had all the aspects of a plague."

One cause of McClellan's tardy advance was his constant fear of not having troops enough to meet the energetic Johnston. Before his army left Washington, Blenker's division of ten thousand men were taken from it to strengthen Fremont, who was in command of the Mountain Department beyond the Blue Ridge; and soon afterward McDowell's army corps were detached from McClellan's immediate command, and its leader instructed to report directly to the Secretary of War. McDowell was ordered to a position where he might assist in the defence of the Capital, or in an attack upon Richmond, as circumstances might require. General Wool, with his ten thousand men at Fortress Monroe, was also made independent of McClellan's orders, although, like McDowell, he was directed to co-operate with the Army of the Potomac as far as possible. General McClellan, perceiving these indications of a lack of implicit confidence in his judgment, and feeling that he might be denied support at any time, startled the President on the 7th of April by telegraphing to the Secretary of War that he had only eighty-five thousand effective men, and might be called upon to confront one hundred thousand Confederates. He had just reported that he had over one hundred thousand effective troops. The President asked him to explain, and urged him to strike the foe before they should gather in greater strength on his front. Instead of that, McClellan continued to halt and complain of a want of troops. The President urged him to act. "The country will note—it is now noting," Mr. Lincoln said, "that the present hesitation to move upon an intrenched enemy is but the story of Manassas repeated." The Presi

dent expressed the kindest feelings toward the general, and closed his letter with the remark, "But you must act." Still he hesitated and complained; and although, at the close of April, just before the Confederates evacuated Yorktown, he reported one hundred and twelve thousand soldiers on the Peninsula fit for duty, he complained that the lack of McDowell's force prevented Franklin striking the fugitives from Williamsburg on the flank. It is asserted that the chief cause of the failure was McClellan's hesitancy in deciding whether he should smite the Confederates on their front, or flank them, until it was too late to attempt either.

The veteran General John E. Wool had now been in command at Fortress Monroe for some time. He felt certain that the Confederate soldiers might easily be driven out of Norfolk; and after the affair at Williamsburg he obtained leave to make an effort to dislodge them. Having made a personal reconnoissance, he crossed Hampton Roads and landed a few regiments in the rear of Confederate works below that city. General Huger, in command at Norfolk, had already perceived his peril, with Burnside in his rear and McClellan on his flank, and he retreated. So Wool gained a bloodless victory on the 9th of May. The Confederate vessels in the James River hastened toward Richmond. The Confederates set fire to the battered *Merrimac*, and the troops fled from the city of Norfolk. A flotilla of National gun-boats, commanded by Commodore Rodgers, chased the Confederate vessels as far as Drewry's Bluff, eight miles below Richmond, where a strong fort and river obstructions checked the pursuers.

The wisdom of detaching McDowell's corps from the Army of the Potomac was soon made apparent. After the departure of Johnston, with his troops, from Manassas, which relieved Washington from immediate danger, McDowell advanced to Fredericksburg, with thirty thousand men, to assist McClellan or cover the Capital, as he might be ordered. Fremont among the mountains and Banks in the Shenandoah Valley had, in the aggregate, about the same number of troops; and at the beginning of May, Stonewall Jackson had been joined by the skillful General Ewell, near Harrisonburg, in the upper part of the Valley. Ewell was ordered to hold Banks, while General Robert E. Lee, who had been recalled from Georgia, should push across the Rappahannock with a strong column and cut off all communication between Winchester and Alexandria.

While Jackson was watching Banks he was startled by the approach of one of Fremont's brigades under General Milroy, evidently for the purpose of joining the Nationals in the Valley. Jackson immediately

moved against Milroy; and at McDowell, west of Staunton, he struck the brigade a severe blow on the 8th of May. A sharp engagement occurred, lasting about five hours. Neither party won a victory. The Nationals lost in killed and wounded two hundred and fifty-six men, and the Confederates, four hundred and sixty-one. Notwithstanding it was a drawn battle, Jackson sent a note to Ewell the next morning, saying: "Yesterday, God gave us the victory at McDowell."

Meanwhile General Banks had been pressed back by Ewell, to Strasburg; and a fortnight later (May 23d) a National force under Colonel J. R. Kenly, of Baltimore, was captured or dispersed at Front Royal by the combined troops of Jackson and Ewell. Perceiving his peril, Banks fled down the Shenandoah Valley in swift marches, pursued by twenty thousand Confederates, and won the race to Winchester, where he made a stand with seven thousand men, ten Parrott guns, and a battery of 6-pound smooth-bore cannon. There he was attacked by Ewell, on the 25th of May. Contemplating the contingency of a retreat, he had sent his trains toward the Potomac. Very soon Jackson approached with an overwhelming force, when Banks ordered a retreat, after his troops had fought gallantly for several hours. It was done in a masterly manner. They were pursued as far as Martinsburg, where the chase was ended. The Nationals reached the Potomac, at Williamsport, where, on the hill-sides, the wearied troops rested behind a thousand blazing camp-fires that night.

The National capital was now in real danger, and it could only be relieved from peril by the retreat or capture of the Confederates in the Shenandoah Valley. McDowell sent a force over the Blue Ridge to intercept them if they should retreat, and Fremont pressed on from the west, toward Strasburg, with the same object in view. Perceiving the threatened danger, Jackson fled up the Valley with his whole force, hotly pursued by the Nationals; and at Cross Keys, beyond Harrisonburg, Fremont overtook Ewell, when a sharp but indecisive battle occurred on the 7th of June. Jackson was then at Port Republic, beyond the Shenandoah River, only a few miles distant, so closely pressed by troops under Generals Carroll and Tyler, that he called upon Ewell for help. The latter retired from Cross Keys under cover of night, closely followed by the vigilant Fremont; but Ewell fired the bridge over the Shenandoah near Port Republic, before his pursuer could reach that stream. Jackson, having overwhelming numbers, routed the Nationals after a severe battle at Port Republic, and then the latter retraced their steps toward Winchester. So ended the second great race of contending troops in the Shenandoah Valley.

General McClellan, with the head of his pursuing army, reached the "White House," at the head of navigation of the Pamunkey River, on the 16th of May. The "White House" and surrounding lands belonged to General Robert E. Lee's wife, which she inherited from Mrs. Washington. It was not the "White House" in which the first months of Washington's married life was spent, for that had been burned more than thirty years before. It was a modern dwelling near the spot; but by McClellan's order it was carefully protected from harm, not a sick soldier being allowed to find shelter beneath its roof. From that point, the general pressed forward to Cool Arbor, near the Chickahominy River, where he made his headquarters, within nine miles of Richmond. General Casey's division of General Keyes's corps crossed the river, and occupied heights on the Richmond side of the stream, supported by troops under General Heintzelman. Along the line of the Chickahominy the armies of McClellan and Johnston confronted each other toward the close of May, separated by a narrow stream liable to a sudden overflow of its banks and filling of the adjacent swamps. There the two commanders waited for decisive results in the Shenandoah Valley, each expecting reinforcements from that region.

In the meantime the Confederate government at Richmond, alarmed by the approach of the Nationals by land and water, had prepared to fly into South Carolina. They had actually sent their "archives" to Columbia, and to Lynchburg, in Virginia. The Virginia Legislature, disgusted with the cowardice and perfidy of President Davis and his colleagues, passed resolutions (May 14) calling upon them to defend Richmond at all hazards, and resolved, with a clearness that deprived the trembling government of every excuse but fear, that "the President be assured that whatever destruction or loss of property of the State or individual shall thereby result, will be cheerfully submitted to." It is believed that this act was inspired by General Johnston, who saw with indignation the railroad bridge at Richmond covered with plank, for facilitating the flight of artillery across them, and a train of cars in constant readiness for the flight of Davis and his cabinet.

The first collision between the two armies near the Chickahominy occurred on the 23d and 24th of May, one at New Bridge and the other at and near Mechanicsville, less than eight miles from Richmond. The Confederates were driven beyond the Chickahominy at Mechanicsville, and a large part of the Nationals took possession of the Richmond side of the stream. This bold dash was followed the next morning by a stirring order by McClellan for an immediate advance on Richmond. The loyal people rejoiced. He had said to the Secretary of War ten days before.

"I will fight the enemy, whatever their force may be, with whatever force we may have." Everything was in readiness for an advance and every circumstance was favorable, for panic had seized the inhabitants in Richmond, and the Confederate troops were not sanguine of a successful defence. But the over-cautious general hesitated until the golden opportunity was lost forever. This chronic hesitancy President Lincoln evidently anticipated, for about the time when McClellan issued his inspiring order, the former, anxious for the safety of the Capital, telegraphed to the general, "I think the time is near when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job and come to the defence of Washington."

For several days afterward, operations on the flank of the great army made the sum of its action. General Fitz John Porter was sent to Hanover Court-House with a considerable force to keep the way open for McDowell to join the army, which McClellan persistently demanded. Porter had some sharp skirmishes near the Court-House, and cut railway communications with Richmond, all but the important one with Fredericksburg. The general telegraphed to the Secretary of War, that Washington was not in danger, and that it was "the policy and the duty of the Government" to send him "all the well-drilled troops available." When the raids on the Confederate communications had been effected, Porter rejoined the main army lying quietly on the Chickahominy, and McClellan again telegraphed to the Secretary of War, saying: "I will do all that quick movements can accomplish, but you must send me all the troops you can, and leave me full latitude as to choice of commanders."

Three days afterward there were "quick movements" in the *Army of the Potomac*. General Johnston, perceiving McClellan's apparent timidity and the real peril of his army so injudiciously divided by the fickle Chickahominy, marched boldly out from his intrenchments in front of Richmond, to attack the Nationals on the city side of the stream. On the 31st of May he fell with great vigor upon the National advance under General Silas Casey, lying upon each side of the Williamsburg road, half a mile beyond a point known as the Seven Pines, and six miles from Richmond. General Couch's division was at Seven Pines, his right resting at Fair Oaks Station. Kearney's division of Heintzelman's corps was near Savage's Station, and Hooker's division of the latter corps was guarding the approaches to the White Oak Swamp. The country around was quite level and mostly wooded, and dotted with marshes.

General Longstreet led the Confederate advance, and fell suddenly upon Casey. A most sanguinary battle ensued. Casey fought valiantly until full one-third of his command was disabled, and he was driven back by

overwhelming numbers. Keyes sent troops to aid him, but they could not withstand the pressure, and the whole body was pushed back to Fair Oaks Station on the Richmond and York Railway. Reinforcements sent by Heintzelman and Kearney were met by fresh Confederates, and the victory seemed about to be given to the latter, when General Sumner appeared with the divisions of Generals Sedgwick and Richardson. Sumner



STUART'S RAID.

had seen the peril, and without waiting orders from McClellan, had moved rapidly to the scene of action. He was just in time to check the Confederate advance. The battle still raged furiously. General Johnston was severely wounded and borne from the field; and early in the evening, a bayonet charge by the Nationals broke the Confederate line into confusion. The fighting then ceased for the night, but it was resumed in the morning (June 1, 1862), when General Hooker and his troops took a conspicuous

part in the struggle, which lasted several hours. Finally, the Confederates withdrew to Richmond, and the Nationals remained masters of the battlefield of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, as it is sometimes called. The losses were nearly equal on both sides, and amounted to about seven thousand each. In that conflict General O. O. Howard lost his right arm.

The *Army of the Potomac* lay on the borders of the Chickahominy, in a most unhealthy position, for nearly a month after the battle of Fair Oaks, quietly besieging Richmond; and the public expectation was continually fed by the frequent announcement that the decisive battle would be fought "to-morrow." General Robert E. Lee had succeeded the wounded Johnston in the command of the Confederate troops, and had been joined by Generals Jackson and Ewell from the Shenandoah Valley. Thus strengthened, Lee prepared to strike the Nationals a deadly blow. A large body of his cavalry under the dashing leader General J. E. B. Stuart, rode all around McClellan's army. He had fifteen hundred mounted men, and four pieces of horse-artillery. He swept around almost to the "White House;" seized and burned fourteen wagons and two schooners laden with forage, in the Pamunkey, above the "White House;" captured and carried away one hundred and sixty-five prisoners and two hundred and sixty mules and horses; rested three hours, and during the night crossed the Chickahominy and returned to Richmond by the Charles City Road, on the morning of the 15th of June. This raid, the first of similar and more destructive ones by both parties during the war, produced great commotion in the *Army of the Potomac*. In the meantime reinforcements had been called for by McClellan, and sent, yet that commander hesitated to strike.



CHAPTER XVII.

BATTLES OF MECHANICSVILLE AND GAINES'S MILL—TRANSFER OF THE ARMY TO THE JAMES RIVER—BATTLES AT SAVAGE'S STATION, WHITE-OAK SWAMP AND GLENDALE—BATTLE AT MALVERN HILL—THE ARMY AT HARRISON'S LANDING—"ARMY OF VIRGINIA"—BATTLE OF CEDAR MOUNTAIN—WASHINGTON IN DANGER—M'CLELLAN AND THE GOVERNMENT—FLANK MOVEMENT—BATTLES AT GROVETON, BULL'S RUN AND CHANTILLY—CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS—BARBARA FRIETCHIE—BATTLES ON SOUTH MOUNTAIN AND ANTIETAM CREEK—BURNSIDE SUCCEEDS M'CLELLAN—THE ARMY AT FREDERICKSBURG AND BATTLE THERE.

GENERAL LEE put General McClellan on the defensive when, on the 26th of June (1862), he sent "Stonewall Jackson," with a considerable force from Hanover Court-House, to turn the right wing of the National army and fall upon their base of supplies at the "White House." Jackson had been quietly withdrawn from the Shenandoah Valley, and at the proper time made the aggressive movement with much celerity. At the same time a heavier force, under General Longstreet and others, crossed the Chickahominy near Mechanicsville, and attacked McClellan's right wing commanded by General Fitz John Porter. Near Ellison's Mill, not far from Mechanicsville, a terrific battle was fought that day, in which the Confederates were defeated with a loss of between three and four thousand men. The Nationals, advantageously posted, lost about four hundred. This event is known in history as the battle of Mechanicsville.

By this victory, Richmond was placed at the mercy of the National troops; but McClellan, considering his army and stores in peril, immediately prepared to transfer both to the James River. This movement was so secretly and skillfully made, that Lee was not certified of the fact until twenty-four hours after it was actually begun on the morning of the 27th of June. McClellan ordered his stores at the White House to be destroyed if they could not be taken away; and the duty of protecting them in their removal was assigned to the corps of Fitz John Porter. That corps was also charged with the duty of carrying away the siege guns and covering the army in its march for the James River. These troops were accordingly arranged on the rising ground near Gaines's Mill, on the arc of a circle between Cool Arbor and the Chickahominy, where they were attacked in

the afternoon (June 27) by a heavy Confederate force led by Generals Longstreet and Hill. The battle that ensued was very severe. Hard pressed, Porter sent to McClellan, who was on the opposite side of the river, for help; but the latter, believing Magruder's twenty-five thousand men at Richmond to be sixty thousand, sent only Slocum's division of Franklin's corps. Finding that the battle still raged with great fury, and doubtful of the issue, the commander-in-chief then sent the brigades of Richardson and Meagher across the river. They arrived just in time to save Porter's corps from destruction. His shattered column was falling back in disorder, closely pressed, when the shouts of the fresh troops checked the pursuers and so inspirited the fugitives that they rallied and drove the Confederates back to the field they had won. So ended the battle of Gaines's Mill, with a loss to the Nationals of eight thousand men, and to the Confederates, of about five thousand. Porter also lost twenty-two siege guns. During the night succeeding the battle his corps withdrew to the right side of the Chickahominy, destroying the bridges behind them.

Before the dawn of the 28th the National army moved toward Turkey Bend of the James River. General Keyes led the way through White Oak Swamp, followed by Porter's shattered corps. Then came a train of five thousand wagons laden with ammunition, stores and baggage, and a drove of twenty-five hundred head of beef cattle. This movement was so skillfully masked that General Lee, who suspected McClellan was about to give battle on the northern side of the Chickahominy, in defence of his stores at the "White House," or was preparing to retreat down the Peninsula, was completely deceived; and it was late in the night of the 28th (June, 1862) when the astounding fact was announced to him that the *Army of the Potomac* were far on their way toward a new position on the James River. He had then just been informed that a large portion of the stores at the "White House" had been removed, and that the remainder, with the mansion itself, were in flames. To overtake and destroy the retiring army was now Lee's first duty, and he prosecuted the effort with so much vigor, that the Nationals had a desperate struggle to escape.

The divisions of Sedgwick, Richardson, Heintzelman and Smith, of Franklin's corps, were at Savage's Station, under the general command of Sumner. These formed McClellan's rear-guard. There they were assailed by a Confederate force under Magruder, whom Lee had sent for the purpose, and who first attacked Sedgwick at about nine o'clock on the 29th. Then a battle of great severity was fought, and it ended only at evening, after darkness had come on. Magruder was repulsed by the brigade of General Burns, supported by those of Brooke and Hancock. The Nationals

fell back to **White Oak Swamp** covered by French's brigade, leaving twenty-five hundred of them wounded at Savage's Station, who became prisoners to the Confederates. By five o'clock the next morning the entire army had passed the Swamp, and destroyed the bridge behind them that spanned a creek which they had crossed in the passage.

There were severe contests on the morning of the 30th of June, at the main bridge in **White Oak Swamp** and at **Glendale**, near by. McClellan's main army had then reached the open country in the region of **Malvern Hill**. General Franklin had been left with a rear-guard to protect the passage of the bridge and cover the withdrawal of the wagon-trains from that point, and it was with him that the Confederate pursuers had a sharp contest which lasted nearly all day. The latter were kept back; and that night, the Nationals, having destroyed the bridge, withdrew, leaving behind them three hundred of their sick and wounded and some disabled guns. While the strife was going on there, a sanguinary battle was fought at **Glendale**, not far off, between the Nationals and a column of Confederates led by Longstreet and Hill. In that conflict, Pennsylvania troops, under General McCall, suffered much. That leader was captured, and General Meade was severely wounded. Fresh troops under Hooker, Meagher and Taylor, arrived in time to give the victory at **Glendale** to the Nationals; and the next day (July 1, 1862) the *Army of the Potomac*, united for the first time since it was divided by the Chickahominy, were in a strong position on **Malvern Hill**, within the reach of National gun-boats on the **James River**. But General McClellan thought the position not a safe one, notwithstanding it is a high plateau, with a bold bank sloping toward the river and flanked by deep ravines; and on the morning of the first of July he went down the **James River** on the gun-boat *Galena* and selected a spot at **Harrison's Landing**, not far from **Malvern Hill**, as a secure place for his army and base of supplies.

By vigorous movements, Lee compelled the Nationals to fight while their chief leader was away. The Confederates were concentrated at **Glendale**, and were moved, in a heavy line under Lee's best generals, to carry **Malvern Hill** by storm. They fell with intense fury upon the Nationals, and one of the most terrible battles of the war was there fought. The brunt of it was borne by the troops of Porter, Couch and Kearney, until toward evening, when Meagher and Richardson came to their aid with fresh soldiers. The Confederates were sorely smitten by well-directed bombshells from the gun-boats.

This fierce contest continued, with varying fortunes for both parties, until nine o'clock in the evening, when the Confederates were driven to the

shelter of the woods and swamps, utterly broken and dispirited. The victory for the Nationals was so decisive that their leaders expected to pursue Lee's shattered army in the morning, and march into Richmond within twenty-four hours. Their disappointment was grievous when General McClellan, who had been on board the *Galena* nearly all day while the army was fighting, ordered that army to fall back and encamp at Harrison's Landing. The chief officers felt that the prize for which they were contending, namely, the defeat of Lee's army and the capture of Richmond, now within their grasp, was snatched from them by a timid hand, and obedience was reluctantly but promptly given. It seemed to be a fitting ending of a campaign which had been a series of signal failures, with little fruit, excepting the loss since the 23d of May of more than fifteen thousand men. The army lingered long among the malarious vapors of the James River, until many more had fallen victims of disease.

When Halleck succeeded McClellan as chief of the armies, he arranged the troops for the defence of Washington in three corps; and placing them under the command of General John Pope, who had been called from the West, named these forces the *Army of Virginia*. These corps were commanded respectively by Generals McDowell, Banks and Sigel. When McClellan had retreated to Harrison's Landing, the Confederates at Richmond, satisfied that no further attempts to take that city would be made at that time, ordered Lee to make a dash on Washington. Having information of Lee's preparations for a raid to the northward, Halleck ordered Pope, at the middle of July, to meet the invaders at the outset of the raid. National cavalry were first sent by General Rufus King, at Fredericksburg, who made excursions to within thirty or forty miles of the Confederate capital, and destroyed railway tracks and bridges.

At that time "Stonewall Jackson" was at Gordonsville with a heavy force, and Pope's main army was near Culpepper Court-House. The former, by Lee's orders, crossed the Rapid Anné; and at the foot of Cedar Mountain, a few miles west of the Court-House, he was met by General Banks toward the evening of the 9th of August. There occurred one of the most sanguinary battles of the war. Some of the time the struggle was carried on hand-to-hand, under an awful pall of smoke which, after nightfall, obscured the light of the moon. Banks was pressed back by overwhelming numbers, and sorely pressed, until the timely arrival of Rickett's division of McDowell's corps, which checked the pursuers. In this conflict Banks was ably assisted by Generals Crawford, Augur, Geary and others. The battle ceased at nine o'clock in the evening, though cannonading was kept up until midnight. "I have witnessed many battles during the war," wrote a news-

paper correspondent, "but I have seen none where the tenacious obstinacy of the American character was so fully displayed." The National loss was about two thousand men, killed and wounded, and that of the Confederates was about the same.

Jackson held fast to his mountain position until the night of the 11th (August, 1862) when, hearing of the approach of National troops from



DESTROYING RAILWAY TRACKS.

the Rappahannock, he fell back behind the *Rapid Anné*. Pope took position along the line of that stream, where he was reinforced by troops from the Carolinas under Generals Burnside and Stevens. The Confederates were now concentrated for a march on Washington, in heavy columns. Halleck, meanwhile, perceiving possible danger to the capital, had issued a positive order to McClellan, on the 3d of August, for the immediate transfer of the *Army of the Potomac* to the vicinity of Washington. That commander instructed his superior officer that "the true defence of Washington" was "on the banks of the James." The order was

repeated with urgency; but it was twenty days after it was first given before the transfer was accomplished.

In the meantime there had been stirring events in the direction of the capital. Alarmed at the force which Lee had concentrated on his front, Pope retired behind the forks of the Rappahannock. Lee pushed forward to that river with heavy columns, and on the 20th and 21st of August, a severe artillery duel was fought above Fredericksburg, for seven or eight miles along that stream. Finding that they could not force a passage of the river, the Confederates took a circuitous route toward the mountains to flank the Nationals, when Pope made skillful movements to thwart them. But danger to the National Capital increased every hour. Troops were coming with tardy pace from the Peninsula; and on the 25th, when those of Franklin, Heintzelman and Porter had arrived, Pope's army, somewhat scattered, numbered about sixty thousand men. On that day, Jackson, leading the great flanking force, crossed the Rappahannock. By a swift march he went over the Bull's Run Mountain at Thoroughfare Gap, and at daylight the next morning he was at Manassas Junction on the railway between the *Army of Virginia* and the National Capital. Pope took measures for the capture of Jackson or to prevent his uniting with Longstreet, then coming to support him; but the latter event soon occurred at Groveton, not far from the Bull's Run battle-ground. There, on the 29th of August (1862), the combined Confederates fought the whole of Pope's army excepting Banks's troops. The struggle was severe but indecisive. The loss in the battle at Groveton was about seven thousand men on each side.

Not doubting that he would be instantly reinforced by McClellan, who was at Alexandria, Pope prepared to renew the conflict the next morning. He confidently expected rations and forage from Alexandria, for McClellan had been ordered to supply them; but on the morning of the 30th, when it was too late to retreat and perilous to stand still, Pope received an astounding note from General Franklin, written by direction of McClellan, that "rations and forage would be loaded into the available wagons and cars" as soon as he (Pope) *should send a cavalry escort for the train!* It was impossible. Assured that he would not receive support from McClellan Pope was compelled to fight under great disadvantages. Deceived by what appeared to be a retreat of Lee's army, he was drawn into an ambuscade on a part of the former battle-ground of Bull's Run, not far from Groveton, and there a most sanguinary conflict ensued. The Nationals were defeated and flying across Bull's Run to Centreville, they were there reinforced by the troops of Franklin and Sumner. Pope had labored hard under many difficulties; and he complained bitterly of a lack of co-operation with him,

in his later struggles, by McClellan and some of his subordinates. After the most strenuous efforts of the President and General Halleck to have the *Army of the Potomac* join the *Army of Virginia* in confronting Lee, Pope was joined by only about twenty thousand of the ninety-one thousand who were at Harrison's Landing. McClellan seemed more ready to give advice than to obey orders. "I am not responsible for the past, and cannot be for the future," he wrote to Halleck, "unless I receive authority to dispose of the available troops according to my judgment." And after, by delays, he had thwarted the efforts of the government to get Franklin's corps in a position to give Pope much-needed aid on the 29th, and Halleck had urged him to act promptly in finding out where the enemy was, for he was "tired of guesses," McClellan telegraphed to the President, saying: "I am clear that one of two courses should be adopted. First, to concentrate all our available forces to open communication with Pope; second, to leave Pope to get out of his scrape, and at once use all our means to make the Capital safe."

Lee was afraid to attack the Nationals at Centreville, so he sent Jackson on another flank movement which brought on a battle at Chantilly, north of Fairfax Court-House. It was fought in a cold and drenching rain. For awhile the conflict was very severe, and in it Generals Philip Kearney and Isaac A. Stephens perished. The losses on each side were large. The Nationals, under General Birney, held the field that night, and the next day the broken and demoralized army was sheltered behind the fortifications around Washington city. Pope now repeated, with great earnestness, a request to leave the *Army of Virginia* and return to the West. His desire was gratified. Then the *Army of Virginia* disappeared as a separate organization and became a part of the *Army of the Potomac*, and McClellan was placed in command of all the troops defending the Capital. The disasters which had befallen the armies of the *Potomac* and of *Virginia* caused a momentary gloom to fall upon the spirits of the loyal people, but it was soon dispelled.

At the request of the governors of many States, the President, on the first of July (1862), called for three hundred thousand volunteers to serve during the war; and in August he called for three hundred thousand more, for three months, with the understanding that an equal number would be drafted from the citizens who were between eighteen and forty-five years of age, if they did not appear among the volunteers. These calls were cheerfully responded to; and the Confederate government, alarmed, ordered General Lee to make a desperate effort to capture Washington city before the new army should be brought into the field. Lee was immediately

reinforced. Perceiving the folly of making a direct attack upon the well-fortified National Capital, he crossed the Potomac above that city (near the Point of Rocks) into Maryland to assail Baltimore, and if successful, to fall upon Washington in the rear. He made the passage with almost his entire army, and on the 7th of September was encamped at Frederick, on the Monocacy. There, on the 8th, he issued a stirring appeal, in the form of a proclamation, to the people of Maryland, and raised the standard of revolt. He did not doubt that thousands would resort to it; on the contrary, he lost more men by desertion than he gained by recruiting there.

When General McClellan heard of Lee's invasion of Maryland, he left General Banks, with some troops, to defend Washington, and crossing the Potomac above the National Capital, with about ninety thousand men, he advanced cautiously toward Frederick, which Lee evacuated at their approach. There McClellan discovered Lee's plan for seizing Washington. It was to take possession of Harper's Ferry and open communication with Richmond by way of the Shenandoah Valley, and then marching toward Pennsylvania, entice McClellan far in that direction. At a proper moment Lee was to turn suddenly, smite and defeat his antagonist, and then march upon Washington.

It is related that when the head of Lee's army led by "Stonewall Jackson" entered Frederick, Barbara Frietchie, a very old woman, in defiance of an order for hauling down every Union flag, kept one flying from the dormer window of her house near the bridge over the Monocacy Creek, in the town. Seeing it, Jackson ordered his riflemen to shoot away the staff. When it fell the patriotic Barbara snatched it up, and leaning, says Whittier.

"Far out on the window sill,
She shook it forth with a royal will;
'Shoot, if you must, this old gray head,
But spare your country's flag,' she said.
A shade of sadness, a blush of shame,
Over the face of the leader came:
The nobler nature within him stirr'd
To life at that woman's deed and word;
'Who touches a hair of yon gray head,
Dies like a dog! March on!' he said.
All day long through Frederick street
Sounded the tread of marching feet.
All day long that free flag tost
Over the head of the rebel host."

The Nationals followed the Confederates from Frederick, in two columns, over the South Mountain into the beautiful valley of the Antietam

Creek. The right and centre of the Nationals moved by the way of Turner's Gap, Burnside leading the advance; and the left, composed of Franklin's corps, by way of Crampton's Gap, on the same range, nearer Harper's Ferry. At Turner's Gap, Burnside fought a desperate battle on the 14th of September; and at the same time Franklin was trying to force his way at Crampton's Gap, to get between General Lee and Harper's Ferry, where Colonel Miles, a Marylander, was in command of National troops. The strife at Turner's Gap ceased at dark, with a loss to the Nationals of about fifteen hundred men, of whom a little more than three hundred were killed. Among the latter was the gallant General Reno. The Nationals intended to renew the battle in the morning; but the Confederates withdrew under cover of the night, and Lee concentrated his forces on Antietam Creek, near Sharpsburg. Franklin, in the meantime, had fought his way over the Mountain into Pleasant Valley; and on the evening of the 14th (September) was within six miles of Harper's Ferry, which was then invested by a strong force under "Stonewall Jackson." The Confederates held the advantageous positions of Maryland and Loudon Heights on each side of the Potomac, which commanded the post at Harper's Ferry, and the latter could be preserved from capture only by help from outside. This Franklin was about to give; but before he could do so, Miles surrendered the post to Jackson, after sending away his cavalry. This unfortunate and unnecessary movement, deprived the Nationals of a vast advantage which they might have gained by the apparently easy possession of Harper's Ferry, at that time. Miles's conduct was such, that his loyalty to the Republic was justly suspected.

On the 16th of September, the Confederate army was well posted on the heights near Sharpsburg, on the western side of the Antietam Creek. The Confederates had been followed from South Mountain cautiously, for McClellan professed to believe them to be in overwhelming numbers on his front. But Lee's army then numbered only sixty thousand, while McClellan's effective force was eighty-seven thousand. The latter hesitated to attack; and when he was put upon the defensive by a sharp artillery assault by Confederate cannon, the crisis had passed before he was ready to respond. Then the brave and energetic Hooker was permitted to cross the Antietam with a part of his corps, commanded by Generals Ricketts, Meade, and Doubleday. This passage was made on the extreme right of the Confederates, where he had a sharp and successful combat with the foe led by General Hood. Hooker's men lay upon their arms that night. Other National troops passed over under cover of the darkness. These were the divisions of Williams and Greene, of Mansfield's corps, who bivouacked a mile in Hooker's rear.



BARBARA FRIETCHIE'S DEFIANCE.

The best of McClellan's generals expecting a heavy engagement in the morning, awaited these movements with great anxiety. In this feeling the army of Lee concurred. At dawn on the morning of the 17th (September, 1862), Hooker opened the battle by assailing the Confederate left with about eighteen thousand men. The enemy were led by Jackson. Hooker had



GENERAL MCCLELLAN AT ANTIETAM.

Doubleday on his right, Meade on his left, and Ricketts in the centre. With varying fortunes the contest raged on that wing of the army and along the centre until late in the afternoon. The National chief, with a lofty faith that all would be well, did not leave his room at Pry's (his headquarters) that morning until eight o'clock, when the hills had been echoing the cannon-thunder for hours. Then he went out and viewed the progress of the battle from the opposite side of the Antietam, where he held Porter's

corps, with artillery, and Pleasonton's cavalry in reserve until toward evening, when he sent some troops to assist the fighters.

Meanwhile General Burnside, with the left wing of the Nationals, had been holding in check, and fighting the Confederate right under Longstreet, since eight o'clock in the morning, with varying success; and he was on the point of gaining a victory there, when the Confederates were reinforced by General A. P. Hill's division, which had hurried up from Harper's Ferry to the support of Lee. Darkness ended the struggle, which had lasted from twelve to fourteen hours. Both armies were severely smitten. The Nationals lost twelve thousand four hundred and seventy men, and McClellan estimated the Confederate loss to have been much greater. The advantage was decidedly with the Nationals that night. Lee's army, shattered and disorganized, and his supplies nearly exhausted, was without reinforcements near; while McClellan's was joined the next morning by fourteen thousand fresh troops. A vigorous movement on his part, that morning, might have put the whole Confederate force into McClellan's hands as prisoners of war; but with chronic hesitation and indecision, he refused to allow his army to pursue the retreating foe until thirty-six hours after the battle. His reasons for his dilatoriness were given in an apologetic tone, in his report, as follows: "Virginia was lost, Washington was menaced, Maryland invaded—the National cause could afford no risks of defeat."

When, on the morning of the 19th of September, McClellan advanced, Lee had fled, under cover of the night, and was with his shattered army behind strong batteries on the Virginia side of the Potomac. A feeble pursuit was attempted and abandoned. Two brigades crossed the river, and were surprised and driven back into Maryland, when Lee, counting upon McClellan's habitual slowness, moved leisurely up the Shenandoah Valley. McClellan took possession of abandoned Harper's Ferry, and called for reinforcements and supplies to enable him to pursue the fugitives; and ten days afterward, when the news was hourly expected that the *Army of the Potomac* were in swift pursuit of Lee's shattered columns, the commander of the National army proclaimed that he intended to hold his troops where they were, and "attack the enemy should he attempt to cross into Maryland." The President, astounded by this declaration, hastened to McClellan's headquarters, in person, to ascertain the true state of the case. He was so well satisfied that the army was capable of a successful pursuit at once, that he ordered McClellan (October 6, 1862) to cross the Potomac immediately for that purpose. Twenty precious days were afterward spent in correspondence between the disobedient general and his patient superiors, before the former obeyed, during which time Lee's army was thoroughly

recruited in every way, and his communications with Richmond were well established.

The beautiful month of October passed away. The roads in Virginia were never in a finer condition; and the loyal people were becoming exceedingly impatient, when, on the 2d of November, McClellan announced that his great army was once more on the soil of Virginia, prepared to move southward on the east side of the Blue Ridge instead of up the Shenandoah Valley, as he had been ordered to do. The patience of the Government and its friends was now exhausted. They had lost faith in McClellan's ability or disposition to achieve a decisive victory over the Confederates, and on the 5th of November he was superseded in the command of the *Army of the Potomac* by General Ambrose E. Burnside, of Rhode Island. So ended General McClellan's unsuccessful military career. He then entered the field of politics in opposition to the administration, and was equally unsuccessful there.

The *Army of the Potomac* was now about one hundred and twenty thousand in number. It was reorganized by Burnside; and he took measures for the early seizure of the Confederate capital rather than for the capture or destruction of the Confederate army. He made Aquia Creek, on the Potomac, his base of supplies; and he hastened to place his army at or near Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock, from which he might march on Richmond. Lee, in the meantime, had gathered about eighty thousand men on the Heights in the rear of Fredericksburg, with three hundred cannon, and had destroyed all the bridges that spanned the Rappahannock in that vicinity.

It was the second week in December when the opposing great armies in Virginia were lying in parallel lines within cannon-shot of each other, with a narrow river between them. Sixty thousand National troops, under Generals Sumner and Hooker, lay in front of Fredericksburg, with one hundred and fifty cannon on Stafford Heights under the chief direction of General Hunt; and the corps of Franklin, about forty thousand strong, was encamped about two miles below. The troops could cross the river only on pontoons or floating bridges; and on the 11th of December, early in the morning, the engineers went quietly at work to construct five of them. These men were assailed and driven away by sharp-shooters concealed in buildings on the opposite shore. The batteries on Stafford Heights then opened a heavy fire on the town to drive out the enemy, and the city was set on fire, in many places, by the shells; but the sharp-shooters remained. Then a party of volunteers went across the river in open boats, in the face of flying bullets from Mississippi rifles, to dislodge the sharp-shooters. A

drummer-boy from Michigan, named Hendershot, begged leave to go along, but was refused permission. Then he asked and obtained permission to push off one of the boats, when he allowed himself to be dragged into the water. Clinging to the vessel, he was conveyed to the opposite shore. Several men in the boat were killed; and when the boy was climbing the

bank, his drum was torn in pieces by a flying fragment of an exploded shell. Then he seized the musket of a slain companion, and fought gallantly until the sharpshooters were driven away or captured. The bridges were finished, and by the evening of the 12th a greater portion of the National army occupied Fredericksburg.

On the morning of the 13th the National army made a simultaneous assault all along the National line, where a most sanguinary battle occurred, which ended with a repulse of Burnside's forces with a loss of almost fourteen thousand men. In this struggle, Generals Franklin, Couch, Hooker, Sumner, Meade, Doubleday, Howard, Humphrey, Wilcox, Hancock, French, Sturgis, Getty, Meagher and others were conspicuous. In the fight, the Confederates lost about half as many as the number lost by



THE MICHIGAN DRUMMER-BOY.

the Nationals. Burnside, anxious to gain a victory, was disposed to renew the battle the next day, but was dissuaded by some of his best officers, and his troops remained on the city side of the river until the night of the 15th unmolested by the Confederates. Then, under cover of darkness, they crossed the stream with all their cannon, taking up the pontoons behind them.

This failure produced some dissatisfaction, and Burnside was soon afterward superseded in the command of the *Army of the Potomac* by General

Joseph Hooker. It was the misfortune, not the fault of the gallant Burnside, that he did not succeed at Fredericksburg. The *Army of the Potomac* now went into winter-quarters on the borders of the Rappahannock.

Hooker's first care was to prevent desertion, secure the return of absentees on furlough, and to weed noxious materials out of the army. Disloyal officers were dismissed as soon as they were discovered; and the evils of idleness were prevented by keeping the soldiers employed. The express trains in the service of the Government were regularly searched, and all property belonging to private citizens was confiscated or destroyed. The army was comfortably hutted; and important changes were made in its organization and its staff department. The cavalry, hitherto scattered among the grand divisions and without organization, as a corps, were consolidated, and were soon placed in a condition of greater efficiency than had ever before been known in the service; and to improve them, they were sent out upon raids within the Confederate lines whenever the condition of the roads would permit. The region between Bull's Run and the Rapid Anné became the theatre of many daring exploits by the horsemen of both armies.



CHAPTER XVIII.

NATIONAL RULE IN THE SOUTHWEST—GUERRILLAS—INVASION OF KENTUCKY—CINCINNATI SAVED—BATTLE AT MUMFORDSVILLE AND PERRYVILLE—ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND—BATTLE AT IUKA SPRINGS—GENERAL ORD'S MOVEMENTS—BATTLE AT CORINTH AND OPERATIONS NEAR—CAPTURE OF BATON ROUGE—DESTRUCTION OF THE "ARKANSAS"—OPERATIONS IN ARKANSAS AND LOUISIANA—BATTLE AT MURFREESBORO—EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION—THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT—DAVIS PRESIDENT—DOINGS OF THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS—BRITISH SYMPATHY WITH THE CONFEDERATES—THE "ALABAMA"—OPERATIONS AGAINST VICKSBURG—OPERATIONS ON THE MISSISSIPPI—BATTLES AT PORT GIBSON, RAYMOND, JACKSON, CHAMPION HILLS AND BIG BLACK RIVER—VICKSBURG INVESTED.

THE Lower Mississippi, from its mouth to New Orleans, was in the possession of the National military and naval forces under General Butler and Commodore Farragut, at the beginning of the summer of 1862. So, also, was the same river, from Memphis to St. Louis, controlled by the Government troops and vessels; while the National forces held sway over southern Tennessee, and northern Alabama and Mississippi.

Although the great armies of the Confederates had been driven from Kentucky and Tennessee, the absence of any considerable Union force excepting on the southern border of the latter State, permitted a most distressing guerrilla warfare to be carried on within the borders of those commonwealths by mounted bands, who, with gallant leaders, hovered upon the rear and flanks of the National forces, or roamed at will over the whole country, plundering the Union inhabitants. One of their leaders was John Morgan, a bold Alabamian, at the head of dashing mounted men, who appeared in Kentucky, and raiding through that State prepared the way for the advance of an invading army from Chattanooga, led by General Braxton Bragg. Another mounted force, led by N. B. Forrest, was sweeping over a portion of Tennessee for the same purpose at the same time; and at the middle of July he threatened the Union post at Nashville, then in command of General Negley. In the meantime, General Bragg was pushing toward Kentucky by a route eastward of Nashville, while General Buell was moving in the same direction, on a parallel line, to foil the invaders.

General E. Kirby Smith, a native of Connecticut, leading the van of Bragg's army, entered Kentucky from East Tennessee, and pushed on

rapidly to Lexington, fighting and defeating a National force, on the 30th of August, under General M. D. Manson, near Richmond in that State. The Secessionists of Kentucky warmly welcomed the invaders, and swelled their ranks at every step. The alarmed Legislature of Kentucky, sitting at Frankfort, fled to Louisville, while Smith pressed vigorously on in the direction of the Ohio River, with the intention of capturing and plundering Cincinnati. He was unexpectedly confronted on the southern side of the Ohio by strong fortifications and a considerable National force under the energetic General Lewis Wallace, who had proclaimed martial-law in Cincinnati, Covington and Newport, and in a stirring proclamation, demanded the instant co-operation of the people. "Citizens for the labor—soldiers for the battle," was the principle announced. The response was wonderful. In the course of a few hours he had at his command an army of workers and fighters forty thousand strong. The invader recoiled; and falling back to the Kentucky State capital (Frankfort), seized it, and there awaited the arrival of Bragg, who crossed the Cumberland River and entered Kentucky on the 5th of September, with forty regiments and forty cannon.

Bragg's advance, eight thousand strong, under General J. R. Chalmers, encountered a National force under Colonel T. J. Wilder, at Mumfordsville, on the 14th of September. It was on the line of the Nashville and Louisville Railway. A battle began at dawn and lasted about five hours, when the Confederates were repulsed; but two days afterward a stronger force under General (Bishop) Polk fell upon Wilder, and after a severe struggle he was compelled to yield to vastly superior numbers. Bragg was elated by this success, and joining Smith, at Frankfort, he prepared to make a supposed easy march to Louisville, his destination. His army then numbered about sixty-five thousand effective men, and the movements of Buell seemed too tardy to promise serious impediments. Bragg was mistaken. Buell, who had kept abreast of Bragg, suddenly turned upon him with about sixty thousand men, and near the little town of Perryville, in Boyle county, they had a fierce combat on the 8th of October. In that battle the Nationals lost about four thousand three hundred and fifty men; but the invaders were so roughly handled that they fled in haste, that night, toward East Tennessee, followed by their marauding bands, who had plundered the inhabitants in every direction. They started in their retreat with a wagon-train of stolen property, forty miles in length, but were compelled to leave a large portion of it behind. The whole expedition seems to have had no higher aims than that of a plundering raid. It proved disastrous to Bragg's army, and would have caused its total ruin if that army had been vigorously pursued. Soon afterward, General Rosecrans, who had won substantial

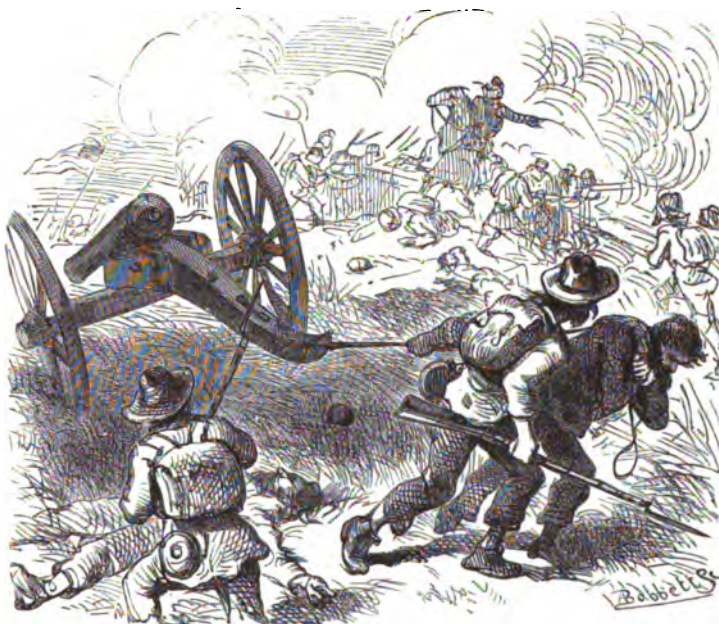
victories in northern Mississippi, succeeded Buell in the command of the *Army of the Ohio*, and its name was changed to that of the *Army of the Cumberland*.

While General Bragg was plundering the Kentuckians, bands of Confederates were raiding through western Tennessee to draw attention from the invaders; and the army in northern Mississippi, now led by General Beauregard, had advanced toward Tennessee under Generals Van Dorn and Price. General Rosecrans was then in command of the *Army of the Mississippi*, charged with the duty of holding the region lately repossessed by the Nationals in consequence of the evacuation of Corinth and the valor of Mitchel.

Rosecrans was at Tuscumbia when General Grant informed him that danger was gathering westward of him; and when he moved toward Corinth, Price advanced toward Iuka Springs, a summer watering-place in northern Mississippi, to meet him. Near the village of that name, Rosecrans and Price met on the 19th of September, and fought a most severe battle. The disparity in numbers was very great. Price had full eleven thousand men, while Rosecrans did not have more than three thousand men actually engaged in the struggle. During the battle, which was extremely fierce, there was a desperate contest for the possession of an Indiana battery which the Confederates had seized after all the horses belonging to it, and seventy-two of its artillerymen, were killed. It was fought for hand-to-hand. Charges and counter-charges were made; until, at length, the Confederate soldiers dragged the cannon off the field, with ropes. But the Confederates were so badly beaten in the battle, that they fled southward in great haste and confusion. The National loss was nearly eight hundred; that of the Confederates over fourteen hundred. Meanwhile General Ord, whom Grant had sent to aid Rosecrans, had been watching the movements of a body of the Confederates who were making feints against Corinth. He had, according to orders, marched within four miles of Iuka; instructed to wait there until he should hear Rosecrans's great guns. A high wind from the north prevented their sounds reaching him. Ord lay there until the next morning, when he pushed on toward Iuka and found Rosecrans a victor and his foe departed. Then Ord retired to Bolivar, between Corinth and Memphis, while Rosecrans concentrated his troops at Corinth and prepared to meet an impending attack by the combined forces of Van Dorn and Price. These, about forty thousand in number, were united at Ripley, and at the close of September they moved on Corinth. At that place the opposing armies battled fiercely on the 3d and 4th of October, when the result was the repulse of the Confederates, the pursuit of them to Ripley, and a loss

on the part of the Nationals of more than twenty-three hundred men. The Confederates lost about nine thousand men, including prisoners. On their retreat a part of Van Dorn's troops fought the forces of Ord at the Hatchee River, where the latter was severely wounded. For awhile after this event there was comparative repose in General Grant's department.

The only obstructions to the free navigation of the Mississippi River, in the spring of 1862, were at Vicksburg and at Port Hudson below. Vicksburg, a city of Mississippi, situated on a group of high eminences known as



STRUGGLE FOR AN INDIANA BATTERY.

the Walnut Hills, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River, at a bold turn in the stream, was a point of great military importance, for it had been fortified by the Confederates and was daily growing stronger. It promised to become impregnable for those who were opposing the grand scheme of the National Government for gaining the absolute control of that great stream, and thus securing important portions of the Confederacy. Toward the seizure of that point, operations in the southwest were soon tending. To remove these obstructions, Farragut, in command of National vessels, bent his energies. So early as the 7th of May (1862), Baton Rouge, the capital of Louisiana, had been captured by the National forces by land and

water, when Farragut went up the river to Vicksburg and there held communication with the commanders of gun-boats above. Finally, he attacked the batteries there (June 26); and he also attempted to cut a canal across a peninsula in front of Vicksburg, so as to avoid the Confederate guns at the city altogether; but he failed in his undertakings, and descended the river with his vessels. This movement was followed, early in August, by an attack upon Baton Rouge, by a Confederate force led by General J. C. Breckenridge. The post was then in command of General Thomas Williams. There was a desperate struggle for about two hours, in which the Twenty-first Indiana Regiment was conspicuous. It lost all of its field-officers before the end of the action. Seeing this, General Williams placed himself at its head, exclaiming, "Boys, your field-officers are all gone; I will lead you!" They gave him three hearty cheers, when a bullet passed through his breast and he fell dead. He had just issued orders for the line to fall back, which it did, in good order, with Colonel Cahill of the Ninth Connecticut in chief command. The Confederates, dreadfully smitten, also fell back, and then retreated.

The insurgents had constructed a formidable "ram," which they named *Arkansas*. With it they expected to sweep every National vessel from the Mississippi, and "drive the Yankees from New Orleans." It did not arrive at Baton Rouge in time to engage in the attack upon the National forces there; but on the morning after the battle, Commodore Porter, with the gun-boat *Essex*, accompanied by the *Cayuga* and *Sumter*, went up the river to meet her. They found her five miles above Baton Rouge. After a short and sharp fight, she became unmanageable, and was headed toward the river bank and set on fire. Just as she touched the shore her magazine exploded, and the monster was blown into fragments.

During the summer and autumn of 1862, there were some stirring events in Missouri and Arkansas. After the battle at Pea Ridge, Curtis marched eastward, with his army, to assist in military operations on the borders of the Mississippi River; but he remained some time at Helena, menacing Little Rock and smiting guerrilla bands that roamed that State. Missouri was equally infested with guerrillas; and in June (1862) that Commonwealth was erected into a separate military district, with General J. M. Schofield at its head. He was vigilant and active; and with a force thirty thousand strong, scattered over the State in six divisions, he soon subdued, in a great degree, the numerous roaming bands that overran it. From April until September, about one hundred battles and skirmishes were fought in that State. Schofield drove out troops that came over the southern border to help the Missourians in arms, and these fugitives formed the nucleus of a

force, about forty thousand strong, which gathered in Arkansas under General T. C. Hindman, formerly a member of Congress.

Leaving Curtis in command of the Missouri district, Schofield marched against Hindman, with eight thousand troops under General J. G. Blunt, in southern Missouri. With these he sought the shy Confederates in the vicinity of the Ozark Mountains. Blunt attacked a portion of them at Fort Wayne, near Maysville, on the 22d of October, and drove them into the Indian country. A week later a cavalry force, under General F. T. Herron, struck another portion on the White River, eight miles from Fayetteville, and drove them into the mountains. Soon after this, ill health compelled Schofield to leave the field, when the command devolved upon General Blunt.

Hindman now determined to strike a decisive blow for the recovery of his State from National control. Late in November he had gathered about twenty thousand men on the western borders of Arkansas. He moved against Blunt, and on the 28th his advance, composed of Marmaduke's cavalry, was attacked and defeated by Blunt, on Boston Mountains. The latter then took position at Cane Hill, when Hindman, with eleven thousand men, prepared to crush him. Blunt sent for General Herron, then just over the border, in Missouri, to come and help him. Herron soon promptly complied, and the combined forces fought and defeated Hindman at a little settlement called Prairie Grove. The Confederates were driven in confusion over the mountains.

Meanwhile there had been stirring events nearer the Gulf of Mexico, west of the Mississippi. Texas was then under Confederate rule. So early as May, 1862, Commander Eagle, with a small squadron of National vessels, appeared before Galveston, and demanded its surrender. There was a prompt refusal to comply; and so the matter remained until October following, when the civil authorities of that city surrendered it to Commodore Renshaw of the National navy. At the same time General Butler sent aggressive expeditions into the interior of Louisiana. The most important of them was led by General Godfrey Weitzel, who went with a strong force to "repossess" the rich La Fourche parish. This was accomplished, after a severe engagement at Labadieville, on the 27th of October. Very soon afterward the eastern portions of Louisiana, along the borders of the Mississippi, were brought under National control. On the 10th of December following, General Butler was succeeded in the command of the Department of the Gulf by General N. P. Banks.

The year 1862 was now drawing to a close. General Grant had concentrated the bulk of his army at Holly Springs, in Mississippi, where he was

confronted by Van Dorn; at about the same time, General Rosecrans, with a greater part of the *Army of the Cumberland*, was moving southward to attack Bragg at Murfreesboro', below Nashville. Rosecrans was assisted by Generals Thomas, McCook, Crittenden, Rousseau, Palmer, Sheridan, J. C. Davis, Wood, Van Cleve, Hazen, Negley, Mathews and others; and Bragg had, as his lieutenants, Generals Polk, Breckenridge, Hardee, Kirby Smith, Cheatham, Withers, Cleburne, and Wharton.

On the 30th of December, the two armies lay within cannon-shot of each other on opposite sides of Stone River, near Murfreesboro'. On the following morning a sanguinary battle was begun, and continued until evening, with varied success and fearful losses. Rosecrans had gallantly conducted the fight in person, and he and Bragg prepared to renew the contest on the following morning, the first of January, 1863. That day was spent in heavy skirmishing; but on the morning of the 2d a terrific struggle was begun. The batteries on both sides were massed, and they were worked with destructive energy. The dead and wounded strewn the ground over scores of acres, for the carnage was dreadful; and, at one time, it seemed as if the total destruction of both armies would be the result. At length seven National regiments made a simultaneous charge, by which the Confederate line was broken into fragments and scattered in confusion. These regiments were the Nineteenth Illinois; Eighteenth, Twenty-first, and Seventy-fourth Ohio; Seventy-eighth Pennsylvania; Eleventh Michigan, and Thirty-seventh Indiana. Victory remained with Rosecrans, and Bragg retreated southward to Tullahoma, while his antagonist occupied the battle-field and Murfreesboro'. The National loss in the battle of Stone River was twelve thousand men, and that of the Confederates ten thousand. The relative position of the two armies immediately after the battle, remained so for several months afterward.

The war had now been going on for almost two years. It had been begun by the politicians of the slave-labor States for the purpose of perpetuating the slave-system, which gave to the Confederate cause the chief sinews of its strength. It nurtured a producing class that fed, by its labor, the armies arrayed against the life of the Republic; and only a very small proportion of that class were drawn from the pursuits of agriculture to the camps. Perceiving this, the President of the United States and the loyal people resolved to destroy the system by some method of abolition. The kind-hearted Lincoln proposed to give pecuniary aid to any State government which might provide for the abolition of slavery; but the interested friends of that system everywhere refused to listen. Congress proceeded to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, over which that

body had direct control; and, finally, they gave the President discretionary powers to declare the emancipation of the slaves in States wherein insurrection existed. Finally, late in September (1862), President Lincoln issued a proclamation, in which he gave public notice that it was his purpose to declare such emancipation on the first of January, 1863, to take effect immediately wherever a state of insurrection might then exist, unless the offenders should lay down their arms.

This friendly warning—this forbearance to strike the blow that was to remove the manacles from millions of bondsmen—was treated by the masters of the slaves with scorn. It was sneered at by them, as an act of sheer impuissance. It was compared to “the Pope’s Bull against the comet;” and because of this menace, resistance to the Government was more rampant than ever. It was evident that the warning would be ineffectual. The President prepared a proclamation of emancipation. It was submitted to his cabinet and approved; and on the first of January, 1863, it was promulgated with the whole force of the Republic—its army, its navy, and its judiciary; its Executive and Legislative powers—back of it to enforce its provisions. The moral force of that proclamation was tremendous. By that act the shackles were taken from the personal freedom of over three million slaves. From the hour of the promulgation of the proclamation of emancipation, the power of the enemies of the Government began to wane, and the star of their own future prosperity arose with beams of promise.

Early in 1862, the Confederate government was changed from a “provisional” to a “permanent one.” The “provisional congress,” made up of delegates chosen by conventions of politicians and legislatures of States, had been in continuous session from the 18th of November, 1861, until the 18th of February, 1862, when its term expired by limitation. On the same day a congress, professedly elected by the people, commenced its session under the “permanent constitution of the Confederate States.” I say “professedly elected by the people.” The following was the method pursued in Virginia, as presented in an editorial article in a leading Richmond journal, in carrying on a *popular* election:

“It being necessary to form a ticket of electors, and the time being too short to call a convention of the people, it was suggested that the Richmond editors should prepare a ticket, thus *relieving the people of the trouble of making selections*. The ticket thus formed has been presented.” Here several of the nominees were named. “Every district in the State,” said the journal, “is embraced in this editorial report.”

In the permanent Confederate congress, all of the slave-labor States

were represented, excepting Maryland and Delaware. The oath to support the constitution of the Confederate States was administered to the senators by R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia, and to the representatives, by Howell Cobb of Georgia. Thomas Bocock, of Virginia, was elected Speaker of the House. On the following day (February 19) the votes for president of the Confederacy were counted, and were found to be one hundred and nine in

number, all of which were cast for Jefferson Davis. Three days afterward Davis was inaugurated president for six years. He chose for his cabinet Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, secretary of state; George W. Randolph of Virginia, secretary of war; S. R. Mallory of Florida, secretary of the navy; Charles G. Memminger of South Carolina, secretary of the treasury, and Thomas H. Watts of Alabama, attorney-general. Randolph resigned, and James A. Seddon, a wealthy citizen of Richmond, who was conspicuous in the famous "Peace Convention" at Washington, was chosen to fill his place.



JEFFERSON DAVIS

Measures were adopted by the Confederate Congress to prosecute the war against the Union

with vigor. It was declared, by joint resolution, that it was the unalterable determination of the people of the Confederate States "to suffer all the calamities of the most protracted war;" and that they would never, "on any terms, politically affiliate with a people who were guilty of an invasion of their soil and the butchery of their citizens." With this spirit they prosecuted the war on land; and with the aid of the British aristocracy, ship-builders and merchants, and the tacit consent of the British government, they were enabled to keep afloat, on the ocean, some active vessels for plundering American commerce. The hoped-for and expected result was the driving of the carrying-trade between the United States and Europe into British bottoms, and so enriching the British shipping-merchants. This was the end to be accomplished, and it was effected.

The most formidable of these Anglo-Confederate plunderers of the sea was the *Alabama*, which was built, armed, manned and victualled in England. She sailed under the British flag, and was received with favor in every British port that she entered. In the last three months of the year 1862, she destroyed by fire twenty-eight helpless American merchant-vessels. While these incendiary fires, kindled by Englishmen in a ship fitted out as a sea-rover by Englishmen commanded by a Confederate leader, were illuminating the bosom of the Atlantic Ocean, a merchant-ship (the *George Griswold*), laden with provisions as a gift for starving English operatives in Lancashire, who had been deprived of work and food by the Civil War in America, and whose necessities their own government failed to relieve, was sent from the city of New York, *convoyed by a national war-vessel to save her from the fury of the British sea-rover!* The sequel of the *Alabama* story will be told hereafter.

At the beginning of 1863, the National Government had more than seven hundred thousand soldiers in its service; and up to that time the loyal people had furnished twelve hundred thousand troops, mostly volunteers, for the salvation of the life of the Republic. The theatre of war had become co-extensive with the slave-labor States; and at that time the capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, on the Mississippi River, was a chief object of the Government. Only between these places was that river free from the patrol of National gun-boats; and it was desirable to break this connection between the insurgents on each side of the stream. To this end General Grant concentrated his forces near the Tallahatchee River, in northern Mississippi, where Generals Hovey and Washburne had been operating with troops whom they had led from Helena, in Arkansas. Grant had a large quantity of supplies at Holly Springs. These, through carelessness or treachery, fell into the hands of Van Dorn on the 20th of December (1862), and Grant was compelled to fall back to Grand Junction to save his army. Taking advantage of this movement, a large force of Confederates gathered at Vicksburg under General J. C. Pemberton, for the protection of that post.

On the day when Grant's supplies were seized at Holly Springs, about twenty thousand National troops, led by General W. T. Sherman, left Memphis in transports, with siege guns, to beleaguer Vicksburg. At Friar's Point they were joined by troops from Helena, and were met by Commodore Porter, whose fleet of gun-boats were at the mouth of the Yazoo River, just above Vicksburg. The two commanders arranged a plan for attacking the city in the rear, and proceeded to execute it. The troops and fleet went up the Yazoo River to capture some batteries which disputed

the way to that rear; but Sherman was repulsed after a sharp battle at Chickasaw Bayou (December 28), and the project was abandoned for a time.

General John A. McClernand, the senior of Sherman in rank, arrived at headquarters, near Vicksburg, early in January, 1863, and took the chief command. He and Porter went up the Arkansas River with their forces, and on the 11th captured the important Fort Hindman at Arkansas Post. In the meantime General Grant had arranged his army into four corps, and with it descended the river from Memphis to prosecute the siege of Vicksburg with vigor. He was soon convinced that it could not be taken by direct assault. He tried to perfect the canal begun by Farragut, but failed; and then he sent a considerable land and naval force up the Yazoo to capture batteries at Haines's Bluff, and so gain a footing in the rear of Vicksburg. These were repulsed at Fort Pemberton, near Greenwood, late in March. Other channels among the brimming bayous and small rivers were diligently sought by the indomitable Porter, to gain the rear of the foredoomed city, but in vain, and again the enterprise was abandoned. The details of these efforts of the army and navy, during the spring of 1863, form one of the most wonderful chapters in the history of the war. The waters were then redundant, and the voyages were sometimes wild and perilous, the gun-boats sweeping on strong currents through overflowed swamps under lofty overarching trees draped with the trailing Spanish moss, and having their smoke-stacks leveled at times, and their wheels fearfully bruised.

While these operations against Vicksburg were in progress, there had been lively times on the bosom of the Mississippi. In February (1863), iron-clad vessels of Porter's fleet ran by the batteries at Vicksburg, and made considerable havoc among Confederate transports below, that were supplying the troops there and at Port Hudson with stores. These venturesome National vessels were lost, and their crews were made prisoners. Later, when Grant had sent a strong land force down the west side of the river, Porter successfully ran by the batteries at Vicksburg with nearly his whole fleet and the transports, on the night of the 16th of April. Then Grant prepared for vigorous operations on the flank and rear of Vicksburg, on the line of the Big Black River. Porter also attacked and ran by the Confederate batteries at Grand Gulf, on the 27th of April, when Grant's army crossed the Mississippi a little below, pressed forward, and at Port Gibson gained a decisive victory in a battle fought there on the first of May.

In the meantime, Sherman, who had made another unsuccessful effort to capture the batteries at Haine's Bluff, by order of General Grant, marched

down the west side of the Mississippi, crossed it, and joined the main army on the 8th of May. Then the whole force pushed rapidly toward Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, where General Joseph E. Johnston was in command of a Confederate army. After a severe battle at Raymond, on the 12th of May, in which the Confederates were defeated, and another near Jackson, on the 14th, when the insurgents were driven northward, the Nationals seized the State capital, and destroyed a large quantity of public property there. Then the victorious army turned toward Vicksburg, and after defeating the Confederates under Pemberton at Champion Hills on the 16th of May, and at the passage of the Black River on the 17th, the National army swept on and closely invested Vicksburg, in the rear, on the 19th, receiving their supplies from a base on the Yazoo, established by Porter. For a fortnight the army had drawn its subsistence from the country through which it had passed. It now rested for a brief space after a wonderful week's work. Then, after two unsuccessful and disastrous assaults on Vicksburg, Grant began a regular siege of the works there, with the co-operation of Porter's fleet.



CHAPTER XIX.

INVESTMENT AND SIEGE OF VICKSBURG—GALVESTON—BANKS IN LOUISIANA—SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF PORT HUDSON—THE TWO ARMIES IN VIRGINIA—PECK AND LONGSTREET AT SUFFOLK—MOSEBY AT FAIRFAX COURT-HOUSE—CAVALRY BATTLE—CAVALRY RAIDS—MOVEMENTS ON CHANCELLORSVILLE—BATTLE THERE—DEATH OF "STONEWALL JACKSON"—SEDGWICK'S ESCAPE—RETREAT OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC—SIEGE OF SUFFOLK—THE CONFEDERATE ARMY AND SERVICE—POWER OF THE CONFEDERATES ABROAD—DAVIS RECOGNIZED BY THE POPE—NAPOLEON, MEXICO, AND THE CONFEDERACY—NAPOLEON'S REAL DESIGNS—CONFEDERATES INVADE MARYLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA—PANIC—OPERATIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA—BATTLE AT GETTYSBURG—SEWARD'S CIRCULAR.

AFTER Grant's last assault on Vicksburg, his effective men did not exceed twenty thousand in number. He determined to make the capture of Vicksburg an event of the near future, and called in reinforcements. They came in such numbers, that by the middle of June the investment of Vicksburg was made absolute. Sherman's corps was on the extreme right, McPherson's next and extending to the railway, and Ord's (late McClernand's) on the left, the investment in that direction being made complete by the divisions of Herron and Lanman, the latter lying across Stout's Bayou, and touching the bluffs on the river. Parke's corps, and the divisions of Smith and Kimball, were sent to Haines's Bluff, where fortifications commanding the land side had been erected to confront any attempt that Johnston might make in that direction. Meanwhile Vice-Admiral Porter had made complete and ample arrangements for the most efficient co-operation on the river, and his skill and zeal were felt throughout the siege, which continued until the first week in July.

Every day, shot and shell were hurled upon the city and the insurgent camps, from land and water. The inhabitants were compelled to seek shelter in caves dug out of the clay hills on which the city stands. In these, whole families, free and bond, lived for many weeks, while their houses without were perforated by the iron hail. Therein children were born, and persons died, and soldiers sought shelter from the tempest of war. Very soon famine afflicted the citizens. Fourteen ounces of food became a regular allowance for each person for forty-eight hours. The flesh of mules made savory dishes toward the end of the siege. Finally the besiegers

undermined one of the principal forts of the enemy, in the line of the defences on the land side, and it was blown up with fearful effect. Other mines were made ready for the infernal work, when Pemberton, despairing of expected aid from Johnston, made a proposition to Grant to surrender the post and his army. The generals met under the shadow of a live-oak tree in the rear of the town on the 3d of July to arrange the terms of surrender, and on the 4th the stronghold of Vicksburg, with twenty-seven thousand men and a vast amount of ordnance, and other public property, were surrendered to the leader of the National forces.

From the time of the battle at Port Gibson to the fall of Vicksburg, General Grant had captured thirty thousand prisoners (among them fifteen general officers), with arms and ammunition for an army of sixty thousand men; also steamboats, locomotives, railroads, a vast amount of cotton, etc. He had lost, during that time, nine thousand eight hundred and thirty-three men, of whom one thousand two hundred and thirty-three had been killed. By the experience of those few weeks, he had ascertained the real weakness of the Confederacy in that region.

On the night of the 4th of July (1863), the powerful fleet of Vice Admiral Porter was lying quietly at the levee at Vicksburg, and in commemoration of that National holiday, our troops regaled the citizens with a fine display of fireworks more harmless than those which, for more than forty nights, had coursed the heavens above them like malignant meteors.

Galveston had been recaptured by the Confederates on the first of January, 1863; but that victory was rendered almost fruitless by a close blockade of the post by National vessels. From that time General Banks had been co-operating with General Grant, and making efforts to "repossess" Louisiana. An expedition under General Weitzel and Commodore McKean Buchanan took possession of the remarkable Teché country in that State, when Banks concentrated his troops, about twelve thousand in number, at Baton Rouge (which was then held by General Grover), for the purpose of assisting Commodore Farragut in an attempt to pass the formidable batteries at Port Hudson, twenty-five miles up the Mississippi. That attempt was made on the night of the 13th of March, when a terrible contest occurred, in the darkness, between the vessels and the land batteries. Only Farragut's flag-ship (the *Hartford*) and another succeeded in passing by.

Banks now sent a large portion of his available troops into the interior of Louisiana, where General Richard Taylor was in command of a Confederate force. The Nationals were concentrated at Brashear City, on the Atchafalaya, and from that point they marched triumphantly to the Red

River, accompanied by Banks in person. From Alexandria, early in May, that general wrote to his Government that the Confederate power in northern and central Louisiana was broken; and with this impression he moved eastward with his troops, crossed the Mississippi River, and late in May (1863) invested Port Hudson, then in command of the Confederate general, Frank Gardner. For forty days he besieged that post, during which time many gallant deeds were performed on each side. Banks was ably assisted by the squadron of Farragut—the *Hartford*, *Albatross*, *Monongahela*, *Richmond*, *Essex* and *Tennessee*, and some mortar-boats. Finally, at the close of June, the ammunition of the closely invested garrison was almost exhausted. When news of the fall of Vicksburg reached Gardner, he perceived that further attempts at resistance would be futile; and on the 9th of July he surrendered the post to Banks, with much spoil. The National loss during the siege was about three thousand men, and that of the Confederates, exclusive of prisoners, was about eight hundred. The loss of Vicksburg and Port Hudson was a severe calamity for the Confederates. It gave the final blow in the removal of the obstructions to the navigation of the Mississippi River by Confederate batteries, and thenceforth it was free. Powerful portions of the Confederacy were “repossessed” by the National Government, and wise men among the enemies of the Republic clearly perceived that their cause was hopeless.

At the moment when Vicksburg fell, the *Army of the Potomac* gained an equally important victory on the soil of Pennsylvania. We left that army on the northern side of the Rappahannock River, near Fredericksburg, in charge of General Joseph Hooker. From January to April (1863), he was engaged in preparing for a vigorous summer campaign. His forces remained in comparative quiet for about three months, during which time they were reorganized and well disciplined; and at the close of April, his army numbered one hundred thousand effective men. General Lee's army, on the other side of the river, had been divided; a large force under General Longstreet being required to watch the movements of the Nationals under General Peck, in the vicinity of Norfolk. Lee had in hand about sixty thousand well-drilled troops, lying behind strong intrenchments extending twenty-five miles along the line of the Rappahannock. For the space of three months some cavalry movements only, disturbed the two armies. General W. H. F. Lee, with a mounted force, attacked National troops at Gloucester, opposite Yorktown, early in February; and at midnight of the 8th of March, Colonel Moseby, at the head of a band of guerrillas, dashed into the village of Fairfax Court-House and carried off the commander of the Union forces there. A little later National cavalry under General

Averill and Confederate horsemen led by General Fitzhugh Lee, had a severe battle near Kelly's Ford, on the Rappahannock, in which the former were repulsed. That was the first purely cavalry contest of the war.

Hooker became impatient. The time of the enlistment of many of his troops would soon expire, and he determined to put his army in motion toward Richmond early in April, notwithstanding his ranks were not full. Cavalry, under General Stoneman, were sent to destroy railways in Lee's



A CAVALRY ENGAGEMENT

rear, but were foiled by high water in the streams. After a pause, Hooker determined to attempt to turn Lee's flank, and for that purpose he sent ten thousand mounted men to raid in his rear. Then he threw thirty-six thousand troops of his own right wing across the Rappahannock, with orders to halt and intrench at Chancellorsville between the Confederate army and Richmond. This movement was so masked by a demonstration on Lee's

front, by Hooker's left wing under General Sedgwick, that the right was well advanced before Lee was aware of his peril. These troops reached Chancellorsville in a region known as The Wilderness, on the evening of the 30th of April, when Hooker expected to see Lee, conscious of danger, fly toward Richmond. He did no such thing, but proceeded to strike the National army a heavy blow, for the twofold purpose of seizing the communications between the two parts of that army and compelling its commander to fight at a disadvantage, with only a portion of his troops in hand. For this purpose, "Stonewall Jackson" was sent with a heavy force, early in the morning of the first of May, to attack the Nationals, when Hooker sent out his troops to meet them. The Confederates moved upon Chancellorsville by two roads. A sharp engagement ensued, when the Nationals were pushed back to a defensive position behind their intrenchments; but the efforts of Lee to seize these works were foiled.

Both armies were now in a perilous position. Hooker resolved to rest on the defensive; but Lee boldly detached the whole of Jackson's command, on the morning of the 2d of May, and sent it under cover of the forest-curtain of The Wilderness to make a secret flank movement and gain the rear of the Nationals. It was observed by the latter. Suddenly, Jackson burst from the woods with twenty-five thousand men; and falling upon Hooker's right, crumbled it, and sent the astounded column in confusion upon the remainder of the line. A desperate battle, in which nearly all the troops on both sides participated, was the consequence. It lasted until late in the evening, when Jackson fell, mortally wounded by a bullet sent by mistake, in the gloom, by one of his own men. Jackson had been engaged in a personal reconnoissance with his staff and an escort; and when returning, in the darkness, to his lines, he and his companions were mistaken by their friends for Union cavalry.

Hooker now made disposition for a renewal of the conflict on the morning of the 3d. He had called Reynolds's corps of more than twenty thousand men from Sedgwick, and these arrived late on Saturday evening (the 2d), swelling his army to sixty thousand. Sedgwick, by Hooker's order, had crossed the Rappahannock, seized Fredericksburg and the Heights, and was pushing on toward Chancellorsville, when he was checked by troops sent by Lee, and compelled to retreat across the river at Banks's Ford, to save his army. This was accomplished on the night of the 4th and 5th of May. In the meantime there had been hard fighting at Chancellorsville. At dawn on Sunday morning, the 3d of May, the dashing General Stuart, leading the column of the slain commander so much loved, shouted, when he saw the Nationals, "Charge, and remember Jackson!" and then fell heavily

upon the troops commanded by General Sickles. The conflict was desperate and soon became general; and the National army, after a long struggle, was finally pushed from the field to a strong position on the roads back of Chancellorsville.

Lee's army was now united; that of Hooker was yet divided; and hearing of Sedgwick's critical situation, the latter determined to retreat to the north side of the Rappahannock. The *Army of the Potomac* passed the river in safety on the night of the 4th, when Lee, unable to follow, resumed his former position on the Heights of Fredericksburg. Both armies had lost heavily—the Nationals over seventeen thousand men including prisoners, and the Confederates about fifteen thousand. Meanwhile Stoneman's cavalry had been raiding on Lee's communications with Richmond, and a part of them, under Colonel Judson Kilpatrick, had swept down within two miles of that city. They destroyed much property, but failed to break up the railway communication between Lee and the Confederate capital. So far the raiding was a failure.

Longstreet, as we have observed, had been sent to confront General Peck in southeastern Virginia. The latter was strongly fortified near Suffolk, where he was besieged by Longstreet early in April, who expected to drive the Nationals from that post, and seizing Norfolk and its vicinity, make a demonstration against Fortress Monroe. He failed; and hearing of the struggle at Chancellorsville, he abandoned the siege and joined Lee with his large detachment.

Lee's army was now strong in material and moral force. Recent successes had greatly inspirited it. It was reorganized into three army corps, commanded respectively by Generals Longstreet, A. P. Hill, and Ewell. These were all able leaders, and each bore the commission of lieutenant-general. And at no time, probably, during the war was the Confederate army more complete in numbers, equipment and discipline, or furnished with more ample materials for carrying on the conflict, than it was at the middle of June, 1863. According to the most careful estimates made from the Confederate official returns, there were then at least *five hundred thousand* men on the army rolls, and more than *three hundred thousand* "present and fit for duty." Fully one-half of the white men of the Confederacy eligible to military duty, were then enrolled for active service, while a large proportion of the other half were in the civil and military service in other capacities. Doubtless at least seven-tenths of the white adults were then in public business; while a large number of slaves, though legally emancipated, were employed in various labors, such as working on fortifications, as teamsters, etc. The following is the form of a voucher held by the

Confederate government as the employer of slaves for such purposes. It is copied from the original before me :

"We, the subscribers, acknowledge to have received of John B. Stannard, First Corps of Engineers, the sums set opposite our names respectively, being in full for the services of our slaves on Drewry's Bluff, during the months of March and April, 1863, having signed duplicate receipts.

<i>From whom hired.</i>	<i>Name and occupation.</i>	<i>Time employed.</i>	<i>Rate of Wages.</i>	<i>Amount for each slave.</i>	<i>Amount received.</i>	<i>Signatures.</i>
J. G. Woodin.	William, laborer,	22 days.	\$16 a month.		\$13.33	Joseph G. Woodin.
William E. Martin.	Richard, "	37 "	" "	\$29.75		
"	Henry, "	37 "	" "	29.75	39.46	W. E. Martin.

"I certify the above pay-roll is correct and just.

"JOHN B. STANNARD."

Richmond seemed secure from harm. Charleston was defiant, and with reason. Vicksburg and Port Hudson on the Mississippi, though seriously menaced, seemed impregnable against any force Grant or Banks might array before them; and the appeals of General Johnston, near Jackson, for reinforcements, were regarded as notes of unnecessary alarm. The Confederates were encouraged by their friends in Europe with promises of aid; and the desires of these for the acknowledgment of the independence of the "Confederate States of America" were strongly manifested. In England, public movements in favor of the Confederates were then prominent. Open-air meetings, organized by members of the aristocracy, were held, for the purpose of urging the British government to declare such recognition; and in the spring of 1864 a "Southern Independence Association" was formed with a British peer (Lord Wharncliffe) as president, and a membership composed of powerful representatives of the Church, State, and Trade. But the British government wisely hesitated; and notwithstanding the unpatriotic Peace-Faction in the city of New York had, six months before (November, 1862), waited upon Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, with an evident desire to have his government interfere in our affairs, and thus secure the independence of the Confederates, and the emissaries of the conspirators were specially active in Europe, the British ministry, restrained by the good Queen, steadily refused to take decided action in the matter. Only the Roman Pontiff, then a temporal prince, of all the rulers of the earth officially recognized Jefferson Davis as the head of a real government.

At the same time, a scheme of the emperor of the French for the destruction of the Republic of Mexico, and the establishment there of a

monarchy ruled by a man of his own selection, and pledged to act in the interests of despotism, the Roman Catholic Church and the promotion of the domination of the Latin race, was in successful operation, by means of twenty thousand French soldiers and five thousand allied Mexicans. In this movement, it is alleged, the leaders of the great insurrection were the secret allies of the emperor, it being understood that as soon as he should obtain a firm footing in Mexico he should, for valuable commercial considerations agreed upon, acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States, and uphold it by force of arms if necessary; it also being understood that the government which Davis and his associates were to establish at the close of hostilities should, in no wise, offend Napoleon's imperialistic ideas. The slave-holding class were to be a privileged one, and be the rulers, and the great mass of the people were to be subordinated to the interests of that class. Therefore, the triumphal march of the French invaders of Mexico, in the spring of 1863, was hailed with delight by the *government* at Richmond, while the great mass of the people were ignorant of the conspiracy on foot to deprive them of their sacred rights.

At the same time the perfidious emperor was deceiving the Confederate leaders concerning his real and deeper designs, which were both political and theological. His political design evidently was to arrest the march of empire southward on the part of the United States. His religious design was to assist the Church party in Mexico, which had been defeated in 1857, in a recovery of its power, that the Roman Catholic Church might have undisputed sway in Central America. In a letter to the Spanish General Prim, in July, 1862, the emperor, after saying that the United States fed the factories of Europe with cotton, and asserting that it was not the interest of European governments to have our country hold dominion over the Gulf of Mexico, the Antilles, and the adjacent continent, he declared that if, with the assistance of France, Mexico should have a "stable government"—that is, a monarchy—"we shall have restored to the Latin race upon the opposite side of the ocean, its strength and prestige; we shall have guaranteed then, security to our colonies in the Antilles, and to those of Spain, we shall have established our beneficent influence in the centre of America; and in this influence, by creating immense openings to our commerce, will procure to us the matter indispensable to our industry"—that is, cotton. This contemplated blow against our great cotton interest was a prime element in Napoleon's scheme, for the consummation of which he coquetted with the Confederate leaders, and deceived them.

The Confederate government, greatly elated by the events at Chancellorsville, ordered Lee to invade Maryland again. His force was now almost

equal in numbers to that of his antagonist, and in better spirits than were the *Army of the Potomac*. By a sudden flank movement, Lee caused Hooker to break up his encampment on the Rappahannock and move toward Washington, after some sharp cavalry fights above Fredericksburg. General Ewell, in command of Lee's left wing, was sent into the Shenandoah Valley through Chester Gap, and sweeping down toward the Potomac, drove General Milroy and seven thousand National troops across that stream, on the 15th of June. Meanwhile Longstreet, with a strong force, moved along the eastern bases of the Blue Ridge, watching for an opportunity to fall on Washington city; while Hooker moved in a parallel line to thwart him. Several cavalry engagements ensued; and fifteen hundred mounted Confederates dashed across the Potomac in pursuit of Milroy's wagon-train. They pushed up the Cumberland Valley as far as Chambersburg, plundering the people and causing intense alarm in all Pennsylvania.

Lee had, by skillful movements, kept Hooker in doubt as to his real object, until Ewell's corps had crossed the Potomac above Harper's Ferry on the 22d and 23d of June, and marched rapidly up the Cumberland Valley to within a few miles of the Susquehanna opposite Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania. Another large body of Confederates, led by General Early, pushed on through Gettysburg to York, on the Susquehanna, levying contributions on friend and foe alike. Ewell and Early were speedily followed by Hill and Longstreet (June 25, 1863), and again the whole of Lee's army was in Maryland and Pennsylvania. It seemed, at one time, as if nothing could prevent that army penetrating to the Schuylkill and even to the Hudson. The panic north of the Potomac was intense. Valuable goods that were portable were sent from Philadelphia to points above the Hudson Highlands, for safety. The people flew to arms everywhere to oppose the invaders.

The *Army of the Potomac* was now one hundred thousand strong. It was thrown across the river into Maryland, at and near Edwards's Ferry. Halleck (the general-in-chief) and Hooker differed most decidedly in opinions about some important military movements that were proposed, when the latter resigned and was succeeded by General George G. Meade, who held the command of that army until the close of the war. Meade entered upon his duties at Frederick (June 28), in Maryland, where the *Army of the Potomac* lay, ready to strike Lee's communications or to attack him, as circumstances might dictate.

Lee was preparing to cross the Susquehanna and push on to Philadelphia, when news reached him that the reinforced *Army of the Potomac* was threatening his flank and rear. Alarmed by this intelligence and the

rapid gathering of the yeomanry on his front, he ordered the concentration of his army near Gettysburg, with the intention of crushing Meade's forces by a single blow, and then marching on Baltimore and Washington; or, in case of failure, to secure a direct line of retreat into Virginia. In the meantime Meade was pushing toward the Susquehanna with cautious movement; and on the evening of the 30th of June he discovered Lee's evident intention to give battle at once.

The National cavalry, meanwhile, had been carefully reconnoitering; and on the previous day, Kilpatrick's mounted men had a sharp fight at Hanover, a few miles from Gettysburg, with some of Stuart's cavalry, and, assisted by General Custer, defeated them. Buford's division of National cavalry entered Gettysburg the same day; and the next day the left wing of Meade's army, led by General J. F. Reynolds, arrived near there. At the same time the corps of Hill and Longstreet were approaching from Chambersburg, and Ewell was marching down from Carlisle in full force. That night Buford's cavalry, six thousand strong, encamped between Reynolds and Hill.

On the morning of the first of July, Buford met the van of Lee's army, led by General Heth, between Seminary Ridge, a little out of Gettysburg, and a parallel ridge a little further west, when a sharp skirmish ensued. Reynolds, who was a few miles distant, hastened to the relief of Buford, and in a severe battle that followed, he was killed, and General Abner Doubleday took command of his troops. In the meantime General O. O. Howard came up with his corps. Lee's troops were then concentrated there, and the battle soon assumed grander proportions. The Nationals were finally pressed back; and under the general direction of Howard, they took a strong position on a range of rocky hills near Gettysburg, of which Culp's Hill and Little Round Top were the two extremes of the line, and Cemetery Hill, at the village, was the apex. There the Nationals rested that night, and the Confederates occupied Seminary Ridge.

General Meade, with the remainder of the *Army of the Potomac*, now hastened to Gettysburg, and he and Lee prepared cautiously to renew the battle. It did not begin until the middle of the afternoon of the 2d, when Lee fell, with great weight, upon Meade's left wing commanded by General Sickles. A most sanguinary battle ensued, extending to the centre on Cemetery Hill, where General Hancock was in command. Heavy masses of Confederates were hurled against him, and these were thrown back with fearful losses on both sides. Meanwhile there had been a terrible struggle on the right and centre of the Nationals, where Generals Slocum and Howard were in command, the former on Culp's Hill, and the latter on

Cemetery Hill. Against these a large portion of Ewell's corps had been sent. The latter were pushed back by Howard, but seized and occupied the works of Slocum, on the extreme right of Culp's Hill, that night. The battle ended at sunset on the left, but it was continued until about ten o'clock that night on the right.

Slocum renewed the battle at four o'clock on the morning of the 3d, when he drove the Confederates out of his lines after a hard struggle for



A PICKET ON DUTY.

four hours. There he held Ewell in check, while the contest raged elsewhere. Lee, perceiving the Little Round Top—a steep, rocky eminence—to be impregnable, proceeded, at a little past noon, to attack the more vulnerable centre. Upon this he opened one hundred and forty-five heavy cannon, chiefly against Cemetery Hill and its vicinity, occupied by Meade's centre. A hundred National great guns quickly answered; and for two

hours a fearful cannonade that shook the country around was kept up. Then the Confederates, in heavy columns, preceded by a cloud of skirmishers, swept over the plain and assailed the National line with great fury. It was intended by Lee to give a crushing blow that should ensure victory. A terrible struggle followed, that covered the ground with the slain—men and horses. At sunset the Confederates were repulsed at all points; and



PURSUIT OF THE CONFEDERATES.

the decisive battle of Gettysburg ended in triumph for the *Army of the Potomac*. In that fearful struggle, the Nationals lost in killed, wounded and missing, over twenty-three thousand men; the Confederates lost about thirty thousand, including fourteen thousand prisoners.

On the evening of the day after the battle (July 4, 1863), Lee began a retreat toward Virginia, followed the next day by Meade, who pursued as far as the Potomac, which had been filled to the brim by heavy rains; but the Confederate leader, by skillful management, kept the Nationals at bay until he had made ready to cross that stream by pontoons and fording.

This he did with his shattered army, his artillery and trains, on the 14th of July, much to the disappointment of the loyal people. Perceiving the battle to be a decisive one in favor of the Union cause, and believing it to be a turning point in the war, the President of the United States recommended the people to observe the 15th of August next ensuing as a day for public National thanksgiving, praise, and prayer. And the Secretary of State (Mr. Seward), satisfied that the insurrection would soon be ended by the discomfiture of its supporters, sent a cheering circular to the diplomatic agents of the Republic abroad, in which he recited the most important events of the war to that time; declared that "the country showed no sign of exhaustion of money, material or men;" that one loan was "purchased at par by our citizens at the rate of \$1,200,000 daily;" and that gold was selling in our markets at 23 to 28 per centum premium, while in the insurrectionary region it commanded twelve hundred per centum premium. .





LEE'S RETREAT AFTER THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

CHAPTER XX.

PARTISAN OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT—KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN CIRCLE—THE DRAFT—RIOTS IN NEW YORK—COLORED TROOPS IN NEW YORK—MORGAN'S GREAT RAID—MEADE AND LEE IN VIRGINIA—OPERATIONS OF THE TWO ARMIES IN VIRGINIA—RAID IN WESTERN VIRGINIA—ROSECRANS AND BRAGG IN TENNESSEE—STREIGHT'S GREAT RAID—BRAGG DRIVEN TO AND FROM CHATTANOOGA—BURNSIDE IN EAST TENNESSEE—BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA—THE ARMY AT CHATTANOOGA—DIVISION OF MISSISSIPPI—BATTLE AT WAUHATCHIE—THE MULE CHARGE—EVENTS IN EAST TENNESSEE—BATTLE ON LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN AND ON MISSIONARY RIDGE—OPERATIONS AGAINST CHARLESTON—ROBERT SMALL—DEATH OF GENERAL MITCHEL.

WHILE the loyal people were rejoicing because of the great deliverance at Gettysburg, and the Government was preparing for a final and decisive struggle with its foes, leading politicians of the Peace-Faction, evidently in affiliation with members of the disloyal organization known as *Knights of the Golden Circle*, were using every means in their power to defeat the patriotic purposes of the National Administration, and to stir up the people of the free-labor States to engage in a counter-revolution.

The association called *Knights of the Golden Circle* was organized, it is said, as early as 1835, by some of the leaders who were engaged in the nullification movements in South Carolina two or three years before. Its chief objects were the separation of the Union politically, at the line between the free-labor and slave-labor States; the seizure of some of the richest portions of Mexico and the Island of Cuba, and the establishment of an empire whose corner-stone should be Slavery. The bounds of that empire were within a circle, the centre of which was at Havana, in Cuba, with a radius of sixteen degrees of latitude and longitude, reaching northward to the Pennsylvania border and southward to the Isthmus of Darien and even beyond. It would include the West India Islands and those of the Caribbean Sea, with a large part of Eastern Mexico and the whole of Central America. The limits of this empire the projectors called "The Golden Circle," and the members of the association, "Knights of the Golden Circle," who formed the soul of all the "fillibustering" operations before the breaking out of the Civil War, from 1850 to 1857. When these failed.

their energies were put forth for the destruction of the Union. "Castles" or "lodges," with a secret ritual, were formed in various Southern States, and their membership included many active politicians north of the Ohio River, in 1863.

These disloyal men in the northern States, countenanced by the unpatriotic Peace-Faction, became very vehement in their opposition to the Government when, in the summer of 1863, a draft or conscription to fill up the ranks of the army which had been authorized by Congress, was put into operation by the President. This act, the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, the arrest of seditious men, and other measures which the Government deemed necessary for the maintenance of the National authority, were denounced by the leaders of the party opposed to Mr. Lincoln's administration, as unconstitutional and outrageous. Instigated by raving political leaders, inflammatory speeches, and the daily utterances of the press that was in sympathy with the opponents of the draft, a mob, composed largely of the lower class of the Irish population in the city of New York, entered upon a fearful riot there early in July. It prevailed for almost three days. The immediate pretext for the disturbance was the alleged oppression of the draft. The riot was begun by destroying the telegraph wires extending out of the city. Then the rioters paraded some of the streets and forced citizens to join them; and after first uttering cries against the draft, they yelled, "Down with the Abolitionists! down with the nigger! Hurrah for Jeff Davis!" The special objects of their wrath were the innocent colored people and their friends. Arson and plunder, maiming and murder, were their business and recreation. Men and women were clubbed to death in the streets, hung on lamp-posts or butchered in their houses. The infuriated rioters laid in ashes an asylum for colored orphan children; and the terrified inmates, who fled in every direction, were pursued, and some of the poor children were cruelly beaten and maimed. The colored people throughout the city were hunted and treated as if they were noxious wild beasts, and many fled to the country. Finally the police, aided by troops, suppressed the insurrection in the city, but not until several hundred human lives had been lost, and property to the amount of at least \$2,000,000 was destroyed.

This riot seems to have been only an irregular manifestation of an organized outbreak in New York city simultaneously with a similar insurrection projected in some of the western cities. But the draft went on in spite of all opposition; and the Knights of the Golden Circle and the Peace-Faction were discomfited. The turn of affairs at Gettysburg made them more circumspect. They hesitated; and finally they postponed indefinitely

an attempt to execute their scheme. And six months after the terrible "three days of July"—13th, 14th and 15th—in the city of New York, when no colored person's life was considered safe there, a regiment of negro soldiers, raised and equipped by the Loyal League of that city, marched down Broadway—its great thoroughfare—for the field of battle, escorted



RIOT IN NEW YORK

by many of the leading citizens of the metropolis, and cheered by thousands who covered the sidewalks and filled windows and balconies.

At about that time, the notorious guerrilla chief, John Morgan, made a famous raid through Kentucky, Southern Indiana and Ohio, entering Indiana from Kentucky, below Louisville, on the 8th of July, with about four thousand mounted men. This raid was intended as a signal for the uprising of the disloyal men in those States in favor of the Confederates.

The lesson taught at Gettysburg was heeded, and they were quiet. But there was a marvellous uprising of sixty thousand loyal yeomen of Indiana and Ohio to capture or expel the invaders. Morgan went swiftly through the country, from village to village, plundering, destroying, and levying contributions. He first encountered stout resistance from Indiana militia, and was soon closely pursued by those of Ohio. Finally this bold raider was hemmed in and made a prisoner, with many of his followers, in southeastern Ohio, late in July, and the remainder were killed or dispersed.

Three days after General Lee escaped into Virginia, General Meade crossed the Potomac to follow his flying antagonist. The Nationals marched rapidly along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, while the Confederates as rapidly went up the Shenandoah Valley, after trying to check Meade by threatening to re-enter Maryland. Failing in this, Lee hastened to avert the danger that menaced his front and flank. During that exciting race, several skirmishes occurred in the mountain passes; when Lee, by a quick and skillful movement while Meade was detained at Manassas Gap by a heavy skirmish, darted through Chester Gap, and crossing the Rappahannock, took a position between that stream and the Rapid Anné. Meade advanced cautiously, and at the middle of September, he crossed the Rappahannock and drove Lee beyond the Rapid Anné, when the latter took a strongly defensive position. Meanwhile the National cavalry under Buford and Kilpatrick had been active between the two rivers, and had frequent skirmishes with Stuart's mounted troops.

Lee now attempted to turn the right flank of the *Army of the Potomac* to gain its rear and march rapidly on Washington. He had moved some distance for this purpose before Meade discovered his peril. Then a third race for the National Capital by the two armies over nearly the same course occurred. The *Army of the Potomac* won it, reaching Centreville Heights on the 15th of October. It was a race marked by the most stirring incidents, for there was much scouting and skirmishing on the way. At Jeffersonton, the National cavalry under General Gregg were routed; and at Auburn, the seat of John Minor Botts, a prominent Virginia statesman, Stuart, with two thousand Confederate cavalry, came very near being captured. From that point to Bristow's Station the race was sharp, for Centreville Heights was the goal. At Bristow's, a severe engagement occurred between the corps of Generals Warren and Hill. The latter was joined by that of Ewell; but before they could fall upon Warren, he withdrew in the night (October 14) and joined Meade at Centreville on the morning of the 15th.

The race was ended at Bristow's Station. Lee was beaten, and fell back

to the Rappahannock, destroying the railway behind him. Meade repaired the road, and following Lee slowly, attacked him at Rappahannock Station early in November. A very sharp battle ensued. It was fought by detachments of the Fifth and Sixth corps, under General Sedgwick; and it was ended by a gallant charge on a redoubt and rifle-trenches. These were carried in the face of a tempest of grape-shot and *minie* bullets, when the Nationals swept down to a pontoon bridge, cut off the retreat of the Confederates from the abandoned works, made over sixteen hundred of them prisoners, and drove Lee's army toward Culpepper Court-House. There the latter had proposed to go into winter-quarters; but this disaster alarmed him, and he sought safety from his pursuer behind the Rapid Anné. His force was then fifty thousand strong, and Meade's numbered seventy thousand. With these the latter crossed the Rappahannock and lay quietly between the two rivers until late in November, while Lee occupied a line of strong defences along Mine Run.

Feeling strong enough for the enterprise, Meade proceeded, on the 26th of November, to attempt a dislodgement of his antagonist. He crossed the Rapid Anné on that day, and pushed on in the direction of his foe. General Warren, in the advance, opened a battle; but Meade soon perceived that the Confederates were too strongly intrenched and weighty in numbers to give him hopes of success, and he withdrew. The *Army of the Potomac* went into winter-quarters on the north side of the Rapid Anné; and so was ended the campaign of that army for the year 1863.

There had been comparative quiet in Western Virginia since the autumn of 1861; but in the summer and fall of 1863, that quiet was broken by an extensive raid over that region by National cavalry led by General W. W. Averill, who, before the close of the year, nearly purged West Virginia of armed Confederates, and seriously interrupted railway communication between the army of Lee in Virginia and Bragg in Tennessee. We left the last-named officer and Rosecrans confronting each other in Tennessee, after the battle of Murfreesboro'; Bragg below the Duck River and Rosecrans at the scene of the battle. The two armies held that relative position from January to June, 1863; while the cavalry forces of each were active in minor operations. Confederate cavalry, four thousand strong, led by Generals Wharton and Forrest, attempted to capture Fort Donelson early in February, but failed. A little later General Van Dorn, with a considerable force of cavalry, was near Franklin, below Nashville, threatening Rosecrans's supplies at the latter place. In March, General Sheridan drove Van Dorn south of the Duck River; and in the same month Morgan was operating with considerable effect eastward of Murfreesboro'. Van Dorn

re-appeared near Franklin, early in April, with about nine thousand Confederates; and on the 10th he attacked the Nationals there, who were commanded by General Gordon Granger. Van Dorn intended, if he won, to push on and seize Nashville; but he was repulsed, and retired to Spring Hill with a loss of about three hundred men.

In the meantime Rosecrans had sent out expeditions in various ways, the most remarkable of which was led by Colonel A. D. Streight, who left Nashville in steamers, debarked his troops at Fort Donelson, marched over to the Tennessee River, and moved up that stream to the borders of Mississippi and Alabama, getting horses by the way for the purpose of mounting his men. The latter service was nearly completed at Tusculumbia; and from that point Streight, with his troopers, swept in a curve bending eastward, through Alabama into Georgia, in the rear of Bragg's army. Their chief objects were Rome, where the Confederates had extensive iron-works, and Atlanta, the centre of an important system of railroads. They were pursued by the cavalry of Forrest and Roddy, and these parties skirmished and raced until Streight was within a few miles of Rome, when his exhausted horses and his ammunition failed him. Many of the poor beasts died; and when, on the 3d of May (1863), the raiders were struck by their pursuers, the former were compelled to surrender. The captives were sent to Richmond and confined in the loathsome Libby Prison, from which Streight and one hundred of his officers escaped by burrowing under the foundations of that edifice.

The *Army of the Cumberland*, in three divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Thomas, McCook and Crittenden, began its march from Murfreesboro' to Chattanooga, in northern Georgia, late in June. Bragg was then strongly intrenched on the line of the Duck River, but was pushed back to Tullahoma; and when he saw Rosecrans seize the mountain passes on his front, and seriously menace his flank, he turned and fled without giving a blow, his antagonist pressing hard upon his rear. Having the advantage of railway communication, the retreating army very easily kept ahead of their pursuers, and passing rapidly over the Cumberland Mountains toward the Tennessee River, they crossed that stream at Bridgeport, destroying the bridge behind them, and made a rapid march to Chattanooga.

The expulsion of Bragg's army from Tennessee alarmed and disheartened the Confederates, and they felt that everything depended on their holding Chattanooga, the key to East Tennessee and northern Georgia. Toward that point the *Army of the Cumberland* moved slowly; and late in August it had crossed the mountains, and was stretched along the Tennessee River,

from above Chattanooga, many a league westward. On the 21st of August, National artillery placed on the eminence opposite Chattanooga, awakened the mountain echoes with their thunder, and sent screaming shells over the Confederate camp. Bragg was startled by a sense of immediate danger; and when, soon afterward, Generals Thomas and McCook crossed the Tennessee, with their corps, and took possession of the passes of Lookout Mountain on Bragg's flank, and Crittenden took post at Wauhatchie, in Lookout Valley, nearer the river, the Confederates abandoned Chattanooga, passed through the gaps of Missionary Ridge and encamped on the Chickamauga Creek near Lafayette, in northern Georgia, there to meet expected National forces when pressing through the gaps of Lookout Mountain and threatening their communications with Dalton and Resaca. From the lofty summit of Lookout Mountain, Crittenden had observed the retreat of Bragg from the Tennessee River, and he immediately led his forces into the Chattanooga Valley and encamped at Ross's Gap in Missionary Ridge, within three miles of the town.

General Burnside was then in command of the Army of the Ohio, and had been ordered to co-operate with Rosecrans. With twenty thousand men he climbed over the Cumberland Mountains into the magnificent Valley of East Tennessee, his baggage and stores carried, in many places, on the backs of pack-mules. On his entering the Valley, twenty thousand Confederates in East Tennessee, commanded by General Buckner, fled to Georgia and joined Bragg, when Burnside took a position near the Tennessee River, so as to have easy communication with Rosecrans at Chattanooga. The latter, meanwhile, erroneously supposing Bragg had begun a retreat toward Rome, had pushed through the mountain passes, when he was surprised to find that general, instead of retreating, concentrating his forces to attack the attenuated line of the Nationals, the extremities of which were fifty miles apart. Rosecrans proceeded at once to concentrate his own forces; and very soon the two armies were confronting each other in battle array, on each side of Chickamauga Creek, in the vicinity of Crawfish Spring, each line extending toward the slopes of Missionary Ridge. General Thomas, who was on the extreme left of the National line, opened the battle on the morning of the 19th of September. It raged with great fierceness until dark, when the Nationals seemed to have the advantage. That night General Longstreet, whom Lee had sent from Virginia to assist Bragg, arrived with fresh troops which swelled the Confederate army to seventy thousand men, and gave to it a far better soldier than the chief leader. Rosecrans's army did not then exceed, in number, fifty-five thousand men.

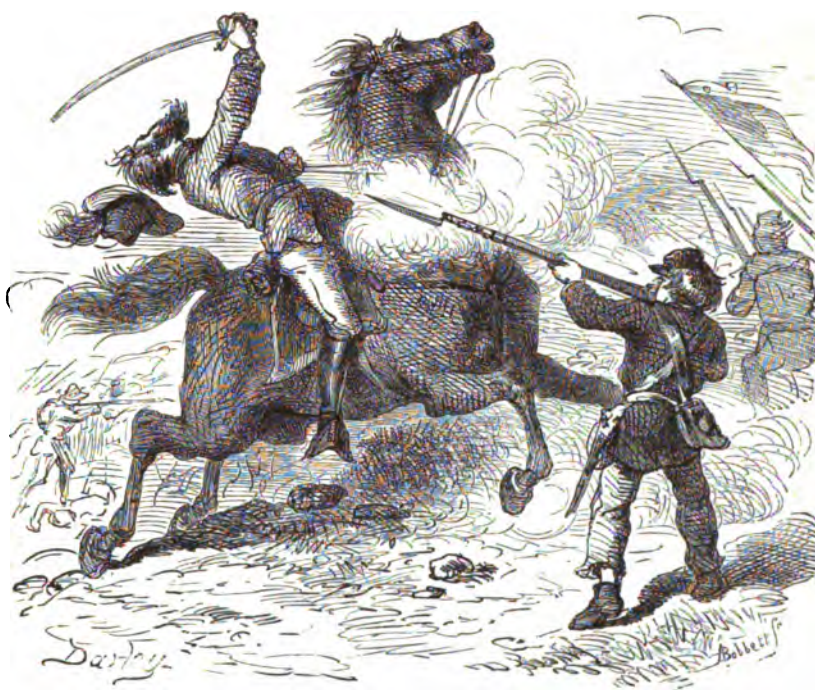
On the morning of the 20th the contest was renewed after a thick fog had risen from the earth. There was a fearful struggle. A furious charge upon the National right had shattered it into fragments, and these fled in disorder toward Chattanooga. This tide carried with it the troops led by Rosecrans, Crittenden and McCook; and the commanding-general, unable to join Thomas, and believing the whole army would speedily be hurrying pell-mell toward Chattanooga, hastened to that place to provide for rallying them there. Generals Sheridan and J. C. Davis rallied a part of these troops, and Thomas stood firm, frustrating every effort to turn his flank. Forty-eight hours after the battle the army, which had been withdrawn to Chattanooga, was strongly intrenched there.

Victory crowned the Confederates in the battle of Chickamauga, but at the fearful cost of about twenty-one thousand men killed, wounded, and made prisoners. The Nationals lost about nineteen thousand men. During the contest a little volunteer soldier named John Clem, then about twelve years of age, performed a deed of daring. He had been in the thickest of the fight when, separated from his companions, he was seen running with a musket in his hand by a mounted Confederate colonel, who called out, "Stop! you little Yankee devil!" The boy halted, with his musket to an order, when the colonel rode up to make him a prisoner. Young Clem, with swift motion, brought up his gun and shot the colonel dead. The boy escaped; and for this achievement he was made a sergeant, put on duty at the headquarters of the *Army of the Cumberland*, and placed on the roll of honor by General Rosecrans. He grew to manhood, married, and held a position in one of the departments of Government in Washington.

For a time the vanquished army suffered much at Chattanooga, for communication with their supplies by the Tennessee was cut off, the Confederates occupying Lookout Mountain and commanding that stream. Bragg hoped to starve his foes into submission. He strove to deprive them of all supplies, and severe struggles between detachments of the two armies were the consequences. Bragg failed. The National Government had determined to hold Chattanooga, and orders were given for the consolidation of the armies of the *Cumberland* and *Tennessee*, constituting the military division of the *Mississippi*, with General Grant as commander-in-chief. He had secured the free navigation of the Mississippi River, after the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, by driving the Confederates, under Johnston, from the vicinity and strongly fortifying the first-named place; and when he took command of the new division, General Sherman was made the leader of the *Army of the Tennessee*, and General Thomas was

placed in command of the *Army of the Cumberland*, Rosecrans having been ordered to St. Louis.

When Grant arrived at Chattanooga, he ordered Hooker, who was at Bridgeport, to advance to Lookout Valley, menace Bragg's flank, and protect the passage of supplies up the Tennessee to within a short distance from the famishing armies. This was promptly done. Hooker's main force took post at Wauhatchie, where he was attacked before daylight on the morning of the 29th of October. After a battle for three hours in the



EXPLOIT OF LITTLE JOHN CLEM.

darkness, the Confederates were beaten and driven away. An amusing incident of this struggle occurred. When it began, about two hundred mules, frightened by the noise, broke from their tethers and dashed into the ranks of Wade Hampton's legion, and produced a great panic. The Confederates supposed it to be a charge of Hooker's cavalry, and fell back, at first, in great confusion. The incident was a theme for a mock-heroic poem of six stanzas in imitation of Tennyson's "Charge of the Six Hundred," two verses of which were as follows:

" Forward, the mule brigade—
 Was there a mule dismay'd?
 Not when their long ears felt
 All their ropes sundered.
 Theirs not to make reply—
 Theirs not to reason why—
 Theirs but to make them fly—
 On ! to the Georgia troops
 Broke the two hundred.

" Mules to the right of them—
 Mules to the left of them—
 Mules all behind them—
 Paw'd, neigh'd, and thundered ;
 Breaking their own confines—
 Breaking through Longstreet's lines—
 Testing chivalric spines,
 Into the Georgia troops
 Storm'd the two hundred."

After this battle, the Tennessee was free for vessels with supplies for the National troops, and the two armies lay confronting each other, only about three miles apart.

Meanwhile there had been stirring events in the Valley of East Tennessee, where Burnside was trying to expel the Confederates. In these efforts he had spread his army considerably. Perceiving this, Bragg sent Longstreet to the Valley with a strong force to seize Knoxville and drive out the Nationals. He advanced swiftly and secretly; and on the 20th of October he struck a startling blow at Burnside's outposts at Philadelphia. In obedience to a command from Grant, the latter concentrated his forces (Ninth Army Corps), fell back to Knoxville, and there intrenched. Longstreet pressed forward, and after some fighting by the way, he began a regular siege of Knoxville at the middle of November. He continued it to the close of the month, when Generals Granger and Sherman were sent to the relief of Burnside, and caused the swift flight of Longstreet toward Virginia. By this blunder, Bragg had lost the support of this superior commander.

Hostilities had again occurred near Chattanooga. General Sherman arrived there, with his army, from the West. So strengthened, Grant determined to attack Bragg in the absence of Longstreet. On the 23d of November, General Thomas seized a commanding eminence in front of Missionary Ridge, called Orchard Knob, and fortified it; and Hooker was ordered to attack Bragg's left, on Lookout Mountain, the next morning, to divert attention from the movements of Sherman, who was to cross the Tennessee, above Chattanooga, and fall upon Bragg's right, on the Ridge. Hooker moved with vigor, fighting his way up the rugged wooded steeps of Lookout Mountain with musket, rifle and cannon, driving the Confederates before him. During the heaviest of the struggle the mountain was hooded in vapor that arose from the Tennessee and hid the combatants from the view of the anxious spectators at Chattanooga. They could hear the thunders of the artillery, but the warriors were invisible. It was literally a battle in the clouds. Finally the Confederates were driven to the summit.

and that night they fled down the northern slopes to the Chattanooga Valley, and joined their commander on Missionary Ridge. In the crisp air and the sunlight, the next morning, the Stars and Stripes were seen waving over "Pulpit Rock," on the crest of Lookout Mountain, from which, a few days before, Jefferson Davis had harangued the troops, assuring them that all was well with the Confederacy.

Sherman, in the meantime, had crossed the Tennessee River and secured a position on the northern end of Missionary Ridge, on which Bragg had concentrated all his forces, and there the Confederates were attacked on front and flank on the 25th of November. Hooker came down from Lookout Mountain, and entering Ross's Gap, attacked Bragg's left, while Sherman was assailing his right. There was a fearful struggle, beheld with intense interest by General Grant, who stood on Orchard Knob and directed the movements of the National army. At length the centre, under General Thomas, moved up the declivities; and very soon the Confederates were driven from the Ridge, when they fled toward Ringgold, followed by a portion of the National army. At Ringgold, a sharp engagement occurred, when the Confederates retreated to Dalton, the Nationals fell back, and Sherman hastened to the relief of Burnside, as already mentioned.

General Grant reported the Union loss, in the series of struggles which ended in victory at Missionary Ridge, at five thousand six hundred and sixteen, in killed, wounded, and missing. The Confederate loss was about three thousand one hundred, killed and wounded, and a little more than six thousand prisoners. Grant had also captured forty pieces of artillery and about seven thousand small arms. In a letter to the victorious general, the President thanked him and his men for their skill and bravery in securing "a lodgement at Chattanooga and Knoxville." Congress voted thanks and a gold medal for Grant, and directed the President of the Republic to cause the latter to be struck, "with suitable emblems, devices, and inscriptions." The general was the recipient of other tokens of regard, of various kinds; and the legislatures of New York and Ohio voted him thanks in the name of the people of those great States.

During the first half of 1863, General J. G. Foster was in command of the National troops in North Carolina, with his headquarters at New Berne, from which point he sent out raiding parties to scatter Confederate forces who were gathering here and there to recover lost posts in that State. In these expeditions, many sharp skirmishes took place. The Nationals were generally successful, and confined their antagonists to the interior of the State. Finally, in July (1863), Foster was called to the command at Fortress

Monroe, and left his troops in charge of General Palmer. Meanwhile there had been important occurrences in the vicinity of Charleston, South Carolina, the capture of that city being one objective of the National Government. Attempts had been made the previous year by General David Hunter (commanding the Department of the South) and Admiral Dupont, to seize that city, but failed. Dupont had received important information concerning military affairs at Charleston, from Robert Small, a slave, who was a pilot in the Confederate service. One night, at the middle of May (1862), assisted by some fellow-bondsmen, Small took the Confederate steamer *Planter* out of Charleston harbor, delivered her to Dupont, gave him valuable information, and entered the service of the Republic. Soon afterward the National land troops took a position on James Island, near Charleston; and at Secessionville, General Benham, with a small force, fought the Confederates at the middle of June, and was defeated. Further attempts to capture Charleston were then suspended.

Hunter was succeeded in the command of the department by General O. M. Mitchel, who, as we have observed, was called to Washington from Tennessee, where he chafed under Buell's command. He reached Hilton Head on the 16th of September, and with his usual vigor, he devised plans and prepared to execute them for the public good. Hilton Head island was swarming with refugee slaves, and he at once took measures for their relief, laying out a village, causing neat and comfortable log-houses to be built for their residences, and finding employment for them. He was preparing to use his military force with vigor in his department; but before his arrangements were completed, he was smitten by a disease similar to the yellow fever, when he was conveyed to the more healthy locality of Beaufort, where he died on the 30th of October. From that time, until the spring of 1864, very little of importance occurred in the Department of the South, of which Hunter again became the commander.



CHAPTER XXI.

EFFORTS TO CAPTURE CHARLESTON—"THE SWAMP ANGEL"—SIEGE OF FORT WAGNER—SUMTER IN RUINS—EVENTS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI—INVASION OF MISSOURI—LAWRENCE SACKED—EVENTS IN ARKANSAS AND IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY—RAID INTO MISSOURI—STRUGGLE FOR LOUISIANA—GRANT IN NEW ORLEANS—DESIGNS AGAINST TEXAS—FORREST IN TENNESSEE—STRENGTH OF THE NATIONALS AND CONFEDERATES COMPARED—HIGH-HANDED MEASURES—THE BRITISH AND THE CONFEDERATES—GOOD SIGNS—GRANT LIEUTENANT-GENERAL—CAMPAIGN OF 1864—SHERMAN'S RAID IN MISSISSIPPI—MASSACRE AT FORT PILLOW—FORREST'S EXPLOITS—RED RIVER EXPEDITION—THE EXPEDITION ABANDONED—NEGRO TROOPS.

ALTHOUGH Charleston had become a comparatively unimportant point in the grand theatre of the war, its possession was coveted by the National Government because of the salutary moral effect which such conquest would produce. A strong effort to accomplish that purpose was made in the spring of 1863. On the 6th of April, Admiral Dupont crossed Charleston Bar with nine "monitor" or turreted iron vessels, leaving five gun-boats outside as a reserve, and proceeded to attack Fort Sumter, the most formidable obstacle in his way to the city. At the same time a co-operating force of land troops, four thousand strong, under General Truman Seymour, took a masked position on Folly Island. As Dupont approached, the cannon of the Confederates on Sumter and the adjacent batteries were silent until the vessels were entangled in an unsuspected network of torpedoes and other obstructions, when nearly three hundred guns opened a concentric fire upon the fleet, driving them back to the ocean and destroying the *Keokuk*, one of the smallest of the iron-clads. The land troops could do nothing until Fort Sumter was reduced, and the enterprise was a failure.

In June following, General Quincey A. Gillmore succeeded General Hunter in the command of the Southern Department. He found himself at the head of eighteen thousand men, with a generous supply of ordnance, small arms, and stores. An expedition against Charleston, by land and water, was immediately planned. Gillmore determined to seize Morris Island, on which was strong Fort Wagner that commanded Fort Sumter. That island and its military works in his possession, he might batter down Fort Sumter with heavy siege guns, and lay Charleston in ashes with his shells, if it was

not surrendered. Dupont did not approve the plan; and early in July, Admiral John A. Dahlgren took his place. General Alfred H. Terry was sent with a force to James Island to mask Gillmore's intentions, when National troops were suddenly landed on Morris Island, and with the aid of batteries on Folly Island, they drove the Confederates into Fort Wagner. Then Gillmore planted a line of batteries across Morris Island to confront that fort, which he found to be much stronger than he suspected. The Nationals assaulted it (July 11) and were repulsed, when a simultaneous bombardment by sea and land was determined on. This was done on the 18th of July, when a hundred great guns opened on the fort from the ships and the land-batteries. Meanwhile General Terry had been attacked by a force sent from Charleston, by Beauregard, to surprise him. But the vigilance of Terry never slept, and the Confederates were easily repulsed. The Nationals were then withdrawn from James Island and joined the main body of troops on Morris Island.

At sunset, on the 18th, Gillmore's forces moved in two columns, to attack Fort Wagner. A violent thunder-storm was raging. One column was led by General Strong, the other by Colonel H. L. Putnam, acting as brigadier. The struggle was brief but fearful. Both columns of the Nationals were repulsed, with great slaughter in their ranks, losing, in the aggregate, full fifteen hundred men. Strong and Putnam were mortally wounded; and Colonel Robert G. Shaw, who was at the head of the first regiment of colored troops organized in the free-labor States, was instantly killed. Because he commanded colored troops, Shaw was intensely hated by the Confederates; and they foolishly thought they had dishonored him when, as they proclaimed, they had buried his body "in a pit under a heap of his niggers."

Gillmore now abandoned the plan for capturing Fort Wagner by direct assault, and began a regular siege. With infinite labor a battery was constructed in a morass half-way between Morris and James islands, upon a platform of heavy timbers standing in the deep black mud. When a lieutenant of engineers was ordered to construct it he said, "It is impossible." His commanding officer replied, "There is no such word as impossible; call for what you need." The lieutenant, who was a wag, made a requisition on the quartermaster for "one hundred men eighteen feet high to wade in mud sixteen feet deep;" and he gravely inquired of the engineer whether these men might be spliced, if required. The lieutenant was arrested for contempt, but was soon released, and he built a redoubt with the services of men of ordinary height. Upon the redoubt was erected a Parrott gun, which they called "The Swamp Angel," that sent shells into

Charleston, five miles distant. One of these entered St. Michael's Church near the roof, and destroyed the table on the wall that contained the ten commandments, obliterating all of them excepting two—"Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery."

General Gillmore was ready for another attack on Forts Wagner and Sumter on the 17th of August, and on that day the guns of twelve batteries and of the fleet opened upon them. Before night the granite walls of Fort Sumter began to crumble and its cannons ceased to roar, under the pressure of Dahlgren's guns. The land troops pushed their parallels nearer and nearer Fort Wagner; while the fleet guns continually pounded away, day after day, until the 6th of September, when General Terry was prepared to storm the latter work. Then it was ascertained that the Confederates had evacuated it and fled from Morris Island. Gillmore took possession of Fort Wagner and turned its guns on Fort Sumter, battering it dreadfully and driving away (it was supposed) its garrison. But that sentinel which had so long guarded the gate to Charleston harbor, only slumbered; and when, on the night of the 8th, an armed force from the ships, in small boats, attempted to take possession of it, a vigilant garrison that had been lying quietly there, suddenly arose and repulsed the assailants with great loss to the latter. Finally, late in October (1863), Gillmore brought his heaviest guns to bear on Sumter, and reduced the once proud fort to a heap of ruins. Charleston now, as a commercial mart, had no existence. For months not a blockade-runner had entered its harbor, and its wealth and trade had departed. In a military point of view, as we have observed, it was absolutely of very little importance. Let us leave the Atlantic coast, and consider stirring events in the interior.

A thousand miles westward of the sea-coast the war was still going on, but more feebly than at first. The Confederates reoccupied all Texas in 1863, and carried on a sort of guerrilla warfare in Arkansas and Missouri during a part of that year. In the earlier months, Marmaduke was active with his mounted men. He rushed over the border from Arkansas into Missouri, and fell upon Springfield in January, but was repulsed with a loss of two hundred men. After some other reverses, he fell back; and at Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, he planned a formidable raid into Missouri, chiefly for the purpose of seizing National stores at Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi. He invaded the State with eight thousand men, and was met at the Cape by General McNeil, on the 20th of April, who, after a sharp engagement, drove Marmaduke out of Missouri. Other bands of Confederates, under various leaders, roamed over the western borders of Arkansas, and, at one time, seriously menaced Fort Blunt, in the

Indian Territory. There was a sharp engagement at Honey Springs, in that Territory, on the 17th of July, between Nationals under General Blunt and Confederates in strong force led by General Cooper, in which the latter were defeated, and a part of them fled into northern Texas. Guerrilla bands in Blunt's rear did much mischief. One of them, led by a white savage named Quantrell, fell upon the defenceless town of Lawrence, in Kansas, on the 13th of August, and murdered one hundred and forty of the inhabitants. They also laid one hundred and eighty-five buildings in ashes, and escaped.



SACKING OF LAWRENCE.

Earlier than this, the strongly fortified post of Helena, on the Mississippi, in eastern Arkansas, became a coveted object; and on the 3d of July (1863) eight thousand Confederates, under General Price and others, ignorant of the strength of the post, attacked it. General Steele was in command there. After a sharp fight, the Confederates were repulsed with a loss of twenty per cent. of their number. That section of Arkansas was then abandoned by the Confederates; and on the 10th of August, Steele left Helena with twelve thousand troops and forty pieces of cannon, to attempt the capture of Little Rock. He pushed back Marmaduke, who confronted him; and early in September he moved on the State capital in two columns,

one on each side of the Arkansas River. The Confederates there, after setting fire to several steamboats, abandoned the place on the evening of the 10th (September) and fled to Arkadelphia, on the Wachita River. Meanwhile General Blunt had been trying to bring the Confederates and their Indian allies in western Arkansas to battle, but had failed. He took possession of Fort Smith (September 1) and garrisoned it; and on the 4th of October, while he was on his way from Kansas to that post with an escort of one hundred cavalry, they were attacked near Baxter's Springs, on the Cherokee Reservation, and scattered, by six hundred guerrillas led by the notorious Quantrell, who plundered and burnt the accompanying train of the Nationals. Blunt's forces were nearly all killed or disabled in the conflict. The wounded were murdered; and Blunt and only about a dozen followers barely escaped, with their lives, to Little Fort Blair. Some of Blunt's escort fled, at first, without firing a shot. Had they acted more bravely, they could have driven their assailants in ten minutes, Blunt declared.

Finding their supplies nearly exhausted, the Confederates in that region made a raid into Missouri as far as Booneville, at the close of September: but they were driven back into Arkansas by Generals E. B. Brown and McNeil. No other military movements of much importance occurred in Missouri and Arkansas for some time after this, excepting an attack made by Marmaduke upon Pine Bluff, on the Arkansas River, on the 25th of October, 1863. The little garrison there was commanded by Colonel Powell Clayton, and these, with the assistance of two hundred negroes in making barricades, fought the assailants (who were two thousand strong, with twelve pieces of artillery) for several hours, and drove them away. Quiet prevailed for some time afterward.

When General Banks left Alexandria, on the Red River, and marched to the siege of Port Hudson, General Taylor, whom he had driven into the wilds of western Louisiana, returned, occupied that abandoned city and Opelousas, and garrisoned Fort de Russy. Then he swept vigorously over the country in the direction of the Mississippi River and New Orleans. With a part of his command he captured Brashear City on the 24th of June (1863), with an immense amount of public property, and made a thousand National troops prisoners. At about the same time another portion of the Confederates, under General Green, operating in the vicinity of Donaldsonville, on the Mississippi, were driven out of the district. Finally, at the middle of July, when Banks's troops were released, on the fall of Port Hudson, they expelled Taylor and his forces from the country eastward of the Atchafalaya. This was the last struggle of Taylor's forces to gain a foothold on the Mississippi.

General Banks now turned his thoughts to aggressive movements. General Grant visited him at New Orleans early in September, and was in that city when he was summoned to Chattanooga. There it was determined that Banks should make an attempt to recover Texas; and he speedily sent four thousand troops under General Franklin, accompanied by four gun-boats commanded by Lieutenant Crocker, to seize the Confederate post at Sabine Pass, on the boundary line between Louisiana and Texas. Owing to a premature attack by the gun-boats, the expedition was a disastrous failure. Then Banks concentrated his land forces on the Atchafalaya, for the purpose of penetrating Texas from the east by way of Shreveport, on the Red River; but this design was abandoned for a time, and it was concluded to attempt to seize and hold the coast harbor of that Commonwealth. To mask this movement, General C. C. Washburne, with a considerable body of troops, moved across Louisiana toward Alexandria, when about six thousand other Nationals under General Dana, with some war-vessels, sailed for the Rio Grande. The troops landed, and drove Confederate cavalry up that river. The Nationals pressed on; and on the 6th of November encamped at Brownsville, opposite Matamoras. At the close of the year, the National troops occupied all the strong positions on the Texan coast excepting Galveston Island and a formidable work near the mouth of the Brazos; and the Confederates had abandoned all Texas west of the Colorado River. Meanwhile N. B. Forrest, who had become a noted guerrilla chief, had broken into western Tennessee, from Mississippi, with four thousand Confederate soldiers, and making Jackson, in the first-mentioned State, his headquarters (December, 1863), had sent out foraging parties in various directions. General Hurlburt, at Memphis, tried to catch him, but failed.

There were many hopeful signs of success for the defenders of the life of the Republic at the opening of the third year of the Civil War, 1864. The debt of the National Government was then more than \$1,000,000,000; but the public credit never stood higher. The loyal people stood by the Government, and trusted it with a fidelity and faith that was truly sublime. At the same time the Confederate debt was at least \$1,000,000,000, with a prospective increase during the year to double that amount. The Confederate government had contracted loans abroad to the amount almost of \$15,000,000, of which sum the members of the *Southern Independence Association* in England (composed chiefly of the British aristocracy) loaned a large share and lost it, the security offered for the Confederate bonds being cotton to be forwarded, and which was never delivered. The producers of the Confederacy, better informed than their English sympathizers, were

unwilling to trust the promise of their government and withheld supplies, for they preconceived the worthlessness of the bonds and paper currency of the Confederates. The people there were no longer willing to volunteer for the military service; and Davis and his associates at Richmond, in their desperation, proceeded to the exercise of a despotic act that has no parallel in the history of civilized nations. By the passage of a law they declared that *every white man in the Confederacy, liable to bear arms, to be in the military service*; and that, upon his *failure to report for duty at a military station within a certain time, he was liable to the penalty of death as a deserter*! They devised schemes of retaliation; also cruel measures toward the colored troops in the National service and their white commanders were proposed. They refused to regard captive negro troops as prisoners of war; and by threats of dire vengeance, they tried to deter the colored men from enlisting in the National service.

While the authorities at Richmond were preparing to carry out these measures, they received a despatch from Lord John Russell, the British Foreign Secretary, which deprived them of the last prop of hope for the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States from any foreign State excepting that of the Roman pontiff. That despatch gave them notice that no more vessels should be fitted out in Great Britain (nor tolerated in British waters) for depredating on the commerce of the United States by persons employed by the "so-called Confederate States." The last expression, which absolutely ignored the very existence of the "Confederate States" was very significant, and also very offensive to Davis and his associates. The latter replied sharply, protesting against the "studied insult;" and thenceforward the Confederates regarded the British government as their enemy. That government, perceiving the weakness of the Confederacy which it had tried to foster, stood firm, and so did our own. Regardless of the menaces of the Confederate leaders, the President determined to defend the colored troops against the vengeance of their late masters, and to prosecute the war with greater vigor. "The signs," he said, "look better." More than fifty thousand square miles of territory had already been recovered from the Confederates. There were about eight hundred thousand National troops in the field, while the Confederates had only about half that number; and the former were disposed to act on the offensive, while the latter were generally standing on the defensive.

Early in 1864, Congress created the office of lieutenant-general. The President nominated Ulysses S. Grant to fill it, and the Senate confirmed the nomination. Grant was made general-in-chief of the armies of the

Republic, and he fixed his headquarters with that of the *Army of the Potomac*. He believed that mercy required that war should be made sharp and decisive, so as to end it speedily, and he acted accordingly. He believed his government to be right and its assailants wrong; and with all the zeal born of positive convictions, he prepared for the campaign of 1864. Two grand expeditions were planned—one for the capture of Richmond, the other for the seizure of the great railroad centre, Atlanta, in Georgia. To the *Army of the Potomac*, commanded by General Meade, was assigned the task of taking Richmond; and to General Sherman was given the command of the forces destined for Atlanta. Meanwhile important events had occurred in the Valley of the Mississippi.

When General Sherman was called to Chattanooga, he left General J. B. McPherson in command at Vicksburg; but soon after Bragg was driven southward from Chattanooga, Sherman suddenly reappeared in Mississippi; and at the head of twenty thousand troops, he made a most destructive raid (February, 1864) from Jackson to the intersection of important railways at Meridian, in that State. His object was to inflict as much injury as possible upon the Confederate cause and its physical strength. Like Grant, he believed in the righteousness and efficacy of making war terrible. The line of his march from Jackson, eastward, presented a black path of desolation. No public property of the Confederates was spared. The station-houses and the rolling stock of the railway were burned. The track was torn up, and the rails, heated by the burning ties cast into heaps, were twisted and ruined; and were often, by bending them, while red-hot, around a sapling, converted into what the men called "Jeff. Davis's neckties." General Sherman intended to push on to Montgomery, Alabama, and then, if circumstances appeared favorable, to go southward and attack Mobile.

At Meridian, General Sherman waited for General W. S. Smith to join him with a considerable force of cavalry; but that officer was held back by Forrest and others. After waiting in vain for a week, Sherman laid Meridian in ashes and returned to Vicksburg with four hundred prisoners and five thousand liberated slaves. This raid spread great alarm over the Confederacy; for General (Bishop) Polk, in command of the insurgents in that region, made but a feeble resistance. General Joseph E. Johnston, in command of Bragg's army in northern Georgia, had sent troops to reinforce Polk; but was compelled to recall them when his own army was menaced by a National force under General Palmer, which had been sent down from Chattanooga. Johnston fought Palmer between Ringgold and Dalton (February, 1864), and drove him back to Chattanooga.

Some weeks later, General Forrest, having an enlarged command, made a rapid raid through Tennessee and Kentucky; and on the 13th of April he laid siege to Fort Pillow, on the Mississippi, above Memphis, which was garrisoned chiefly by colored troops. He assailed it successfully, with a cry of "No quarter;" and when the garrison threw down their arms and



GENERAL SHERMAN.

begged for mercy, they were nearly all slaughtered. "Forrest's motto" said Major Charles W. Gibson, of his command, to the writer, was, "War means fight, and fight means kill—we want but few prisoners." An unsuccessful attempt was made to intercept him in his retreat from the scene of the massacre. Troops sent out from Memphis, a few weeks later, by General Smith, to hunt him up and beat him, in Mississippi, were defeated in a severe battle with him on the 10th of June, at Gun Town, on the Mobile and Ohio Railway, and were driven back with great loss. Twelve

thousand men, led by General A. J. Smith, went out for the same purpose, and fought and defeated Forrest near Tupelo on the 14th of June, and then retreated to Memphis; and not long afterward, when Smith was in Mississippi with ten thousand men, the bold raider, at the head of three thousand cavalry, flanked him, dashed into Memphis in broad daylight, in search of National officers, and escaped into Mississippi.

At the beginning of 1864, another attempt was made to recover Texas, by an invasion by way of the Red River and Shreveport. General Banks was ordered to organize an expedition for the purpose, and General Sherman was directed to send troops to aid him. Admiral Porter was also directed to place a fleet of gun-boats on the Red River to assist in the enterprise; and General Steele, at Little Rock, Arkansas, was ordered to co-operate with the expedition. Banks's column, led by General Franklin, moved from Brashear City by way of Opelousas, and reached Alexandria on the 26th of March. The detachment from Sherman's army, led by General A. J. Smith, had already gone up the Red River in transports, captured Fort de Russy, and taken possession of Alexandria on the 16th of March, followed by Porter's fleet of gun-boats.

Banks moved forward with his whole force; and early in April the army was at Natchitoches, eighty miles further up the river, at which point Porter's vessels arrived, after encountering much difficulty in passing the rapids at Alexandria on account of low water. His larger gun-boats could proceed no further than Grand Ecore. Banks pushed on toward Shreveport, and Porter's lighter vessels went up the river with a body of troops under E. Kilby Smith. The Confederates had been gathering force under Generals Taylor, Price and Green, and were driven before the Nationals until they reached Sabine Cross Roads, where they made a stand on the 8th of April. A sharp battle ensued between them and the advance of Banks's army. There was a hard struggle for the mastery. Franklin's troops came to the aid of the latter late in the afternoon; but their antagonists fought so well and desperately that the whole body of the Nationals were routed, with heavy loss, and fled in some confusion. The fugitives were received three miles from the battle-field, at a place called Pleasant Grove, by the division of General Emory; and there another severe engagement took place, in which the Nationals were victorious. The latter fell back, however, fifteen miles, pursued by the Confederates; and the next day (April 9) another heavy battle was fought at Pleasant Hill, which resulted in a victory for Banks. That officer now wished to renew the march for Texas; but his associates counselled a still further retreat to the Red River, at Grand Ecore, where Porter's larger vessels lay. There they were joined by the

troops under E. Kilby Smith, that went up the river in transports, and had some sharp fighting.

The river was still falling. Food and water for man and beast, in that region, could not be procured excepting with great difficulty, and it was determined to continue the retreat to Alexandria. After much difficulty the fleet passed the bar at Grand Ecore on the 17th of April. The army moved from that point on the 21st, and entered Alexandria on the 27th, after an encounter with the Confederates at the passage of the Cane River. So many difficulties lay before the National army, that the expedition against Shreveport was abandoned, and the land and naval forces prepared to return to the Mississippi River.

A serious impediment to such a movement now presented itself. The water in the rapids of the Red River at Alexandria was so shallow that the fleet could not repass them. General Hunter had just appeared at Alexandria with orders to close the Red River campaign as speedily as possible, for the troops from General Sherman were wanted eastward of the Mississippi. The call was urgent. To get the fleet below the rapids was now the first work to be done. It was proposed to dam the river above the rapids, and send the vessels over the rocks upon the bosom of a flood that might be set free through sluices. Porter did not believe in the feasibility of such a project. Banks did, and set Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Bailey, of a Michigan regiment, to attempt it. By skill and industry the work was accomplished; and every gun-boat, great and small, reached the deep water below the rapids in safety, the crowd of spectators on the shores greeting the achievement with loud huzzas. The whole expedition now pushed toward the Mississippi River, where Porter resumed the service of patrolling that stream. General E. R. S. Canby took command of Banks's forces on the Atchafalaya; and General Smith, with his detachment, returned to Mississippi. A strong confronting force of Confederates had kept Steele from co-operating with the expedition. He had moved from Little Rock with eight thousand men, pushed back the Confederates, and on the 15th of April captured the important post of Camden on the Wachita River; but after a severe battle at Jenkinson's Ferry, on the Sabine River, Steele abandoned Camden and returned to Little Rock. So ended this disastrous campaign.

We have observed that colored troops were employed as soldiers in the National service, and that the Confederates were disposed to treat them and their white leaders with cruelty. Let us take a hasty glance at the history of their employment in the army.

When the President called for troops, in April, 1861, to put down the

rising insurrection, some colored men in the city of New York hired a room and began to drill in military tactics. The sympathizers with the insurgents threatened them with violence; and the Superintendent of Police felt compelled, in order to secure the public peace, to order them to cease drilling. So they waited until they were called for.

More than a year afterward, General Hunter, in command of the Department of the South, ordered the organization of negro regiments in his department. This measure raised a tempest of indignation in the National Congress among the sympathizers with the insurgents. On motion of Wickliffe of Kentucky, the Secretary of War was asked whether Hunter had organized a regiment of fugitive slaves, and whether the Government had authorized the act. Hunter was allowed to make explicit answers himself. To the first question he replied: "No regiment of 'fugitive slaves' has been or is being organized in this department. There is, however, a fine regiment of persons whose late masters are fugitive rebels—men who everywhere fly before the appearance of the National flag, leaving their servants behind them to shift for themselves as best they can." A few weeks later, Secretary Stanton, by special order, directed General Rufus Saxton, military governor of the sea-coast islands, to "arm, uniform, equip and receive into the service of the United States, such number of volunteers of African descent, not exceeding five thousand," as would be useful.

General G. W. Phelps, in command above New Orleans, in the summer of 1862, finding crowds of colored people flocking to his camp, asked permission of General Butler to arm and equip negro regiments. Butler had no authority to do so. He recommended Phelps to employ them in servile work on fortifications. Phelps replied: "I am not willing to become the mere slave-driver you propose, having no qualifications that way," and throwing up his commission, returned to Vermont. Very soon afterward Butler called for negro volunteers from the free colored men in New Orleans, and full regiments were formed.

Another year passed by, and yet very few of the thousands of colored men made free by the proclamation of emancipation were found in arms. There was a universal prejudice against them; but as the war went on that prejudice, like others, gave way, and in the summer of 1863, the President was authorized by Congress to accept colored volunteers. From that time such troops were freely enlisted wherever the Government authority prevailed; and nearly two hundred thousand of them fought in the ranks for the preservation of the Republic, and their own freedom. Their brethren, who were yet in bondage, were then freely used by the Confederates, in the military service; not, however, with arms in their hands. The Confederates

never armed them. It might have been a fatal experiment. They were organized under white leaders, and were "armed and equipped" with axes, shovels, spades, pick-axes, and blankets.

The natural docility of the negro made him an excellent man to discipline for a soldier; and his faithfulness and courage were never surpassed, in strength and endurance, by the white man's faithfulness and courage. Their conduct throughout the war was most remarkable. Their numbers, in some of the revolted States, were nearly equal to those of the white people; and in the absence of the men of the latter race, in the army, the whole region which they occupied was absolutely at their mercy. There were, at first, apprehensions that the negroes, perceiving their opportunity and advantage, would rise in insurrection and assert their right to freedom. On the contrary, they worked faithfully and patiently for their masters, on the plantations, and there is no record of an attempt, by individuals or in numbers, of that vast servile population, to gain their liberty. Not a woman or child was injured by their slaves; on the contrary, they were the trusted protectors from violence, of the wives and children of the Confederate soldiers. They had faith that God would, in his own good time, deliver them from bondage; and in that faith they patiently waited and suffered. Because of their faithfulness and forbearance, when they might have filled the land with horror, the colored population of the South deserve the everlasting gratitude and good-will of the white people there, whose families they protected and by their labor supplied with food and clothing during the terrible Civil War. History furnishes no parallel to the noble conduct of the negroes toward those who were making war for the purpose of perpetuating the slavery of their race.



CHAPTER XXII.

ANOTHER INVASION OF MISSOURI AND ITS RESULTS—MORGAN IN EAST TENNESSEE—CAVALRY OPERATIONS AGAINST RICHMOND—CAMPAIGN OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC BEGUN—BATTLES IN THE WILDERNESS AND NEAR SPOTTSYLVANIA COURT-HOUSE—SHERIDAN'S RAID—OPERATIONS BETWEEN PETERSBURG AND RICHMOND—KAUTZ'S RAID—STRUGGLES OF GRANT AND LEE—BATTLE AT COOL ARBOR—THE NATIONALS CROSS THE JAMES AND INVEST PETERSBURG—CONFEDERATE INVASION OF MARYLAND—SALVATION OF WASHINGTON—A PLUNDERING RAID TO CHAMBERSBURG—SHERIDAN IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY—HIS BRILLIANT CAMPAIGN—RICHMOND THREATENED—SIEGE OF PETERSBURG—CAPTURE OF FORT HARRISON—MEDAL TO COLORED TROOPS—LOSSES—SHERMAN'S CAMPAIGN IN GEORGIA.

THE Confederates were emboldened by the failure of the Red River expedition and the expulsion of Steele from the region below the Arkansas River; and raiding bands awed the Unionists into silence and inactivity. This state of things gave Price an opportunity early in the autumn to invade Missouri again, this time chiefly with a political object in view. Secret societies, in sympathy with the Knights of the Golden Circle, had been formed in Missouri and neighboring Southern States, whose object was to give aid to the Confederate cause and assist in the election of General McClellan (who had been nominated by the Democratic party) to the office of President of the United States. Price had been promised twenty thousand recruits, if he should enter Missouri with a respectable military force. He and General Shelby went over the Missouri border late in September (1864), with twenty thousand followers, and pushed on to Pilot Knob, half-way to St. Louis. But the promised recruits did not appear. The vigilant Rosecrans, in command of the Department of the Missouri, had discovered the plans of the disloyalists, and by some arrests had so frightened them that they prudently remained in concealment. Price was sorely disappointed; and he soon perceived that a web of great peril was gathering around him. At Pilot Knob, General Ewing, with a brigade of National troops, struck him an astounding blow. Soon afterward, these, with other troops under Generals A. J. Smith and Mower, sent Price flying westward toward Kansas, closely pursued. The exciting chase was enlivened by severe skirmishes; and late in November, Price was a fugitive in western Arkansas, with a broken and dispirited army. This was the last invasion of Missouri.

When Longstreet retired from Knoxville, he lingered awhile between there and the Virginia border; but he finally went to the aid of Lee's menaced army. Morgan, the guerrilla chief, remained in East Tennessee until the close of the following May (1864), when he went over the mountains and raided through the richest portions of Kentucky. General Burbridge went after him, and soon drove him and his shattered columns back into East Tennessee. He was surprised at Greenville, where he was shot



JOHN MORGAN.

dead in a vineyard while attempting to escape. Soon afterward the region between Knoxville and the Virginia line became the theatre of some stirring minor events while General Breckenridge was in command of the Confederates there.

Let us now resume the consideration of the military movements against Richmond and Atlanta.

The campaign of the *Army of the Potomac* under General Meade, against the Army of Northern Virginia led by General Lee, in the spring of 1864, was preceded by some movements for the capture of Richmond and the

liberation of Union soldiers confined in Libby Prison, and on Belle Isle in the James River at that city. Treachery defeated the purpose for which, in February, General B. F. Butler, in command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, sent fifteen hundred troops, foot and horse, under General Wistar, against Richmond. General Kilpatrick, with five thousand of his cavalry, came from the *Army of the Potomac* to co-operate with him. They swept within the outer lines of the defences of Richmond, on the first of March; and Colonel Dahlgren, son of the admiral of that name, with another portion of that cavalry, was repulsed the next day, and was killed. A few days later, General Custer, with his horsemen, threatened Lee's communications in the direction of the Shenandoah Valley. The movements of Wistar were made fruitless, owing to a deserter, who gave the Confederates warning of it, and they were prepared to meet it.

The grand movement of the *Army of the Potomac* began in May. When it crossed the Rapid Anné and tried to go swiftly by Lee's flank under cover of the dense woods of the Wilderness, and plant itself between the Confederate army and Richmond, the vigilant Lee discovered the movement and boldly attacked the Nationals. The two armies numbered, in the aggregate, about two hundred thousand men; and that mighty host fought desperately for almost two days (May 5th. and 6th) on one of the most remarkable battle-fields ever known. The ground was covered with a thick growth of pines, cedars, and shrub-oaks, with tangled underbrush and vines, wherein regular military movements were impossible. Cavalry could not contend; and no single vision could discern a thousand men at one time. In that mysterious land the brave General Wadsworth of the Genesee Valley was killed, and the slaughter of troops was fearful. Both armies were badly shattered; and there was no victory for either. The Confederates withdrew to their intrenchments; and the Nationals, led by General Warren, hastened to the open country near Spottsylvania Court-House.

Lieutenant-General Grant was the guiding-spirit in the National army. He was determined to flank Lee; but when his troops emerged from the Wilderness, he found the Confederates in heavy force and rapidly gathering athwart his path. Arrangements were immediately made for another battle, during which the gallant General Sedgwick, leader of the Sixth corps, was killed by a Confederate sharp-shooter. Both armies were cautious in their movements; and finally, on the morning of the 10th (May, 1864), when all was in readiness, a furious conflict began and raged all day with dreadful losses on each side. On the following morning, General Grant sent to the President the famous despatch, in which he said: "*I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer.*"

On the 12th, another sanguinary battle was opened. General Hancock, after the most gallant struggle, broke through the Confederate line and gained a great advantage; but the fierce conflict continued until twilight, and did not entirely cease until midnight, when Lee suddenly withdrew behind a second line of intrenchments, and appeared as strong as ever. Yet Grant, stubborn and bold, was not disheartened. He sent cheering despatches to the government; and pressing forward, fought another desperate battle on the Ny, not far from Spottsylvania Court-House. Lee was repulsed. Grant's flanking movement was temporarily checked, but he speedily resumed it. The losses on both sides, during about a fortnight, had been fearful. That of the *Army of the Potomac* was about forty thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners; and that of the Army of Northern Virginia was about thirty thousand.

In the meantime, General Sheridan had been raiding in Lee's rear with a greater part of the National cavalry. Like Kilpatrick, he swept down into the Confederate outworks at Richmond, but with more successful results, for he destroyed the railway communication between Lee's army and that city. At the same time there was a co-operating force in the Shenandoah Valley, first under General Sigel and then under General Hunter; but they did not accomplish much of importance besides destroying a vast amount of property. There was another co-operating force below Richmond, commanded by General Butler. He had been joined by Gillmore's troops, which had been ordered up from Charleston; and with about twenty-five thousand men he went up the James River in armed transports, seized City Point at the mouth of the Appomattox River, and took possession of the Peninsula of Bermuda Hundred. He cast up a line of intrenchments across it from the Appomattox to the James, and destroyed the railway between Petersburg and Richmond, so cutting off direct communication between the Confederate capital and the South. At the same time, General A. V. Kautz went up from Suffolk with three thousand cavalry, to destroy the railways south and west from Petersburg; but before he struck them, Beauregard, who had been called from Charleston, had filled that city with defenders. The withdrawal of Gillmore's troops relieved Charleston of immediate danger; and when Butler went up the James, Beauregard was summoned to Richmond. At Petersburg he received hourly reinforcements, and some of them he massed in front of Butler's forces, along the line of the railway. Finally, on the morning of the 16th of May, while a dense fog brooded over the country, he attempted to turn Butler's right flank. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Nationals had about four thousand men engaged, and the Confederates about three thousand. It ended by the

retirement of Butler's forces within their intrenchments. For several days afterward there was considerable skirmishing in front of Butler's lines, when he received orders to send nearly two-thirds of his effective men to the north side of the James River to assist the army contending with Lee in the vicinity of the Chickahominy. Butler complied with the requisition, which deprived him of all power to make further offensive movements. "The necessities of the Army of the Potomac," he said, "have bottled me up at Bermuda Hundred."

While General Butler's main army was making movements toward Richmond, Kautz was out upon another raid on the railways leading to that city from the south and southwest. He left Bermuda Hundred on the 12th of May, with two mounted brigades; passed near Fort Darling, on Drewry's Bluff, and sweeping on an arc of a circle by Chesterfield Court-House, struck the Richmond and Danville Railway eleven miles west of the Confederate capital. After again striking it at other points, he swept around eastward, divided his forces, and with a part of them crossed to the Southside Railway, while another portion proceeded to the junction of the Danville and Southside roads. Then he went eastward with his whole force, striking and destroying the Weldon Railway far toward the North Carolina line, and then made his way back to City Point. In this raid Kautz had seriously damaged the railroads that lay in his track, and took to City Point one hundred and fifty prisoners.

After the struggles near Spottsylvania Court-House, Grant moved steadily on toward Richmond, while Lee moved on a parallel line to thwart his antagonist's plans. At the passage of the North Anné, they fought a severe battle on the 23d of May. There, in close communication with the Central Virginia Railway, Lee had evidently determined to make a stand. Over that railway, Breckenridge, who had beaten Sigel in the Shenandoah Valley, was hastening to reinforce Lee, and Grant resolved to dislodge his antagonist before aid should reach him. This was accomplished, when Lee withdrew to a stronger position where Grant did not attack him. The *Army of the Potomac* pressed steadily forward, with Sheridan's cavalry in the advance, and on the 28th of May, the entire force of the Nationals were south of the Pamunkey River, with an uninterrupted communication with their new base of supplies at the ruins of the "White House" near the mouth of that stream. Lee had moved by a shorter road, and occupied a strong position on the Chickahominy River, which commanded a turnpike and two railways that led to Richmond.

Across the Chickahominy River was the only direct pathway to the Confederate capital, and to pursue it, Lee must be dislodged. The cavalry

of both armies had sharp engagements at the close of May, while reconnoissances were going on; when Grant, believing he could not successfully assail his antagonist in his strong position, began another flanking movement with the intention of crossing the Chickahominy near Cool Arbor, where Sheridan had gained an advantageous foothold. There the army was reinforced by ten thousand men sent from Bermuda Hundred, led by General W. F. Smith; and there, from the 1st to the 3d of June (1864),



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there was a fearful struggle on the old battle-ground of Lee and McClellan two years before. On the 3d, one of the most sanguinary battles of the war was fought. It was brief, but terrible. Within the space of twenty minutes after the first shot was fired, ten thousand Union soldiers were killed or wounded. The battle ended at one o'clock in the afternoon, the Nationals holding their ground. They moved gradually to the left, and on the 7th of June that wing touched the Chickahominy River. Then Sheridan was sent to destroy the railways on Lee's left, which he did as far as Gordonsville.

General Grant now determined to transfer his army to the south side of the James River, cut off the chief sources of supply of men and provisions

for Lee's army from the South, and attempt the capture of Richmond from that direction. At near the middle of June the whole army crossed the Chickahominy at Long Bridge, and moved to the James by way of Charles City Court-House. They crossed that river in boats and on pontoon bridges; and on the 16th of June, when the entire army was over, General Grant made his headquarters at City Point. A portion of the *Army of the James*, under General Butler, had made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Petersburg before Lee should send down troops to reinforce Beauregard, who had cast up strong lines of intrenchments around that city. These works were confronted by the *Army of the Potomac* on the evening of the 16th of June; and from that time until the 30th of July, there was much severe fighting, with great loss of life, in unsuccessful attempts of the Union troops to take the place by storm and destroy railway communications with it.

There was a brief lull in the operations against Petersburg and Richmond, at about the beginning of July. During that time, General Early, with about fifteen thousand Confederate troops, swept down the Shenandoah Valley and across the Potomac at Williamsport, driving General Sigel before him, and penetrating Maryland to Hagerstown and Frederick. This formidable raid was designed to draw a large body of troops from Grant to the defence of the National Capital; also for plunder. When Grant heard of it, he sent General Wright, with the Sixth corps, to protect Washington. General Lewis Wallace, then in command of the Middle Department, with his headquarters at Baltimore, proceeded from that city, with a few troops hastily collected, to confront the invaders, and on the 9th of July he met and fought Early's host on the Monocacy River not far from Frederick. Wallace had been joined by a portion of Ricketts's brigade from the advance of the Sixth corps. This handful of warriors, after fighting overwhelming numbers eight hours, were defeated, with heavy loss, when Early pushed on toward Washington. But the vanquished troops had really won a victory for their country, for they detained the invaders long enough to allow the Sixth and Nineteenth corps to reach and secure the National Capital. When General Early perceived this, he pushed across the Potomac with a large amount of plunder, closely pursued by General Wright to the Shenandoah Valley, through Snicker's Gap, where, after a sharp conflict on the 19th (July), the invaders retreated up the Valley and the pursuers returned to Washington.

It was soon discovered that Early had not gone to join Lee, as was suspected, but remained in the Valley with all his force. Some of his troops were worsted in a fight with Nationals under General Averill, near Win-

chester, on the 20th; and they soon afterward pushed General Crook, in command of the *Army of Western Virginia*, back toward the Potomac, with considerable loss. Then Early sent General McCausland, Bradley Johnson and other officers, with three thousand followers, all mounted, on a plundering tour in Maryland and Pennsylvania. They swept, in excentric lines, over the country, thereby distracting the armed defenders of it; and on the 30th of July entered the defenceless and almost deserted village of Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, where they demanded a tribute of \$200,000 in gold, or \$500,000 in paper currency, to insure the town from destruction. It was impossible to give the tribute, and two-thirds of the village was laid in ashes. No time was given for the removal of the infirm, the sick, or the women and children. The incendiaries did not remain long enough to see the ruin they had initiated; for General Averill, who was ten miles distant, moved against them, and chased them back into Virginia. This raid caused the Sixth and Nineteenth corps, commanded respectively by Generals Wright and Emory, to be sent into the Shenandoah Valley, where the National forces, now thirty thousand strong, were placed under the chief command of General Sheridan, early in August.

At the middle of September, General Grant visited Sheridan, at Charlestown. He found him ready for action against Early. Satisfied that his plan of operations was feasible, the lieutenant-general said to the energetic leader, "Go in." In these two words the chief expressed his confidence in Sheridan's judgment and skill. He did "go in;" and very soon he sent Early "whirling up the Valley," as he expressed it. He fought and conquered him at Winchester on the 19th of September (1864), when the Confederates fell back to the strong position of Fisher's Hill, near Strasburg. Sheridan drove them from there on the 22d, at the end of a sharp battle, in which Early lost heavily, and was chased to Port Republic, near which the pursuers burned his wagon-trains. The National cavalry followed him to Staunton, where the Confederates took refuge in the ranges of the Blue Ridge. Sheridan's forces fell back to a strong position behind Cedar Creek, and that leader departed for Washington city with the belief that the Valley was purged of Confederates in arms. It was a mistake. A month later, Early, reinforced, fell with crushing weight upon the Nationals at Cedar Creek, commanded by General Wright, and, for a time, their destruction seemed inevitable. They fell back to Middletown and beyond, where they turned upon the pursuers, and a desperate battle ensued.

When the battle commenced, Sheridan was in Winchester on his way to the army. The sound of conflict fell upon his ear, and, mounting his powerful black horse, he pushed on toward Cedar Creek. Presently he met

the van of fugitives hurrying from the lost battle-field, at that stream, who told him a piteous tale of disaster. Sheridan ordered the retreating artillery to be parked on each side of the turnpike, and telling his escort to follow, he dashed forward, his horse on a swinging gallop, and at that pace he rode nearly twelve miles to the scene of conflict. The fugitives became thicker and thicker every moment. But Sheridan did not stop to chide nor coax, but as his powerful black steed thundered over that magnificent stone road



SHERIDAN'S RIDE FROM WINCHESTER.

which traverses the Shenandoah Valley, he waved his hat and shouted to the tumultuous crowds: "Face the other way, boys; face the other way! We are going back to our camp to lick them out of their boots!" The man and the act were marvellously magnetic in their effects. The tide of disordered troops was instantly turned, and flowed swiftly in the wake of their young commander. As he dashed into the lines, and rode along the front of forming regiments, he gave to each most stirring words of cheer and encouragement, and declared in substance, "We'll have all those camps and cannon back again." The men believed him, and showing their faith by their works, secured a speedy fulfilment of the prophecy. General Wright had already brought order out of confusion. A very severe struggle

ensued, and very soon Early was again sent "whirling" up the Valley. The National cavalry of Emory's corps, falling upon both flanks, caused the Confederates to flee in hot haste up the Valley pike, in great disorder, to Fisher's Hill, leaving the highway strewn with abandoned hindrances to flight. The road was clogged with masses of men, wagons, cannon and caissons, in utter confusion, and these were left behind. This short but brilliant campaign of Sheridan, which nearly annihilated Early's force, ended hostilities in the Shenandoah Valley.

Let us now turn again toward Petersburg and Richmond, for a moment.

General Butler had thrown a pontoon-bridge across the James River at Deep Bottom, within ten miles of Richmond, over which troops passed to the north side of that stream and menaced the Confederate capital. Lee was alarmed by the movement and withdrew a large force from Petersburg to defend Richmond, believing the latter city would be immediately attacked; and there it was that General Grant made the unsuccessful attempts just mentioned, to penetrate the Confederate lines before Petersburg. He had mined under one of the principal forts, and it was blown up on the morning of the 30th of July, with terrible effect. In the place of the fortification was left a crater of loose earth two hundred feet in length, full fifty feet in width, and from twenty-five to thirty feet in depth. The fort, its guns and other munitions of war, with three hundred men, had been thrown high in air, and annihilated. Then the great guns of the Nationals opened a heavy cannonade upon the remainder of the works, with precision and fearful effect, all along the lines; but owing partly to the slowness of motion of a portion of the assaulting force, the result was a most disastrous failure on the part of the assailants.

A fortnight later Grant sent another expedition to the north side of the James, at Deep Bottom, composed of the divisions of Birney and Hancock, with cavalry led by General Gregg. They had sharp engagements with the Confederates on the 13th, 16th and 18th of August, in which the Nationals lost about five thousand men without gaining any special advantage excepting the incidental one of giving assistance to troops sent to seize the Weldon railway, south of Petersburg. This General Warren effected on the 18th of August. Three days afterward he repulsed a Confederate force who attempted to repossess the portion of the road held by the Unionists; and on the same day General Hancock, who had returned from the north side of the James, struck the Weldon road at Reams's Station, and destroyed the track for some distance. The Nationals were finally driven from the road with considerable loss.

For little more than a month after this, there was comparative quiet in

the vicinity of Petersburg and Richmond. The National troops were moved simultaneously toward each city. General Butler, with the Tenth Army Corps under General Birney, and the Eighteenth corps under General Ord, moved upon Fort Harrison, on the north side of the James, and captured it on the 29th of September. These troops charged upon another fort near by, and were repulsed with heavy loss. Among the slain was General Burnham. General Ord was severely wounded. The captured Fort Harrison was named Fort Burnham in honor of the slain general. In these assaults the gallantry of the colored troops was so conspicuous, that General Butler presented to each of the more meritorious ones a silver medal, which bore a device commemorative of their valor.

In the meantime, General Meade had sent General Warren with two divisions of his corps, General Parke with two divisions of the Ninth corps, and General Gregg with his cavalry, to attempt the extension of the National left on the Weldon road. The chief object of the movement was to mask the more important operations of Butler at that time. But it resulted in severe fighting on the first and second days of October (1864), with varying fortunes for both parties.

Now there was another pause but not a settled rest for about a month, when the greater portion of the *Army of the Potomac* was massed on the Confederate right, south of the James; and on the 27th of October, they assailed Lee's works on Hatcher's Run, westward of the Weldon road. A severe struggle ensued. The Nationals were repulsed, and on the 29th they withdrew to their intrenchments in front of Petersburg. Very little of importance was done by the *Army of the Potomac* after that, until the opening of the campaign in the spring of 1865, excepting the extension of their line to Hatcher's Run. The losses of that army had been fearful during six months, from the beginning of May until November, 1864. The aggregate number in killed, wounded, missing and prisoners, was over *eighty-eight thousand* men, of whom nearly *ten thousand* were killed in battle. Add to these the losses in the *Army of the James* during the same time, and the sum would be full *one hundred thousand men*.

The command of the troops engaged in the campaign against Atlanta was, as we have observed, entrusted to General Wm. T. Sherman, who had succeeded General Grant in command of the Military Division of the Mississippi. With a force composed of the *Army of the Cumberland* led by General George H. Thomas, the *Army of the Tennessee* led by General J. B. McPherson, and the *Army of the Ohio* commanded by General J. M. Schofield, Sherman moved southward from the vicinity of Chattanooga on the 6th of May, 1864. The aggregate number of his soldiers was about one

hundred thousand men. These were confronted by about fifty-five thousand men, led by General Joseph E. Johnston, and arranged in three corps commanded respectively by Generals Hardee, Hood, and Polk. This army then lay at Dalton, at the parting of the ways, one leading into East Tennessee, and the other into West Tennessee. To strike that position in front was impracticable, or, at least, perilous, for the Confederates were very strongly posted; and Sherman began there a series of successful flank movements. When he menaced the flanks of the Confederates at Dalton by seeking a passage through Snake Hill Gap, on the left, the insurgents fell back to a point near Resaca Station at the Oostenaula River, on the line of the railway between Chattanooga and Atlanta. At that place a sharp battle occurred on the 15th of May, when the Confederates were driven across the Oostenaula. Johnston fired the bridge that spanned that stream, cutting off direct pursuit immediately. Generals Thomas, Hooker, McPherson, Schofield, and other noted leaders were engaged in the fight; and as soon as a temporary bridge was constructed, the next morning, Thomas pursued Hardee (who covered the retreat) directly, while McPherson and Schofield kept on their flanks. The Confederates fled from post to post, burning bridges behind them, until they reached a mountainous region covering the Allatoona Pass. There Johnston halted, with the Etowah River between his troops and the National forces; and then both armies took a brief rest.

These flanking movements had resulted so favorably to the Nationals, that Sherman resolved to pursue them. He determined to flank Johnston out of his strong position at Allatoona Pass, by concentrating his forces at Dallas, westward of him. In attempting to thwart this movement, the Confederates brought on an engagement near Dallas, on the 25th of May. The battle was indecisive, and was followed by a very stormy night, during which Johnston's men used the pickaxe and spade so industriously, that by morning Sherman found his antagonist strongly intrenched, with lines extending from Dallas to Marietta. Between these towns was a broken, wooded country, and in that region there was much severe fighting for several days. At length Johnston was compelled to evacuate Allatoona Pass (June 1, 1864), when it was garrisoned by Sherman and made his second base of supplies, the first being at Chattanooga. The burned bridges were rebuilt and well guarded, and full possession of the railway in his rear was obtained by Sherman. At Allatoona he was reinforced on the 8th by troops under General Frank Blair, which made his number of effective men nearly what it was when he moved from Chattanooga.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ARMIES AT MARIETTA—DEATH OF BISHOP POLK—HOOD IN COMMAND—BATTLES AROUND ATLANTA—THOMAS SENT TO NASHVILLE—HOOD CHASED INTO ALABAMA—SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA—EVACUATION OF SAVANNAH—EVENTS IN FLORIDA AND NORTH CAROLINA—INVASION OF TENNESSEE—HOOD'S DEFEATS AND ESCAPE—CONFEDERATE CRUISERS—CAPTURE OF THE ALABAMA—FARRAGUT NEAR MOBILE—ELECTION OF PRESIDENT—SHERMAN IN THE CAROLINAS—EVACUATION OF CHARLESTON—GRIERSON'S RAID—CAPTURE OF FORT FISHER—BATTLES AT AVERYSBORO' AND BENTONVILLE—WILSON'S RAID—CAPTURE OF MOBILE—OPERATIONS BELOW PETERSBURG—SHERIDAN'S RAID—LEE'S ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE—STONEMAN'S RAID—MOVEMENTS FOR PEACE.

SOON after evacuating Allatoona Pass, General Johnston was compelled to abandon other posts before the approach of Sherman's strengthened army. The latter pressed vigorously forward toward the Kenesaw Mountains that overlooks Marietta. Around these great hills and upon their slopes and summits, and also upon Lost and Pine Mountains, the Confederates had cast up intrenchments and planted signal stations; but after a desperate struggle—fighting battle after battle for the space of about a month, while rain was falling copiously almost without intermission—the Confederates were forced to leave all these strong positions. They fled toward the Chattahoochee River, in the direction of Atlanta, closely pursued by the Nationals. One of their corps commanders (Bishop Polk) had been instantly killed by a shell on the summit of Pine Mountain, and the insurgent armies had suffered fearful losses in that terrible struggle. So persistently did Johnston dispute the way from Dalton, in northern Georgia, to Atlanta, that when he reached the intrenchments at the latter place, he had lost nearly one-fourth of his army.

When, on the evening of July 2d, Sherman's cavalry threatened Johnston's flanks and menaced the ferry of the Chattahoochee, the Confederates abandoned the Great Kenesaw, and fled; and at dawn the next morning, when National skirmishers planted the Stars and Stripes over the Confederate battery on the summit of that eminence, they saw the hosts of their enemies flying in hot haste toward Atlanta. At eight o'clock Sherman rode into Marietta, a conqueror, close upon the heels of Johnston's army. He hoped to strike the Confederates a fatal blow while they were crossing the

Chattahoochee; but Johnston, by quick and skillful movements, passed that stream without molestation, and made a stand along the line of it. General Howard laid a pontoon bridge two miles above the ferry where Johnston had crossed, and at the same time there was a general movement of Sherman's forces all along his line. The imperilled Confederates were compelled to abandon the works which they had thrown up near the Chattahoochee, and retreat to a new line that covered Atlanta, their left resting on the Chattahoochee and their right on Peach Tree Creek. Now, toward the middle of July, the two armies rested; and Johnston, an able and judicious leader, was succeeded by General J. B. Hood, of Texas, a dashing and less cautious officer than his predecessor. At that time (July 10), or sixty-five days after Sherman put his army in motion southward, he was master of the whole country north and west of the river on the banks of which he was resting (or nearly one-half of Georgia), and had accomplished one of the major objects of the campaign, namely, the advancement of the National lines from the Tennessee to the Chattahoochee.

The possession of Atlanta, the key-point of military advantage in the campaign in that region, was the next prize to be contended for. The Nationals advanced at a little past the middle of July, destroying railways and skirmishing bravely; and on the 20th the Confederates, led by Hood in person, fell upon the corps of Howard, Hooker and Palmer, with heavy force. The assailants were repulsed after a sharp battle, in which both parties suffered severely.

There were now indications that Hood intended to evacuate Atlanta, when the Nationals moved rapidly toward the city, encountering strong intrenchments. Before these a part of Hood's army held their antagonists; while the main body, led by General Hardee, made a long night march, gained the rear of Sherman's forces on the morning of the 22d of July, and fell upon them with crushing weight of numbers that day. A terrific battle ensued, lasting many hours; and after a brief interval, one still more sanguinary was begun, which resulted in victory for the Nationals and the retreat of the Confederates to their works. During that day, General McPherson, who was at the head of the *Army of the Tennessee*, while reconnoitering in a wood, was shot dead by a Confederate sharp-shooter (Major McPherson); and General Logan took his place in command. Yet another sanguinary battle was fought on the 28th of July, before Atlanta, when the Confederates were again driven to their lines, with heavy losses; and from that time until the close of August, hostilities in that region were confined, chiefly, to raids upon railways and the interruption of the communications of each army with its supplies. Finally, on the 31st of August, the forces

of Howard and Hardee had a severe battle at Jonesboro', twenty miles below Atlanta, in which the Confederates were defeated. When Hood heard of this disaster, he perceived his peril, and blowing up his magazine at Atlanta, formed a junction with Hardee, and with his whole army soon recrossed the Chattahoochee. By his rash acts, Hood had wasted nearly one-half of his infantry in the space of a few weeks. The Nationals entered Atlanta on the 2d of September, 1864.

The chief object of the Southern campaign was now in possession of the National forces. Much of September was passed in the reorganization of the two armies, with the Chattahoochee separating them. Satisfied that Hood was preparing to attempt the seizure of Tennessee, Sherman sent General Thomas to Nashville to organize new troops that were to be concentrated there. Meanwhile Hood had planned and attempted the seizure of stores at Allatoona Pass, but had been foiled. Sherman started after him and chased him into northern Alabama, and there relinquishing the pursuit, returned to Atlanta, destroying the railway behind him.

Late in October, Sherman prepared for his famous march from Atlanta to the sea. To General Thomas he assigned the absolute command of a large portion of his army, cut loose from all communications with the North, and on the morning of the 14th of November, marched from Atlanta with sixty-five thousand men, in two columns, commanded respectively by Generals Howard and Slocum, preceded by General Kilpatrick with five thousand cavalry. The army subsisted off the country, wherein they found ample supplies. They also met with very little opposition in its march of thirty-six days through the heart of Georgia. It was a military promenade, requiring very little military skill in the performance, and as little personal prowess. Finally, as the Nationals approached the Atlantic seaboard, they attacked and captured Fort McAllister, on the Ogeechee River. That was on the 13th of December; and four days afterward, the army being before Savannah, Sherman demanded its surrender. Hardee was there with fifteen thousand men, and on the 20th (December, 1864), they evacuated the city and fled to Charleston. On the following day, Sherman entered the city in triumph. By his march through Georgia, he had discovered that the Confederacy was a mere shell in that region. Here we will leave him, and consider events elsewhere.

Early in 1864, intimations came from Florida that its citizens desired reunion with the National Government, but were hindered by Confederate troops there, led by General Finnegan. General Gillmore, then holding Charleston tightly in his grasp, sent General Truman Seymour to assist the Floridians. At the head of six thousand troops, Seymour went up the St.



SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA.

John's River, drove the Confederates from Jacksonville, and pursued them into the interior. In the heart of a cypress swamp at Olustee Station, on a railway that crossed the Peninsula, Seymour encountered Finnegan strongly posted. A sharp battle occurred on the 20th of February (1864), when the Nationals were repulsed and retreated to Jacksonville, destroying Confederate stores valued at \$1,000,000. At about the same time, Admiral Bailey destroyed Confederate salt-works on the coast of Florida, valued at \$3,000,000.

In the spring of 1864, some stirring events occurred on the coasts of North Carolina, the most notable of which was the capture of Plymouth (April 17), near the mouth of the Roanoke River, with sixteen hundred National troops, by the Confederate General Hoke. The Union troops were commanded by General Wessels. Hoke was assisted by the *Albemarle*, a powerful "ram." This vessel well-guarded these waters for several months, when, on the night of the 27th of October, it was destroyed with a torpedo by Lieutenant Cushing of the National navy. The night was intensely dark. Cushing, with thirteen men, went into Plymouth harbor in a boat, with a torpedo, and made for the "ram" through a barricade of logs. When they were within twenty yards of the "ram," they were discovered; but in the face of a terrible shower of bullets, they thrust the torpedo under the *Albemarle*, and it exploded with fatal effect. At that moment, a bolt from the "ram" went crashing through Cushing's boat. He and his men leaped into the water; but only himself and another escaped death from bullets and drowning, and were saved on a cutter that accompanied the torpedo boat. After that the war in that region consisted chiefly of skirmishes between detachments of the two armies. Gillmore's guns kept watch and ward over Charleston, while he and some of his troops, as we have observed, went to the James River.

General Hood, according to Sherman's expectations, pushed across the Tennessee River, near Florence, preceded by Forrest and his cavalry, who raided in lower Tennessee for some time, eluding National troops sent against him. He co-operated with Hood's army after its passage of the river, late in October; and at Johnsonville, on the Tennessee, he destroyed National stores valued at \$1,500,000. Hood had been reinforced by General Taylor, from Louisiana, and pushed vigorously on toward Nashville with fifty thousand troops. General Thomas was at that place with twenty thousand troops; and he had as many more under his command scattered over Tennessee and northern Alabama, in active service against the invading army.

General Schofield, who had advanced to the Duck River, first encoun-

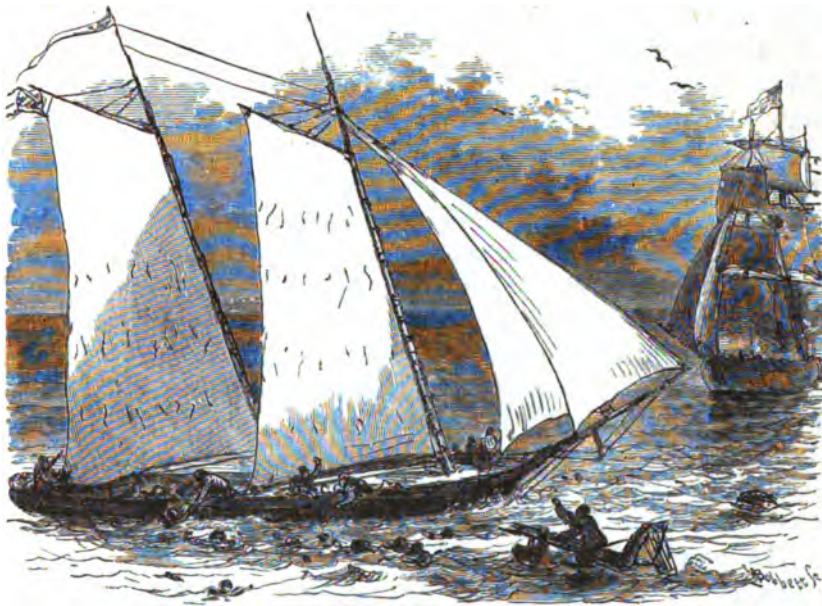
tered Hood, and fell back gradually to Franklin, where he took a stand on the 30th of November, and cast up intrenchments. His chief care had been to impede the march of the invaders, and to cover his train until it should reach Nashville. Hood came up in the afternoon of that day and a desperate battle was fought, which raged until near midnight. At the first onset, the Confederates drove the Nationals from their works and captured all their guns; but in a gallant counter-charge, all that the latter had lost were recovered, with ten battle-flags and three hundred captive insurgents as trophies of victory. Hood had lost one-sixth of his available force in the struggle. Schofield retreated to Nashville, with all his guns, closely pursued by Hood, who invested that post with forty thousand men at the beginning of December.

In the meantime, General Thomas had been reinforced by troops under General A. J. Smith, who had been driving Price out of Missouri. Hood's cavalry was superior to that of Thomas in numbers, and the latter kept the invaders in front of Nashville as long as possible, to enable him to collect there horses and means for transportation. Finally, at the middle of December, the Nationals moved upon the Confederates. The Fourth corps, led by General T. J. Wood, attacked them vigorously and drove them back to the foot of the Harpeth Hills. The next day (December 16) the same troops and others advanced, and after a severe battle, the invaders were sent flying southward with great precipitation and much confusion, and were closely pursued several days, Hood turning to fight occasionally. At the close of the month, Hood, with his shattered army covered by Forrest's cavalry, escaped across the Tennessee, and he became no longer formidable. In the course of four months, Thomas had made eleven thousand five hundred Confederates prisoners of war, and captured seventy-two pieces of artillery. His own loss was about ten thousand men, or less than one-half that of his antagonists.

At the beginning of 1864, Confederate cruisers on the ocean had captured one hundred and ninety-three American merchant-ships, whose aggregate cargoes were valued at over \$13,400,000. We have already noticed the depredations of the *Alabama*. Another rover, called the *Sumter*, after a short but destructive career, was blockaded and sold at Gibraltar, early in 1862. The *Florida* and *Georgia*, both built in Great Britain, captured and destroyed scores of ships; and in 1864, British shipyards furnished three other formidable cruisers for the use of the Confederates, in spite of the remonstrances of the American minister (Charles Francis Adams) in London.

The *Alabama* was the most formidable of them all. She was com-

manded by Captain Raphael Semmes, a native of Maryland, who died in August, 1877, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. She continued her depredations on the high seas, eluding the Government vessels until the 19th of June, 1864, when she encountered the *Kearsarge*, Captain John A. Winslow, off the port of Cherbourg, France. They fought desperately for an hour, when the *Alabama*, badly bruised, began to sink. Her flag was struck, and twenty minutes afterward she went to the bottom of the sea, leaving her commander and his crew struggling for life in the water. At that moment



THE FRIENDLY YACHT AND ITS SERVICES.

the *Deerhound*, a yacht, with its owner (an English gentleman) and his family, appeared. The Englishman sympathized with the Confederates, and went out from Cherbourg ostensibly to see the contest, but really to bear away Semmes and his officers from the grasp of the Nationals should misfortune befall them. These officers, with a few of the crew, were rescued by the yacht and borne in safety to England, where the commander of the *Alabama* was honored with a public dinner (at Southampton); and Admiral Anson, of the royal navy, headed a list of subscribers to a fund raised for the purchase of an elegant sword to be presented to Semmes as a token of sympathy and esteem. The "common people" of the *Alabama* were saved by the boats of her antagonist, and some French vessels.

The news of Winslow's victory was received with joy by the friends of the Government; and it was determined to close the ports of Wilmington and Mobile, the only ones open to blockade-runners. For that purpose Admiral Farragut appeared off the entrance to Mobile (August 5, 1864) with a fleet of eighteen vessels, four of them iron-clads. Five thousand troops under General Gordon Granger had been sent by General Canby from New Orleans, to co-operate with the fleet. The latter (the wooden vessels lashed together in couples) sailed in between the two forts that guarded the entrance—Fort Morgan on the main and Fort Gaines on Dauphin Island. In order to have a general oversight of all the movements, the admiral was fast-bound to the rigging at the maintop of his flag-ship (*Hartford*), that he might not be dislodged by the shock of battle. Through a tube extending from his lofty position to the deck, he gave orders clearly in the midst of the uproar of battle; and in that perilous situation he remained during the passage by the forts and the severe conflict with Confederate vessels that followed. In that passage one of his iron-clad gun-boats (*Tecumseh*) was destroyed by a torpedo, but the rest of the fleet was only slightly bruised. When he had passed the forts, a formidable "ram," two hundred feet long, named *Tennessee*, was seen coming swiftly down the bay with other gun-boats. These made a ferocious dash at the fleet; but after a sharp conflict, brief and decisive, the *Tennessee* was captured and victory remained with the Nationals.

The forts were now attacked by land and water, and were captured—Fort Gaines on the 7th of August, and Fort Morgan on the 23d. With these were surrendered one hundred great guns and over fourteen hundred men. The port of Mobile was effectually closed, and vigorous measures were adopted for ending the war. On the 3d of September the President called for three hundred thousand men to reinforce the armies in the field. A most cheerful response was made; and in view of omens of peace in the near future, the President issued a request that the people should, in their respective places of public worship, on a specified Sabbath-day, offer united thanksgivings to God for his blessings.

In the fall of 1864, a very exciting canvass for the election of President of the Republic occurred. President Lincoln had been nominated by the Republicans, with Andrew Johnson of Tennessee for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated General George B. McClellan of the army for President, and George H. Pendleton of Ohio for Vice-President. The sentiments of the Peace-Faction prevailed among the adherents of McClellan and Pendleton, and they had the support of all the sympathizers with the Confederates, in the free-labor States. The consequence was that only one of

these States (New Jersey) gave them the electoral vote, and Lincoln and Johnson, supported by the loyal people, were chosen by an unprecedented majority.

We left General Sherman and his army at Savannah. After resting for about a month, they began a rapid march through South Carolina, in widely



FARRAGUT LASHED TO THE RIGGING.

separated columns, and so distracted the Confederates that they did not concentrate a large body of troops anywhere. Incessant rains flooded the country, and the swamp-lands were overflowed; but Sherman pressed forward toward Columbia, the capital of the State, and captured it on the 17th of February, 1865. This disaster caused the Confederates to evacuate Charleston. Hardee and his troops fled into North Carolina and joined the forces there, commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston. Colored troops entered the abandoned city and put out the fires which the Confederates had kindled

when they fled. A few weeks afterward, on the anniversary of the evacuation of Fort Sumter four years before, Major Anderson, with his own hand, raised over the ruins of that fortress the identical Union flag which he had carried away from it in April, 1861.

Through the carelessness or folly of General Wade Hampton, who commanded the rear-guard at the evacuation of Columbus, the city was set on fire and a large part of it was laid in ashes. Sherman soon passed on to Fayetteville, in North Carolina, which place he reached on the 12th of March, leaving behind him a blackened path of desolation, forty miles in width. Most of the fighting on that march was done by the cavalry of Kilpatrick and Wheeler. From Fayetteville Sherman communicated with General Schofield, who was in command on the coast; and finding Johnston in front of him with forty thousand troops, he rested his army a few days.

At near the close of 1864, when Sherman was approaching the sea from Atlanta, a destructive raid through northern Mississippi was made by General Grierson with twenty-five hundred well-mounted men. He left Memphis on the 21st of December, and pushed forward to the Mobile and Ohio Railway, which he struck at Tupelo and destroyed all the way to Okolona, burning Confederate stores and alarming the whole country. After a successful contest at Okolona, Grierson went westward, distracting his foes by feints. He struck the Mississippi Central Railroad at Winona Station, and after several skirmishes he made his way to Vicksburg with trophies consisting of five hundred prisoners, eight hundred beeves, and a thousand liberated slaves. During this raid Grierson destroyed ninety-five railway cars, three hundred wagons, and thirty full warehouses.

It was late in 1864 when an attempt was made to close the port of Wilmington by the capture of Fort Fisher, at the mouth of the Cape Fear River. The expedition sent against that post was composed of a powerful fleet of war-vessels commanded by Admiral D. D. Porter, and land troops under the immediate command of General Godfrey Weitzel, accompanied by General B. F. Butler, who was in charge of the department whence the troops were taken. The attempt (December 25, 1864) was unsuccessful; but another made in February following, by the same fleet, and land troops led by General Alfred H. Terry, resulted in the capture of the fort and garrison on the 15th of that month. Terry was then joined by Schofield, who, being the senior officer, took the chief command. The fleet destroyed two Anglo-Confederate cruisers lying in the Cape Fear River, and the National army entered Wilmington as victors on the 22d of February.

Sherman's rest at Fayetteville lasted only three days. Then he moved

his army forward in another distracting march that puzzled his antagonists. On the 16th of March, while moving eastward toward Goldsboro', his troops fought twenty thousand Confederates under General Hardee, at Averysboro', and defeated them. Two days afterward, a part of the army under General Slocum were attacked by the whole of Johnston's forces, near Bentonville. The conflict was terrible. Sherman's army had been surprised, and nothing but the most desperate efforts saved it from destruction. It received six distinct assaults by the combined forces of Hoke, Hardee and Cheatham, under the immediate command of General Johnston himself. The conflict ended at twilight. It had been conducted chiefly by General Jefferson C. Davis, of the Fourteenth Army Corps. Had the battle been lost by the Nationals, the results might have been most disastrous to the Union cause. Sherman's army might have been annihilated; so, also, might Grant's, at Petersburg, and the struggle would have been prolonged. It was won by the army of the Republic, and its enemies retreated hastily toward Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina. Sherman was joined by Schofield and Terry at Goldsboro', when he hastened to City Point on the James River, by water, and there consulted the President and General Grant about future operations. He was back to his army three days after he left it.

After the sealing of Mobile harbor, arrangements were made for the capture of that city and gaining possession of Alabama. General Canby in command of the Department of the Gulf, moved twenty-five thousand troops against Mobile, in March, 1865. At the same time General Wilson, of Thomas's army, with thirteen thousand horsemen and about two thousand foot-soldiers, swept down from the Tennessee to co-operate with Canby. In the space of thirty days, Wilson raided six hundred and fifty miles through Alabama and Georgia, meeting with scarcely any opposition but from Forrest's cavalry, whom he kept from assisting the besieged Confederates at Mobile. Wilson captured cities and towns, and destroyed an immense amount of public property. Meanwhile Canby was reducing Mobile to submission; and on the 10th and 11th of April, General Maury, in command there, fled up the Alabama River with nine thousand troops, leaving five thousand men as prisoners, with one hundred and fifty cannon, in the hands of the victors. The war was now virtually at an end in the Gulf region.

During the winter of 1864-65, the *Armies of the Potomac* and of the *James* lay in comparative quiet in front of Petersburg and Richmond, holding the Confederate government and army so tightly in their grasp, that the latter could not form a junction with Johnston's forces, nor interfere

with Sherman's and Thomas's operations in the South and West. Early in December, Meade had sent Warren to destroy Lee's means of transportation of supplies over the Weldon Railway, near the North Carolina line; and early in February a heavy flanking column, horse and foot, stretched across that road beyond the Confederate right, to Dinwiddie Court-House, seeking an opportunity to turn the right flank of Lee's army. Severe struggles ensued, with heavy losses, and resulted in the permanent extension of the National line to Hatcher's Run, and the railway from City Point to that stream.

Grant now prepared to make a general and vigorous movement against Richmond; and late in February, he ordered General Sheridan to destroy all communications with that city north of the James River and to seize Lynchburg, a great depot of Confederate supplies. That officer was then in the Shenandoah Valley. With Generals Merritt and Custer, he left Winchester on the 27th, with ten thousand men, horse and foot; went up the Valley to Staunton, scattering Early's forces at Waynesboro'; and crossed the Blue Ridge and destroyed the railway as far as Charlottesville. Lynchburg was evidently too strong for him; so he divided his troops and sent one party to break up the railway toward that city, and the other to disable the James River Canal, by which large supplies of provisions entered the Confederate capital. Then Sheridan passed around the left of Lee's forces and joined the *Army of the Potomac* on the 27th of March. This destructive raid alarmed Lee, who saw that the salvation of his army and of the Confederacy now depended upon his forming a junction with Johnston's forces in North Carolina. For that purpose he concentrated his army near Grant's centre, in front of Petersburg, and made a furious assault (March 25, 1865) upon Fort Steadman, a strong point in the National lines, hoping to break through there; but he was repulsed with heavy loss, and his chances for reaching North Carolina were more remote than ever.

During the early part of the preceding winter, General Stoneman and his cavalry had made a campaign in southwestern Virginia; and early in February that commander was ordered to make a raid into South Carolina in aid of Sherman's movements. But that general was so successful that Stoneman's help was not needed, and he was directed to march eastward and destroy the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad as far toward Lynchburg as possible. When this was done, he turned southward and struck the North Carolina Railway between Danville and Greensboro'. Some of his troops penetrated to Salisbury, where the Confederates had many Union prisoners. There they destroyed a vast amount of public property; but the Union prisoners had been removed, and were not released. Then a part

of Stoneman's force destroyed (April 19) by fire the magnificent railway bridge, eleven hundred feet long, of the South Carolina Railway, that spanned the Catawba River; while the leader and the main body went into East Tennessee. During this raid, the National cavalry captured six thousand prisoners, thirty-one pieces of artillery, and a large number of small arms.

It was evident in the early spring that a few more heavy blows would end the Confederacy and the war. Individuals had made efforts from time to time to secure a peace without conquering the enemies of the Republic by force of arms. In the summer of 1864, the late Horace Greeley made such an attempt. At about the same time, two other civilians made their way to Richmond, for the purpose; and at near the close of the year the venerable Maryland politician, the late Francis P. Blair, visited the Confederate capital on the same errand. He conferred with Jefferson Davis, who, in a letter addressed to him, expressed his willingness to "renew the effort to enter into a conference with a view to secure peace to the *two countries*." When Mr. Blair communicated the contents of this letter to President Lincoln, the latter expressed *his* willingness to receive any agent of the Confederacy to confer, with a view, he said, "to securing peace for the people of our *common country*." The latter expression showed Davis that he could not treat for peace on the basis of independence for the Southern States; nevertheless, so loud was the popular clamor for peace, that he appointed Alexander H. Stephens, John A. Campbell, and R. M. T. Hunter commissioners, who were permitted to proceed as far as Hampton Roads, by water, but were not allowed to land. There they were met by President Lincoln and Secretary Seward. The President assured the commissioners that peace might be secured only on the condition of absolute submission, everywhere within the bounds of the Republic, to the National authority; and that there could be no secession from the position taken on the subject of slavery. He told them that Congress had just adopted an amendment to the National Constitution, which would be ratified by the loyal people, for the prohibition of slavery in every part of the Republic.

The conference was fruitless except in obtaining a clearer definition of the views of the Government and the Confederate leaders. The result was very unsatisfactory to the latter. At a large public meeting held in Richmond on the 5th of February, Mr. Davis, speaking in reference to Mr. Lincoln's expression, "our common country," said: "Sooner than we should be united again, I would be willing to yield up everything I have on earth, and, if it were possible, would sacrifice my life a thousand times before I would succumb." And at a great war-meeting held on the 9th, at which

R. M. T. Hunter presided, it was resolved that the Confederates would never lay down their arms until their independence was won. This being their determination, the National Government had no alternative, and was compelled to prosecute the war to a final dispersion of the armed forces seeking to destroy its existence.

The confidence assumed by Davis and his associates seems to have been inspired by hopes yet entertained of receiving foreign aid. Henry S. Foote, a member of the Confederate Congress (once United States Senator from Mississippi), says in his "War of the Rebellion": "The fact was well known to me that Mr. Davis and his friends were confidently looking for foreign aid, and from several quarters. It was stated, in my hearing, by several special friends of the Confederate president, that *one hundred thousand French soldiers* were expected to arrive within the limits of the Confederate States, by way of Mexico; and it was more than rumored that a *secret compact*, wholly unauthorized by the Confederate constitution, with certain Polish commissioners, who had lately been on a visit to Richmond, had been effected, by means of which Mr. Davis would now be supplied with some twenty or thirty thousand additional troops, then refugees from Poland, and sojourning in several European states, which would be completely at the command of the president for any purpose whatever." Mr. Foote adds, in that connection, that he was satisfied that Mr. Davis would, in sending peace commissioners, "so manacle their hands by *instructions*, as to render impossible all attempts at successful negotiation."



CHAPTER XXIV.

A DESPERATE STRUGGLE—BATTLE AT THE FIVE FORKS—ASSAULT ON PETERSBURG—PANIC IN RICHMOND—FLIGHT OF THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT—RICHMOND ON FIRE—NATIONAL TROOPS ENTER IT—TROPHIES AND CONFEDERATE ARCHIVES—REJOICINGS—SEWARD'S SPEECH—EVACUATION OF PETERSBURG—LEE BECOMES DESPONDENT, IS DEFEATED, AND SURRENDERS AT APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE—LEE'S FAREWELL ADDRESS—LINCOLN IN RICHMOND—PROCLAMATION OF PEACE—ASSASSINATION OF THE PRESIDENT—THE ASSASSIN'S FATE—JOHNSON PRESIDENT—A MURDEROUS PLOT—PROPOSAL BY THE CONFEDERATE LEADER REJECTED BY GENERAL JOHNSTON—SURRENDER OF GENERAL JOHNSTON AND OTHERS—CAPTURE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS—LENIENCY TOWARD HIM.

AFTER Lee's effort to break through the National line at Fort Steadman, it was resolved to make a grand movement against the Confederate right. Large bodies of troops were drawn from the Army of the James, under General Ord. General Sheridan, with ten thousand horsemen, was placed on the extreme left of the National army. The Ninth corps, under General Parke, and the force commanded by General Weitzel, were left on the north side of the James to hold the extended line of the National intrenchments, then full thirty-five miles in length; and General Grant gave wide discretion to the commander on the left, concerning attacks upon the Confederate line during the contemplated grand movement. "I would have it particularly enjoined upon corps commanders," he said, "that in case of an attack from the enemy, those not attacked are not to wait for orders from the commanding officers of the army to which they may belong, but that they will move promptly, and notify the commander of their action." General Benham was in charge of the immense depository of supplies at City Point.

Two days after Sheridan's return from his great raid at the close of March, the forward movement was begun. Lee perceived his own imminent peril; and leaving Longstreet with eight thousand men to protect Richmond, he massed the remainder of his army at the point of most apparent danger. Then began a fierce and desperate struggle for the mastery. It was made on the part of the Nationals chiefly by the Fifth corps, under Warren, with the co-operation of Sheridan. The latter, holding a position called the Five Forks, was struck so suddenly and severely by troops under

Pickett and Bushrod Johnson, that his force was driven back to Dinwiddie Court-House, in great confusion, hotly pursued. Warren was sent to Sheridan's aid; and near Five Forks a sanguinary battle was fought on the 1st of April. The Confederates were defeated and fled westward in great disorder, leaving five thousand of their comrades behind as prisoners of war. Many of the Confederates perished in the battle; and the loss of the Nationals was about a thousand men.

On the evening of the battle at the Five Forks, and before the shouts of victory there had reached the National line before Petersburg, General Grant had ordered his great guns all along that line to open a destructive cannonade upon the city and the Confederate works. The assault was kept up until four o'clock in the morning. It was an awful night for the few inhabitants remaining in Petersburg, and for the soldiers in the trenches. At dawn the works were assailed by infantry. Parke, with the Ninth corps, carried the outer works on his front, but was checked at an inner line; and the Nationals were successful on their extreme left, in crushing Lee's right wing. Longstreet had hastened down from Richmond to assist him, but he was too late. The Confederate right was shattered beyond recovery; and the Southside Railway, on which Lee placed great dependence, was struck by Sheridan at three different points.

Lee now perceived that he could no longer hold Petersburg, or the capital, with safety to his army, then reduced, by enormous losses in the space of a few days, to about thirty-five thousand men, and he resolved to maintain his position, if possible, until night, and then retreat with the hope of making his way to Johnston, in North Carolina, by way of the Danville railroad. He telegraphed to Davis at Richmond, in substance: "My lines are broken in three places; Richmond must be evacuated this evening." It was Sabbath morning, the 2d of April, and the message was delivered to Davis in St. Paul's Church. He quietly left the fane with deeply anxious features, and for a moment a painful silence prevailed. The religious services were closed; and before Dr. Minnegerode, the rector, dismissed the congregation, he gave notice that General Ewell, the commander in Richmond, desired the local forces to assemble at three o'clock in the afternoon.

For hours the people of the city were kept in the most anxious suspense, for the "government" was as silent as the sphynx. Panic gradually took the place of judgment; and when, toward evening, wagons were seen a-loading with trunks and boxes at the departments, and were driven to the Danville Railway station, and it became evident that Davis and his cabinet were preparing to flee, the wildest confusion and alarm prevailed. Prominent Confederates also prepared to fly, they knew not whither; and

at eight o'clock in the evening, Davis abandoned his capital and sought personal safety in flight. This act was a marked commentary on his assertion made in a speech a few weeks before: "If it were possible, I would be willing to sacrifice my life a thousand times before I would succumb." His wife had fled to Danville a few days before, and there awaited his coming. At nine o'clock in the evening, the Virginia legislature fled. The Confederate congress had already gone, having left an order for the cotton, tobacco, and other property in the city, to be burned. At midnight, all signs of a "government" had disappeared; and at three o'clock in the morning, incendiary fires were lighted. There was a fresh breeze from the south, and very soon a large portion of the chief business section of Richmond was enveloped in flames. Drunken incendiaries fired buildings not in the pathway of the great conflagration; and until dawn the city was a Pandemonium. Most of the Confederate troops had fled; and at an early hour in the morning, General Weitzel, in command of the forces on the north side of the James, entered Richmond with his colored regiments and put out the fires. Lieutenant Johnston Livingston De Peyster, of Weitzel's staff, ascended to the roof of the Virginia State-House and there unfurled the National Flag, where it had not been seen floating for four years.

Meanwhile, Davis and his associates fled to Danville, whither Lee hoped to follow. They had left the inhabitants of the capital defenceless and that city on fire; and they also abandoned five thousand of their sick and wounded in the hospitals, and a thousand soldiers, to become prisoners of war. They also left, as trophies for the victors, five hundred pieces of artillery, five thousand small arms, many locomotives and cars, and a large amount of other public property. They carried with them what gold they could seize in their haste; also the archives of the Confederate government, together with their great seal which had just arrived from England, but which was never stamped upon any public document. A part of the archives were captured by National troops, and the remainder were subsequently sold to our Government by the Confederate ex-minister to Mexico.

Tidings of the fall of Richmond went over the land on that memorable 3d of April, 1865, and produced great joy in every loyal bosom. Before sunset public demonstrations of delight and satisfaction were everywhere visible. At the National Capital, all the public offices were closed, and all business among those who were in sympathy with the Government was suspended. There was an immense gathering of people in Wall street, New York, on that day, to listen to the voices of patriotic orators; and from the tower of Trinity Church, which looks down upon that great mart of money-changers, the bells chimed music in airs consonant with the public feeling.

The people lingered long; and a deep religious feeling, born of joy and gratitude, pervaded that almost innumerable throng. That feeling was remarkably manifested when thousands of voices joined in chanting the Christian Doxology to the grand air of Old Hundred.

In Washington city, the loyal people gathered in a great throng and visited Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State. They called for a speech, when he appeared and said: "I am now about writing my foreign despatches. What shall I tell the Emperor of China? I shall thank him, in your name, for never having permitted a piratical flag to enter a harbor of the empire. What shall I say to the Sultan of Turkey? I shall thank him for always having surrendered rebel insurgents who have taken refuge in his kingdom. What shall I say to the Emperor of the French? I shall say to him that he can go to Richmond to-morrow and get his tobacco, so long held under blockade there, provided the rebels have not used it up. To Lord John Russell, I will say, the British merchants will find the cotton exported from our ports, under treaty with the United States, cheaper than cotton obtained by running the blockade. As for Earl Russell himself, I need not tell him that this is a war for freedom and national independence, and the rights of human nature, and not a war for empire; and if Great Britain should only be just to the United States, Canada will remain undisturbed by us, so long as she prefers the authority of the noble Queen to voluntary incorporation in the United States. What shall I tell the King of Prussia? I will tell him that the Germans have been faithful to the standard of the Union, as his excellent minister, Baron Gerolt, has been constant in his friendship to the United States during his long residence in this country. To the Emperor of Austria, I shall say that he has proved himself a very wise man, for he told us at the beginning, that he had no sympathy with the rebels anywhere." In these few words, Secretary Seward revealed the fact that while Great Britain and France—Christian nations—were assisting the enemies of our Republic to destroy it, Pagan China and Mohammedan Turkey, animated by principles of right and justice, were its abiding friends.

Lee, after he had advised the evacuation of Richmond, perceiving that he could no longer hold Petersburg, abandoned it. He stole away so silently on the evening of the 2d, that the suspicions of the Union pickets were not awakened; and when, at dawn, it was discovered that the intrenchments of the Confederates in front of Petersburg had been abandoned, Lee's army were miles away to the westward, seeking to join the columns at Richmond, in a flight for safety. Lee concentrated his broken army at Amelia Court-House, where they might reach the Danville Railway. He had ordered stores to be sent from Danville to that point for the use of his

army; but when, on Sunday afternoon, the loaded trains reached Amelia Court-House, a despatch reached the officer in charge, directing him to continue the train on to Richmond for the transportation of the "government" and the archives. The stupid officer did not leave the supplies at Amelia, but took them on to Richmond, and they were there destroyed in the conflagration. This was a fatal mistake; and when Lee reached Amelia Court-House, with his half-famished army, and found no supplies there, hope forsook him, for his plans were thwarted. He could not move on for want of provisions and forage; and in the meantime, Sheridan gained a position between the Confederates and Lee's avenue of escape. For several days the latter made desperate efforts to break through the National line, cavalry and infantry, that stood across his path, but failed. Finally, on the 9th of April, he made overtures for capitulation.

On the 7th, Grant had written a note to Lee, suggesting that the events of the past week should convince him of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia. "I feel that it is so," Grant wrote, "and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia." To this, Lee replied, that he did not believe further resistance would be vain; but reciprocating Grant's desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, he said: "Before considering your proposition, I ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender." After dispatching his reply to Grant, Lee resumed his march westward toward Lynchburg, under cover of the darkness. He hoped to escape to the shelter of the mountains beyond Lynchburg. So silent was his retreat, that it was not discovered until the morning of the 8th, when the National army pushed on in pursuit of the fugitives.

On receiving Lee's answer, the lieutenant-general replied: "There is but one condition I would insist upon, namely, that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms against the Government of the United States, until properly exchanged;" and he proposed to meet Lee in person, or to delegate officers for the purpose of definitely arranging the terms of surrender.

Hoping to escape, after his uninterrupted night march, Lee sent a note to General Grant, saying he did not propose to surrender. "To be frank," he said, "I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army." He then proposed to meet Grant on the morning of the 9th to confer upon the subject of peace. The lieutenant-general replied that he had no authority to treat on the topic of peace, and that a meeting

for such a purpose would be useless. "The terms upon which peace can be had," he said, "are well understood. By the South laying down their arms, they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed." In the meantime Sheridan had settled the question, and rendered further parley unnecessary. He stood across Lee's path on the morning of the 9th, near Appomattox Court-House. The latter saw that his only hope of escape was in cutting his way successfully through Sheridan's line. This he attempted at day-break with his whole army, then numbering not more than ten thousand effective men. He failed again. Appalled, the Confederates staggered back, and displayed a white flag before the van of the troopers of General Custer. Then Lee wrote to Grant: "I received your note of this morning on the picket-line, whither I had come to meet you, and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposal of yesterday, with reference to the surrender of this army. I now ask an interview, in accordance with an offer contained in your letter of yesterday, for that purpose."

Grant sent Lee word that he assented to his request, and arrangements were made for an interview in the parlor of the neat brick dwelling of Wilmer McLean at Appomattox Court-House. There, at two o'clock on Palm-Sunday (April 9, 1865), the two commanders met, with courteous recognition. General Grant was accompanied by his chief aide-de-camp, Colonel Parker, a great-nephew of the celebrated Seneca chief, Red Jacket; General Lee, by Colonel Marshall, his adjutant-general, a great-grandson of Chief-Justice Marshall of the Supreme Court of the United States. The terms of surrender were discussed and settled. They were put in the form of a written proposition by Grant, and a written acceptance by Lee. Having been engrossed, they were signed by the generals, at half-past three o'clock, on a neat mahogany centre-table, with a marble top.

The terms prescribed by General Grant were extremely lenient and magnanimous, considering the circumstances. They required Lee and his men to give their parole of honor that they would not take up arms against their Government until regularly exchanged; gave to the officers their side-arms, baggage, and private horses; and pledged the faith of the Government that they should not be punished for their treason and rebellion so long as they should respect that parole and be obedient to the laws. Grant even went so far, in his generosity, at Lee's suggestion, that he gave instructions to the proper officers to allow such cavalrymen of the Confederate army as owned their horses to retain them, as they would, he said, need them for tilling their farms.

With the freedom of utterance which the generosity of the victor had

given him, General Lee, on the following day, issued an extraordinary farewell Address to his Army, in which, in very guarded language, he told his soldiers, in effect, that in taking up arms against their country and trying to destroy the Republic in whose government he and they had always shared as equals, they had done a patriotic act, and for which they would take with



SIGNING THE CAPITULATION AT APPOMATTOX.

them "the satisfaction that proceeds from conscientiousness of duty faithfully performed;" therefore, he invoked God's blessing upon their acts. He gave them to understand that they had no "country"—no government to which their allegiance was due, excepting the territory and the rulers within the bounds of the Southern Confederacy; and he spoke of his "unceasing admiration" of their "constancy and devotion to that country," which had "endeared them to their countrymen."

When the terms of surrender were agreed upon, the Confederate soldiers were provided with food from the National stores; and on Wednesday, the 12th of April, 1865, they laid down their arms. Transportation and food were provided by the Government to large numbers of the troops on their journey homeward. The number paroled was about twenty-five thousand men, of whom not more than nine thousand men had arms in their hands. With the men were surrendered about sixteen thousand small arms, one hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, seventy-one stand of colors, about eleven hundred wagons and caissons, and four thousand horses and mules. The official announcement of the great victory was sent over the land with the speed of lightning, by the Secretary of War, and an order for a salute of two hundred guns at the headquarters of every army, and at the Military Academy at West Point.

President Lincoln had been at City Point and vicinity, for several days before the fall of Richmond, anxiously watching the current of events. On the day after the Confederate capital was evacuated, he went up to that city on Admiral Porter's flag-ship, the *Malvern*; and while on his way to Weitzel's headquarters, at the late residence of Jefferson Davis, he was saluted with the loud cheers and grateful ejaculations of a vast concourse of emancipated slaves, who had been told that the "tall man" was their liberator. On the day of Lee's surrender, he returned to Washington; and on the 11th he issued a proclamation, in which he demanded, henceforth, for our vessels in foreign ports, on penalty of retaliation, those privileges and immunities which had hitherto been denied them on the plea of according equal belligerent rights to the Republic and its internal enemies. On the following day an order was issued from the War Department, putting an end to all drafting and recruiting for the National army, and the purchase of munitions of war and supplies. This virtual proclamation of the end of the war went over the land on the anniversary of the evacuation of Fort Sumter (April 14), while General Anderson was replacing the old flag over the ruins of that fortress. Preparations were a-making for a National Thanksgiving, and the beams of returning peace illuminated the Republic, so to speak, when suddenly a dark cloud appeared and overspread the firmament with a gloomy pall. Before midnight the telegraph flashed the sad tidings over the land that the President had been assassinated! He was sitting in a theatre at Washington, with his wife and friends, when John Wilkes Booth, an actor by profession, entered his box stealthily and shot Mr. Lincoln in the back of his head with a Derringer pistol. The assassin then rushed to the front of the box with a gleaming dagger in his hand, and shouted "*Sic semper tyrannis*"—so may it always be with tyrants—the

motto on the seal of Virginia. Then he leaped upon the stage, booted and spurred for a night ride; and shouting to the audience, "*The South is avenged!*" he escaped by a back door, mounted a horse that was in readiness for him, dashed across the Anacosta and found temporary shelter among sympathizing Maryland slaveholders. Then he fled into Virginia, where he was overtaken by pursuers in a barn below Fredericksburg, which was set on fire; and as the assassin emerged from the flames he was shot by a sergeant named Boston Corbett.

The President expired early in the morning of the 15th of April. His body was taken, in solemn procession, to his home in Springfield, Illinois, by way of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany and western cities, everywhere receiving tokens of the people's love and grief. Funeral honors were displayed in many cities in the land. Six hours after the demise of the Chief Magistrate, Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, who was his constitutional successor, took the oath of office as President of the United States, administered by Chief-Justice Chase.

There seems to be a warrant for the belief, that the assassination of the President was only a part of a plan, in which the murder of the cabinet ministers, General Grant, and prominent Republicans, was contemplated; for on the same evening a murderous attack was made upon Secretary Seward, at his own house, by an ex-Confederate soldier. Secretary Stanton was absent from his home, and was not visited. It was a night of horrors at the capital; and President Johnson issued a proclamation early in May, signed by himself and Mr. Hunter, the Assistant Secretary of State, in which he declared that there was "evidence in the Bureau of Military Justice" that there had been a conspiracy formed by "Jefferson Davis, Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay, Beverly Tucker, George N. Saunders and William C. Cleary, and other rebels and traitors against the Government of the United States, harbored in Canada," to assassinate the President and Secretary of State; and he offered a reward of \$25,000 apiece for their arrest, excepting Cleary, a clerk, for whom \$10,000 were offered.

With the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox, the war was virtually ended. But only the Army of Northern Virginia had surrendered. That of Johnston, in North Carolina, and smaller bodies elsewhere, were yet in arms. When Sherman heard of the evacuation of Richmond and Petersburg, he put his whole army in motion and moved on Johnston, who was at Smithfield, on the Neuse River, with full thirty thousand men, starting at daybreak on the 10th of April, for the purpose of striking his rear. Johnston had just heard of the surrender of Lee, and retreated through Raleigh, and along the course of the railway westward, toward Greensboro'. At the

same time Davis and his cabinet, who had made Danville the seat of the Confederate government for a few days, had fled from that place to Greensboro', with anxious solicitude for themselves and their treasures. They had proposed to Johnston that he should disperse his army excepting two or three batteries of artillery, and as many infantry as he could mount, and with these should form a body-guard for the "government," and strike for the Mississippi and beyond, with Mexico as their final objective. Johnston, a man of honor, spurned this base and selfish proposal to desert his companions-in-arms far away from their homes and unprovided for, and subject the people in the region where the army would be disbanded to the sore evils of plunder, which lawless bands of starving men would engage in. Governed by the principles of justice and humanity, he had the moral courage to do his duty according to the dictates of conscience, and refused to fight any more in a hopeless cause. He stated frankly to the people of his military department, that "war could no longer be continued by them, except as robbers," and that he should take immediate steps to save the army and people from further evil and to "avoid the crime of waging a hopeless war." On the 26th of April, Johnston, and the army under his command, excepting a body of cavalry led by Wade Hampton, surrendered to Sherman, near Durham Station, in Orange county, North Carolina, on the same generous terms accorded to Lee and his troops. The number surrendered and paroled was about twenty-five thousand, with one hundred and eight pieces of artillery, and about fifteen thousand small arms. The whole number of his troops present and elsewhere was seventy thousand. On the 4th of May, General Taylor surrendered the Confederate forces in Alabama to General Canby, at Citronville; and the Confederate navy in the Tombigbee River was surrendered to Admiral Farragut at the same time. The last conflict in the terrible Civil War occurred near Brazos Santiago, in Texas, on the 13th of May, when hostilities entirely ceased.

Jefferson Davis, as we have observed, set up his "government" at Danville, after his flight from Richmond. On the 5th of April, he issued a proclamation from that place, in his usual style. "Let us but will it," he said, "and we are free. Animated by that confidence in spirit and fortitude which never yet failed me, I announce to you, my fellow-countrymen, that it is my purpose to maintain your cause with my whole heart and soul; that I will never consent to abandon to the enemy one foot of the soil of any one of the States of the Confederacy." This was followed a few days afterward by his proposition to Johnston to abandon his army and protect the "government" in its flight to Mexico. In his proclamation, Davis declared his purpose to defend Virginia, and that "no peace should ever be

made with the infamous invaders of her territory;" now he ingloriously *abandoned* Virginia. When he heard of the surrender of Johnston's army, and the ring of Stoneman's sabres fell upon his ears, he and his cabinet, escorted by two thousand cavalry, fled across rivers and swamps, with their forces, toward the Gulf of Mexico; for the way to the Mississippi and beyond was barred. Rumors of Stoneman, of Wilson, and even of Sheridan being on their track quickened their flight; while their escort so rapidly dwindled that when they reached Washington, in Georgia, the troopers were not more than sufficient to make a respectable raiding party. There all the cabinet ministers but Postmaster-General Reagan, left Davis, whose wife and children, and Mrs. Davis's sister (Miss Howell) had accompanied the fugitive "government" from Danville. Now, for prudential reasons, this family took another but nearly parallel route for the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, traveling in wagons. Information soon reached Davis that some Confederate soldiers, believing that his wife had the treasure taken from Richmond with her, had formed a plot to seize all her trunks and search for it. He instantly hastened to the rescue of his family and property, and to provide for their protection. For this purpose he and a few followers rode rapidly eighteen miles and joined his family near Irwinsville, the capital of Irwin county, Georgia, nearly due south from Macon. They had just pitched tents for the night; and the wearied president of the ruined Confederacy lay down to rest, intending to retrace his steps in the morning.

One hundred thousand dollars had been offered by the Government for Davis's capture. Vigilance was thereby made keen and active. General Wilson was at Macon when he heard of Davis's flight toward the Gulf, and sent out two bodies of cavalry to intercept him. One was composed of Michigan men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Pritchard, and the others were from Wisconsin, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Hardin. Discovering Davis's halting place, both parties approached the camp of the sleeping fugitives simultaneously from opposite directions, and, mistaking each other for enemies, in the gray light of early dawn, they exchanged shots. The noise aroused the slumberers. The camp was surrounded; and Davis, while attempting to escape partially disguised in a woman's water-proof cloak, and a shawl thrown over his head by Miss Howell, was captured by Pritchard and his men. The whole fugitive party were taken to Macon. Thence they were sent to Savannah, and conveyed by water to Fortress Monroe, where Davis was confined in comfortable quarters in a casemate. There he remained a long time, when he was admitted to bail. He was never tried, and still lives (1877), an uncompromising enemy of the Republic which he tried to destroy.

CHAPTER XXV.

PEACE—THE ARMIES RETURN HOME—ADDRESS TO THE SOLDIERS BY THE GENERAL-IN-CHIEF—
DISBANDING OF THE ARMIES—A PROBLEM SOLVED—THE NAVY, ITS GROWTH AND WORK—
THE BLOCKADE AND BLOCKADE-RUNNERS, AND THE RESULTS—EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS—
DAVIS'S PROCLAMATIONS—EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS STOPPED—TREATMENT OF UNION PRIS-
ONERS—LEE'S IGNORANCE—THE RESPONSIBILITY PROPERLY PLACED—HOSPITALS—UNITED
STATES SANITARY AND CHRISTIAN COMMISSIONS.

WHEN the Civil War, waged by the armies in the field, had ended, the people turned to the pursuits of peace. There was joy and hope in every loyal bosom in the land; and the friends of the Union everywhere, found expression to their feelings in the following hymn, composed by George H. Boker, and sung by the Loyal League of Philadelphia on the anniversary of the nation's independence, just four years after the National Congress met at the Capitol to provide for the suppression of the great insurrection and the salvation of the Republic:

"Thank God the bloody days are past,
Our patient hopes are crown'd at last;
And sounds of bugle, drum and fife,
But lead our heroes home from strife!

"Thank God there beams o'er land and sea,
Our blazing Star of victory;
And everywhere, from main to main,
The old flag flies and rules again!

"Thank God! oh dark and trodden race,
Your Lord no longer veils his face;
But through the clouds and woes of fight,
Shines on your souls a brighter light!

"Thank God! we see, on every hand,
Breast-high the rip'ning grain-crops stand;
The orchards bend, the herds increase,
But oh, thank God! thank God for PEACE!"

Before this hymn was chanted, the soldiers of the great armies of the Republic who had saved the nation from political death, and, incidentally, had achieved the work of emancipation for an enslaved race, were making

their way homeward. They were everywhere received with the warmest demonstrations of gratitude and affection. In almost every village and city there were public receptions of returning companies and regiments; and their tattered banners are cherished as precious mementoes of a noble work finished by those who bore them through the perils of the battle-field. With the exception of a few soldiers who were left in Virginia and North Carolina, those who confronted Lee and Johnston and achieved a victory over both, were marched to the vicinity of the National Capital; and during two memorable days (May 22d, 23d, 1865) they moved through that city, in long procession, with tens of thousands of tear-moistened eyes gazing upon them, and passed in review before the Chief Magistrate of the nation and his ministers. Human vision had never beheld a spectacle like that, in all its aspects. Then began the work of disbanding the armies, by mustering out of service officers and men; and on the 2d of June (1865), the general-in-chief (Grant) issued the following address to them:

"Soldiers of the Armies of the United States: By your patriotic devotion to your country in the hour of danger and alarm, and your magnificent fighting, bravery and endurance, you have maintained the supremacy of the Union and the Constitution, overthrown all armed opposition to the enforcement of the laws and of the proclamation forever abolishing slavery—the cause and pretext of the Rebellion—and opened the way to the rightful authorities to restore order, and inaugurate peace on a permanent and enduring basis on every foot of American soil. Your marches, sieges and battles, in distance, duration, resolution and brilliancy of results, dims the lustre of the world's past military achievements, and will be the patriot's precedent in defence of liberty and right in all time to come. In obedience to your country's call, you left your homes and families, and volunteered in her defence. Victory has crowned your valor, and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts; and with the gratitude of your countrymen, and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families, conscious of having discharged the highest duty of American citizens. To achieve these glorious triumphs, and secure to yourselves, your fellow-countrymen and posterity, the blessings of free institutions, tens of thousands of your gallant comrades have fallen, and sealed the priceless legacy with their blood. The graves of these, a grateful nation bedews with tears. It honors their memories, and will ever cherish and support their stricken families."

The Civil War in America was more extended in area and more destructive of life and property than any recorded in history. The whole number

of men called into the military and naval service during the war, to save the Union, was 2,656,533, of whom nearly 200,000 were colored. About 1,400,000 men were in actual service, and 60,000 were killed in the field. There were 30,000 mortally wounded; and 184,000 died in hospitals and camps. Full 300,000 Union soldiers perished during the war, and it is supposed the Confederates lost an equal number. On both sides there were a large number more or less disabled for life. It is estimated that, during the war, 1,000,000 men, taken from the active pursuits of life, were sacrificed, to feed the ambition of a comparatively few men who wished to form an empire with human slavery as its corner-stone, and who tried to pull down our grand structure of free government, that they might build their forbidding fabric upon its ruins. That war burdened the industry of the whole nation with a loss and debt of over \$6,000,000,000. But it gave freedom to about 4,000,000 slaves, and purged our National escutcheon of a monstrous stain.

The disbanding of the army went steadily on from the first of June (1865), and by the middle of November following, nearly 800,000 of the 1,000,000 of the soldiers whose names were on the rolls on the first of May had been mustered out of service and returned to their several avocations. The wonderful spectacle was exhibited for the contemplation of the civilized world, of vast armies of men surrounded by all the paraphernalia of war, transformed, in the space of one hundred and fifty days, into a vast army of citizens engaged in the blessed pursuits of peace. No argument in favor of free institutions and a republican form of government, so conclusive and potential as this, was ever before presented to the feelings and judgment of the nations of the earth. The important political problem of the nineteenth century was solved by our Civil War. Our Republic no longer appeared as an *experiment*, but as a *demonstration*.

The National navy has an equal claim to the gratitude of the loyal people of our country, for its services during the war were of incalculable value. It attracted less attention than the army, because our vessels of war were engaged chiefly in the blockade service, or as auxiliaries of the army along the rivers and sea-coasts. In that service, especially in the latter portion of it, the labors of the officers and seamen were arduous in the extreme; and there were occasions for the display of prowess and skill equal to any required in the open ocean service. A history of the part performed by our gun-boat squadron on the rivers would form a most marvellous chapter in the annals of the Civil War.

At the breaking out of hostilities, the navy was exceedingly weak, as we have observed on page 1463, and by its geographical disposition, was, for a

time, almost powerless, as we have already observed. It had been reduced during fifty years of peace to the smallest proportions, and was kept in existence only by the necessity of affording protection for the continually expanding commercial interests of the nation. Its men numbered only seven thousand six hundred at the beginning of 1861; and of its officers, three hundred and twenty-two proved treacherous in the day of trial, abandoned their flag, and entered the service of the enemies of their country. Under the able management of Mr. Fox, the energetic Assistant Secretary of the Navy, the marine arm of the public service was speedily and wonderfully strengthened. Even while in its weakness, a decree went forth for the blockade of the Southern ports, in the face of the protests and menaces of foreign governments. Ingenuity and mechanical skill developed amazing inventions. The "Monitor," with its revolving turret, was perfected and changed the mode of naval warfare. "Rams" were constructed for river service. Large numbers of vessels were built; others were purchased; and men from the merchant marine were invited to officer and man them. Dockyards were enlarged and filled with workmen. The places of the treasonable deserters were soon filled. Volunteers flocked to the ships, and the number of seven thousand six hundred men that composed our navy when the war broke out, had increased to fifty-one thousand before it was ended. During the four years of the war, no less than two hundred and eight war-vessels were constructed and fitted out, and four hundred and fourteen vessels were purchased and converted into war-ships. Of these, three hundred and thirteen were steamers. Many of them were iron-clads; and the aggregate cost was \$19,000,000.

The blockading service was performed with great vigor and success, under the triple stimulus of patriotism, duty, and the chances for personal emolument. While the British government professed to be neutral, swarms of swift steamers were fitted out by British merchants, and, laden with every kind of supplies for the insurgents, were sent to "run the blockade." The profits of such operations, if successful, were enormous, but the risks were equally so; and it is believed that a true balance-sheet would show that there were no profits left with these violators of law. Over fifteen hundred of these blockade-runners were captured, or destroyed by our National vessels, during the war; and the aggregate value of property captured and condemned, as lawful prize, before November following the close of the war, was \$22,000,000. That sum was subsequently enlarged by new decisions. The value of the vessels so captured or destroyed, added to the value of goods in them, swelled the amount of loss to the British blockade-runners, to full \$30,000,000.

There is a dark chapter in the history of the Civil War, over which the writer would gladly draw the veil of forgetfulness, if it were possible. It relates to Union prisoners and their treatment. Soon after hostilities commenced and there were captives taken, the question was considered by President Lincoln's cabinet, Can the Government exchange prisoners with rebels against its authority, without acknowledging them as belligerents? Humanity took precedence of the law of nations, and an arrangement was made for an exchange. The business went on successfully until it was violently interrupted by Jefferson Davis at near the close of 1862. His anger had been kindled because of the employment of negroes in the military service, by the National Government; also by some proceedings of General Butler at New Orleans, already noticed. He first issued the savage proclamation (December 23, 1862) mentioned on page 1576, ordering Butler, and all commissioned officers serving under him, to be hanged, when caught, without trial, as outlaws. This was followed (January 12, 1863) by another proclamation, in which he announced his determination to deliver all officers of the National army commanding negro troops that might be captured after that date, to the respective State authorities to be hung, and to treat those troops as rebels against their masters. The government paused. In Congress, measures for retaliation were proposed; but humanity and not policy bore sway, and such measures were not adopted. The exchange of prisoners, however, was interrupted; for the Confederate Commissioner, under instructions from Davis, refused to consider captive colored troops as prisoners of war. In several instances no quarter had been given them, in battle or afterward; and the black flag was carried against officers commanding them. And when, in August, 1863, the National Commissioner (Meredith) demanded that negro troops and their officers should be treated as prisoners of war, the Confederate Commissioner (Ould) replied: "We will die in the last ditch before giving up the right to send slaves back into slavery." That determination, acted upon by Davis and his associates, caused an absolute cessation of the exchange of prisoners, for the Government would not be unjust toward any class of its defenders, especially the weaker. The consequence was that the number and sufferings of the Union prisoners fearfully increased, and the horrors of the prisons and prison-pens at Richmond, Salisbury, Charleston, Millen and Andersonville, occurred.

Well-supported facts seem fairly to warrant the unpleasant conclusion, that Davis's proclamations were made by him for the purpose of obstructing exchanges, that the Union prisoners might, by long and acute suffering, be rendered physically and mentally useless as soldiers thereafter. *The United States Sanitary Commission* appointed a committee, of which the eminent

Dr. Valentine Mott of New York was chairman, to ascertain by inquiry and observation, as far as possible, into the matter of alleged cruelty to Union prisoners. They reported in September, 1864, saying: "It is the same story everywhere; prisoners of war treated worse than convicts; shut up either in suffocating buildings, or in out-door inclosures, without even the shelter that is provided for the beasts of the field; unsupplied with sufficient food; supplied with food and water injurious and even poisonous; compelled to live on floors often covered with human filth, or on ground saturated with it; compelled to breathe an air oppressed with an intolerable stench; hemmed in by a fatal dead-line, and in hourly danger of being shot by unrestrained and brutal guards; despondent even to madness, idiocy, and suicide; sick, of disease (so congruous in character as to appear and spread, like the plague) caused by the torrid sun, by decaying food, by filth, by vermin, by malaria, and by cold; removed at the last moment, and by hundreds at a time, to hospitals corrupt as a sepulchre, there, with a few remedies, little care and no sympathy, to die in wretchedness and despair, not only among strangers, but among enemies too resentful either to have pity or to show mercy. These are positive facts. Tens of thousands of helpless men have been, and are now being, disabled and destroyed by a process as certain as poison, and as cruel as the torture or burning at the stake, because nearly as agonizing and more prolonged. This spectacle is daily beheld and allowed by the rebel government. No supposition of negligence, or indifference, or accident, or inefficiency, or destitution, or necessity, can account for all this. So many, and such positive forms of abuse and wrong cannot come from negative causes. *The conclusion is unavoidable, therefore, that these privations and sufferings have been designedly inflicted by the military and other authorities of the rebel government, and cannot have been due to causes which such authorities could not control.*" One of the chief instruments employed in the infliction of cruelties upon Union prisoners was Brigadier-General John H. Winder, an inciter of the mob which attacked the Massachusetts troops in Baltimore. So notorious for his cruel acts had he become, that when (at the age of seventy years) he was sent to Georgia to carry on his horrid work at Andersonville, the *Richmond Examiner* exclaimed: "Thank God Richmond has, at last, got rid of old Winder! God have mercy upon those to whom he has been sent!"

Testimony given by Confederates themselves, confirm the statements made by the prisoners. So early as September, 1862, Augustus R. Wright, chairman of a committee of the Confederate house of representatives, made a report on the prisons at Richmond confining Union captives, to George W. Randolph, then the Confederate Secretary of War, in which report it

was said that the state of things was "terrible beyond description;" that "the committee could not stay in the room over a few seconds;" that a change *must* be made, and that "*the committee makes the report to the Secretary of War, and not to the House, because, in the latter case, it would be printed, and, for the honor of the nation, such things must be kept secret.*" In December, 1863, Henry S. Foote, a member of the Confederate House of Representatives, offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee of inquiry concerning the alleged ill-treatment of Union prisoners. His humane resolution was voted down. In the course of his remarks in its favor, Mr. Foote read testimony which, he said, was on record in the Confederate War Department, to prove that the charges of cruelty were true. Referring to Northrup, the Confederate Commissary-General, he said: "This man has placed our government in the attitude charged by the enemy, *and has attempted to starve the prisoners in our hands.*" He cited an elaborate report made by the Commissary-General to the Secretary of War (Seddon), in which he used this significant language: "For the subsistence of a human Yankee carcase, a vegetable diet is the most proper," the terrible meaning of which is obvious. Foote, also, in a letter written at Montreal, in the spring of 1865, concerning the escape of Streight and his men from Libby Prison, by mining, declared "that a government officer of respectability" told him "*that a systematic scheme was on foot for subjecting these unfortunate men to starvation.*" He further declared that Northrup's proposition was "endorsed by Seddon, the Secretary of War," who said substantially in that endorsement, that "the time had arrived for retaliation upon the prisoners of war of the enemy." In that letter Foote proved (1) that the starving of Union prisoners was known to the Confederate authorities; (2) that the Confederate Commissary-General proposed it; (3) that the Confederate Secretary of War approved and officially endorsed it; (4) that the Confederate Commissioner of Exchange knew it; and (5) that the Confederate House of Representatives knew of it, and endeavored to prevent an investigation. Foote said the positive proof was in the War Department. A greater portion of these documents were burned when the Confederate Government fled from Richmond. Such is the testimony of one of the legislators of the Confederacy, who, it may be presumed, knew, personally, the facts of the case. And it is a matter of record, that a committee of the "United States Christian Commission," appeared before the lines of Lee's army and sought access to the Union prisoners in Richmond and on Belle Isle, in the James River there, to afford them relief, with the understanding that similar commissions would be allowed to visit Confederate captives. But they were not allowed to pass, because, as Confederate witnesses testify, the authorities

at Richmond dared not let the outside world know, from competent witnesses, the horrible truths which such a visit would have revealed. But General Robert E. Lee (whose family resided on Franklin street in Richmond, from the rear gallery of whose residence he could, with his field-glass, have looked into the faces of the starving and freezing prisoners on Belle Isle, and who, after the autumn of 1863, was never a hundred miles from that city) testified before the National "Committee on Reconstruction," in February, 1866, that he was not aware of any bad treatment suffered by Union prisoners—not aware that any of them died of cold and starvation—that no report was ever made to him of the sad condition of Union prisoners anywhere—that he never knew who was in command at Andersonville, Salisbury, and other gathering-places of Union prisoners, until after the war, and that he "knew nothing in the world" of the alleged cruelties about which complaints had been made!

When the starvation plan had succeeded in reducing forty thousand Union prisoners to skeletons, generally no better for service than so many dead men, a proposition was made by the Confederate authorities for a resumption of exchanges. Again humanity took precedence of expediency, and these poor creatures in Confederate prisons were exchanged for as many prisoners who had been well fed and otherwise comfortably provided for in the North. This was attested by the Confederate Commissioner of Exchange, who, in a letter to General Winder, from City Point, where exchanges had been resumed, said exultingly: "The arrangement I have made works largely in our favor. *We get rid of a set of miserable wretches, and receive some of the best material I ever saw.*"

Let us turn from the consideration of this unpleasant subject to that of the noble efforts made to relieve the suffering of soldiers in the field, the camp, and the hospital. It is just, however, before so doing, to ask the reader to remember, always, that the great body of the *Southern people* were not only entirely guiltless of the proven cruelties practised toward the Union prisoners, but were kept in profound ignorance of them. The responsibility rests upon the few selfish political leaders in the great conspiracy and insurrection, from the beginning to the end, who, whenever it suited their purposes, defied all moral and civil law. To these men belongs the responsibility of involving this happy and prosperous nation in a most destructive Civil War, with all its awful consequences; and to them our brethren of the late slave-labor States are indebted for whatever evil reports have affected them. A reign of terror under the Richmond despotism crushed out all freedom of speech and action in the Confederacy, as Castle Thunder might testify. The *people* of the South, as good, benevolent

humane, refined, kind-hearted and Christian-like in character and deeds as any on the face of the earth, have unjustly suffered reproaches because of the wrongs committed by self-constituted political leaders who misrepresented them.

The arrangements by the Government for the care of the sick and wounded soldiers of the National army were ample and complete. When the war closed there were two hundred and four general hospitals fully equipped, with a capacity of nearly 137,000 beds. Besides these there were numerous temporary and flying hospitals, the former in camps and on vessels, and the latter on battle-fields. The report of the Surgeon-General (Joseph K. Barnes), at the close of the war, showed that from the beginning of hostilities in 1861, to July 1, 1865, there had been treated in the general hospitals alone, 1,057,423 cases, among whom the average rate of mortality was only eight per cent.; much smaller than had ever been known before in any army. That of the army of the United States in the war with Mexico was a little over ten per cent. Of the British in the Crimean campaign, it was nearly twenty per cent., and of their French allies there, still greater.

The low rate of mortality in the Union army was due to several favorable circumstances, the chief of which was the employment, by the Government, of a sufficient number of skillful surgeons; a bountiful provision in all the hospitals of every necessary; the beneficent labors of the two powerful and popular organizations known as the *United States Sanitary Commission* and the *United States Christian Commission*, and the untiring labors of women everywhere. The latter worked with tenderness and devotion in hospitals, in camps, and even on or near the field of battle, as most efficient nurses. By their presence they continually brought images of home to the sick or wounded soldier, and cheered and consoled him with healing words more efficacious sometimes than the apothecary's medicine. To this catalogue of hygienic instrumentalities, must be added the potent and benevolent influences of a hundred thousand army chaplains. As a class they were faithful servants of their Divine Master, and ever ready to "minister to a mind diseased." They formed a trusted link between the soldier and his home—a ladder for the angels of thought and affection between his Bethel and his heaven on Earth—telling the bereaved, in written words, of the joy and hope of loved ones at the gate of death; or, better still, sending to anxious hearts the balm of consolation in sweet epistles giving the cheering news of convalescence. The most profound respect and gratitude is due by the people of our land to the chaplains of the hospitals of the army and navy.

Allusion has been made on page 1511 to the origin of the *United States Sanitary Commission*, and to the *United States Christian Commission*. On the 16th of June, 1861, the Secretary of War (Mr. Cameron) issued an order appointing Henry W. Bellows, A. D. Bache, Jeffries Wyman, W. H. Van Buren, R. C. Wood, George W. Cullum and Alexander Shiras, in conjunction with such others as might associate with them, a "Commission of Inquiry and Advice, in respect of the Sanitary Interests of the United States Forces." The functions of the Commission are indicated by the title. They appointed a board of managers, with Dr. Bellows (who may be regarded as the founder of the Commission) at its head. He submitted a plan of organization, to which the President and Secretary of War gave their sanction by affixing their signatures to it, and it became the constitution of the Commission. Its seal bore the words, "UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION," with the date of its organization. Upon the face of the seal was an escutcheon, bearing the figure of Mercy, winged, with the symbol of Christianity upon her bosom and a cup of consolation in her hand, coming down from the clouds to visit wounded soldiers on the battlefield. Frederick Law Olmstead was chosen resident secretary, and became the general manager of the affairs of the Commission.

This Commission went to work most vigorously, to supplement the Government deficiencies in supplying comforts for the sick and wounded. They appealed to the people, and the response was marvellous. Supplies and money flowed in in sufficient volume to meet all demands. All over the country, men, women and children, singly and collectively, were working for it, and contributing to it. Fairs were held in large cities, which turned immense sums of money into its treasury. With these funds it supplied the sick and wounded with delicacies, ice, stimulants, fruits, etc., and with trained nurses, while the Government supplied all regular rations. In a single fair, in the city of New York, the net receipts were \$1,181,500. In the little city of Poughkeepsie, on the Hudson, whose population was then about 16,000, the net profits of the fair were over \$16,000. Branches of the Commission were established; agents were employed; corps of nurses were organized; ambulances, army-wagons and steamboats of its own were employed in the transportation of the sick and wounded, and supplies. It followed the army closely in all campaigns. Its ear, always open, caught the first sounds of battle everywhere, and before the smoke of conflict was lifted from the field, there was the Sanitary Commission, like an omnipresent minister of good, with wagons, supplies, tents and nurses, ready to afford instant relief. Like a guardian angel it was always at the side of the soldier in moments of greatest need. When the war ceased, and the

record of the work of the Sanitary Commission was made plain, it was found that the loyal people of the land had *given* to it supplies valued at about *five million dollars*.

The *United States Christian Commission* was a kindred organization, working in harmony with the *United States Sanitary Commission*, and performed great labors for the spiritual and temporal good of the soldiers. It had its origin in the Young Men's Christian Association of New York, and was first suggested by Vincent Colyer, an artist of that city, and an earnest worker in useful fields of benevolence. He, with Frank W. Ballard and Mrs. Dr. Harris, who represented the Ladies' Aid Society of Philadelphia, went to Washington City immediately after the first battle at Bull's Run, to do Christian work in the camps and hospitals there. Every facility for visiting the camps were given to Mr. Colyer by the military authorities, and they even gave him permission to go to the Confederate camps if they would allow him to do so. He distributed bibles, tracts and hymn-books among the soldiers, held prayer-meetings, and labored most zealously, in many ways, for their spiritual good. Finally Mr. Colyer suggested the combination of all the Young Men's Christian Associations in the land, in the formation of a society similar to that of the *United States Sanitary Commission*. It was acted upon in September, 1861, when arrangements were made for holding a National Convention of such associations. A convention assembled in the city of New York on the 14th of November, and the *United States Christian Commission* was organized, with George H. Stuart of Philadelphia as president. Its specific work was to be chiefly for the moral and religious welfare of the soldiers, which was conducted by means of oral instruction and the circulation of the bible and other proper books, with pamphlets, newspapers, etc., among the men in hospitals, camps, and ships.

This noble Commission, of which Vincent Colyer was the real founder, began earnest work at once, on the same general plan of the other Commission. It did not confine its labors wholly to spiritual and intellectual ministrations, but also to the distribution of a vast amount of food, hospital stores, delicacies, and clothing. It, too, followed the great armies and co-operated efficiently with the chaplains of the army and navy, by supplying the soldiers and sailors with the scriptures and a vast number and variety of other good books. Chapels for religious labors and public worship were erected at permanent camps, and in many ways there was cast about the soldier a salutary religious influence. Money and supplies came to the Commission as a free-will offering from the patriotic people, mostly collected by the women of various denominations of the Christian Church, and amounted in value to *six million dollars*.

While the two great organizations here noticed were at work, others, in large numbers, but less conspicuous, were laboring for the same holy purpose. Associations for the relief of the freedmen, and for sailors, also for promoting enlistments for the military and naval service, were organized; and everywhere the most active and disinterested benevolence was manifested. High authority has said, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." If so, then the loyal people of our land were eminently blessed; for it is estimated that through these two great Commissions, various associations, and by private contributions, they made free gifts of their substance to the amount of *five hundred million dollars*.

While these associations were at work for the benefit of the Union soldiers, similar efforts, though not on so grand a scale, were put forth by the benevolent-minded in the slave-labor States for the benefit of the Confederate soldiers. They labored in the good work most zealously to the extent of their ability, and conferred vast benefits upon the sick and wounded soldiers of the Confederate army. We have no special reports of the result of their labors; but we know that it was a great blessing to the recipients of the kindly care, especially of the women of the South. Among the variety of organizations for benevolent purposes was one called *The Confederate Association for the Relief of Maimed Soldiers*. The object of that association was to supply artificial limbs gratuitously to soldiers who had lost their natural ones. An annual subscription of \$10 constituted a member; of \$300, a life-member; and of \$100, an honorary director. Upon a certificate of membership, before me, is a rude wood-cut representation of the proposed seal of the Confederate States.



CHAPTER XXVI.

REORGANIZATION OF THE UNION—PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S PLAN—THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT—CHARACTER OF THE PRESIDENT—JUSTICE FOR THE FREEDMEN—MOTIVES OF LINCOLN AND JOHNSON CONTRASTED—A PITIFUL TRICK—ACTION IN THE DISORGANIZED STATES—THE TEST OATH—"RECONSTRUCTION" COMMITTEE—PRESIDENT, OFFENDED, MAKES WAR ON CONGRESS—HIS POLITICAL TOUR—HIS VETOES—THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY STANTON—FRENCH TROOPS IN MEXICO—NAPOLEON'S DESIGNS AND PERFIDY—BRITISH INTERFERENCE—SUFFRAGE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—PRESIDENT THREATENED WITH IMPEACHMENT—ACTS OF CONGRESS VETOED AND PASSED—EXTRA SESSIONS—UNLAWFUL CONDUCT OF THE PRESIDENT.

AFTER the terrible convulsions produced by the Civil War, by which State governments had been paralyzed, a hoary and deep-rooted social system had been overthrown, and throughout a number of the commonwealths of the Republic there had been a disruption of every kind of business, the powers of the National government were invoked to bring about a general reorganization of the disorganized elements, political, social, and industrial. There was nothing to be *reconstructed*, for nothing worth preserving had been *destroyed*. No State, as a component part of the Republic, had been severed from the others, for secession was an impossibility. When the war ended, the States, geographically and politically, remained as they were before it began. The insurrection against the authority of the National Government only placed the constitutions of some of the States in a condition of suspended animation. They needed only the stimulant of competent official authority exercised by the National Government to reanimate them. All the States were politically equal—living members of the great Commonwealth, before, during, and at the close of the Civil War. Some of them, incapacitated for healthful functional action, were awaiting resuscitation at the hands of the only healer, the National Government. To that resuscitation—that reorganization and fitting them for active life—the General Government soon directed its efforts.

President Johnson took a preliminary step toward reorganization, on the 29th of April, 1865, when he proclaimed the removal of restrictions upon commercial intercourse between all the States. A month later (May 29) he issued a proclamation stating the terms by which the people of the paralyzed

States, with specified exceptions, might receive full amnesty and pardon, and be reinvested with the right to exercise the functions of citizenship, supposed to have been destroyed by participation in the insurrection. This was soon followed by the appointment by the President of provisional governors for seven of those States which had formed the original fabric known as the "Confederate States of America," clothed with authority to assemble citizens in convention who had taken the amnesty oath, with power to reorganize State governments, and secure the election of representatives in the National Congress. The plan was to restore to the States named their former position in the Union without any provision for securing to the freedmen the right to the exercise of citizenship which the amendment to the National Constitution, then before the State legislatures, would justly entitle them to. This amendment, known as the XIIIth, was adopted by Congress early in 1865, and was as follows:

"SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

This amendment was adopted by a large majority. When the result of the vote was known, the Republican members of the House of Representatives instantly sprang to their feet and applauded with cheers and clapping of hands. The spectators in the crowded galleries waved their hats and made the chamber ring with enthusiastic plaudits. Hundreds of ladies rose in their seats in the galleries and gave emphasis to their plaudits by waving their handkerchiefs and participating in the general demonstration of enthusiasm, and added to the intense excitement of a scene that will long be remembered by those who were fortunate enough to witness it. The amendment was sent to the several State legislatures for ratification; and on the 18th of December following, the Secretary of State (Mr. Seward) declared that it had, by such ratification, become a part of the fundamental law of the land.

When Andrew Johnson was inaugurated President, there were painful apprehensions among men who knew him most intimately, that he would not be faithful to the trust reposed in him by the loyal people of the land. Notwithstanding the strength of our government had been made manifest by the shock of Civil War which it had survived, it was equally manifest

that it was surrounded with great perils. A pilot was needed at the helm of the ship of state possessed of a combination of moral and intellectual forces of a rare order—sound morality, strong and unwavering convictions, firmness of will, sobriety of conduct, calmness of temper, a thorough knowledge of men, an accurate and impartial judgment, a willingness to take counsel, a clear perception of righteousness, and the acuteness of a true statesman. Circumstances had occurred which justly created a doubt in the public mind whether the new President possessed all these qualities, so requisite at that critical time, and these doubts soon became settled convictions. His total disregard of the highest interests of the freedmen, and the fact that the President was making haste to pardon a large number of those who had been active in the service of the Confederates and would exercise a controlling influence in the States which he was equally in haste to reorganize on his own plan, startled the loyal men of the country, and made them doubt the sincerity of his vehement declaration of intentions to punish the leading enemies of our Government. To a delegation from New Hampshire, who waited upon him soon after his inauguration, he said: "Treason is a crime, and must be punished as a crime. It must not be regarded as a mere difference of political opinion. It must not be excused as an unsuccessful rebellion, to be overlooked and forgiven. It is a crime before which all other crimes sink into insignificance." Such, and even more severe language was used by the President when speaking of the leading Confederates; and, as we have seen, he charged Jefferson Davis and others with being accessories in the murder of Mr. Lincoln, and offered large rewards for their arrest. It was feared by some that the President would deal too harshly with the offenders; but events soon dispelled the illusion.

The poor freedmen relied with bright hopes upon the President's promise to be their "Moses" in leading them completely out of bondage; but they soon found that he was unwilling to do more than secure their personal freedom. He was unwilling to invest them with civil rights, which deprivation he knew would virtually remand them to slavery. The political party which had emancipated them and elevated Mr. Johnson to his high position, felt that justice, not expediency, should be the rule in the readjustment of the affairs of the Republic; and it was demanded, as an act of National honor, that the freedman when made a citizen by the Constitution, should have equal civil and political rights and privileges with other citizens, such as the elective franchise. In the spring of 1864, President Lincoln suggested to the governor of Louisiana, the propriety of giving that franchise to the colored people. "They would probably keep," he said, almost prophetically, "in some trying time to come, the jewel of Liberty in

the family of freedom." For an ignoble purpose, President Johnson proposed to his provisional governor of Mississippi, to give the franchise to such of the freedmen as could read the National Constitution and possessed property worth two hundred and fifty dollars. He well knew that an extremely small number could avail themselves of the privilege, as the laws of Mississippi made it a punishable offence to teach a colored person to read ; and in the condition of slavery, not one could hold property. It was a pitiful trick, which he was not ashamed to avow. In his letter to the governor, he said : "Do this, and, as a consequence, the radicals (in other words the most earnest Republicans), who are wild upon negro suffrage, will be completely foiled in their attempt to keep the Southern States from renewing their relations with the Union."

Within a hundred days after his inauguration, President Johnson took issue with the Republican party upon vital points of principle and policy ; and at the close of 1865, it was plain to the comprehension of sagacious observers, that the Chief Magistrate was more friendly to the late enemies of his country than consistency with his professions, or the safety of the Republic, would allow. It was soon perceived that politicians in the North who had sympathized with the Confederates during the war, and the newspapers in their interest which had advocated the cause of the insurgents, had assumed a belligerent tone toward Congress and the loyal people, which greatly disturbed the latter by unpleasant forebodings.

In the meantime measures had been taken for perfecting peaceful relations among the whole people of the Republic, by a revival of industrial pursuits and a restoration of harmony of interests. The order for a blockade of the Southern ports was rescinded late in June (1865); most of the restrictions upon inter-State commerce were removed in August ; State prisoners were paroled in October ; and on the first day of December, the first important measure adopted, after the assembling of Congress, was the repeal of the act suspending the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus.

During that period (June to December), Johnson's provisional governors had been diligent in carrying out his plan of reorganization before Congress should meet, and, possibly, interfere with it. Before the first of December five of the disorganized States had ratified the XIIIth amendment of the Constitution, cited on page 1703. They had, also, caused the formation of constitutions for their respective States and the election of representatives in the National Congress. The President had hurried on his work, by directing the provisional governors to resign their powers into the hands of others who had been elected under the new constitutions. Some of these governors-elect had been active participants in the insurrection ; and some

of the Congressmen-elect in these States had been, it was said, active workers against the Government. These facts greatly disturbed the loyal people. They had witnessed with great anxiety the evident usurpations of power by the President, the exercise of which, as he had done, belonged exclusively to the functions of the representatives of the people in Congress assembled. The prescriptions of the Constitution are clear on that point. Yet the people waited patiently for the meeting of Congress in December, with the quieting knowledge that a majority of loyal men would be there, and that each House had the right to judge of the qualifications of its own members. It was a settled belief that disloyal men would not be allowed to enter either House over the bar of a test-oath prescribed by law, passed on the 22d of July, 1862. That law required every member to make oath that he had not "voluntarily borne arms against the United States since he had been a citizen thereof," or "voluntarily given aid, countenance, counsel or encouragement to persons engaged in hostilities thereto," and had never "yielded voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, power, or constitution within the United States, hostile or inimical thereto."

The subject of reorganization was among the first business of the Thirty-ninth Congress which assembled on the 4th of December, 1865. On the first day of the session, by a vote of 133 against 36, Congress agreed to a joint resolution to appoint a joint committee to be composed of nine members of the House and six of the Senate, to "inquire into the condition of the States which formed the so-called Confederate States of America, and report whether they, or any of them, are entitled to be represented in either House of Congress, with leave to report at any time, by bill or otherwise; and until such report shall have been made and finally acted upon by Congress, no member shall be received in either House from any of the so-called Confederate States; and all papers relating to the representatives of the said States, shall be referred to the said committee." This body was known by the misnamed "*Reconstruction* Committee." It should have been "*Reorganization* Committee."

This action of Congress was a virtual condemnation of the President's usurpations. It was a legitimate interference of the representatives of the people with his chosen policy of reorganization, and he was highly offended. He soon manifested open and violent hostility to the legislative branch of the Government, and maintained that position during the whole of his administration. In a speech to the populace of the capital on the 22d of February, 1866—a speech which every good American would gladly blot from memory and from the records of our country, if possible—the President, evidently under the malign influence of an unfortunate habit, for-

getting the dignity of his station, and insensible to the gravity of the question at issue, actually denounced by name leading members of Congress, and the Republican party which had given him their generous confidence. In that speech he used slang phrases in speaking of public men, such as "dead duck," and exhibited a recklessness of assertion which no sober statesman would have uttered. The American people felt humiliated by this exhibition of the weakness of their Chief Magistrate.

But this exhibition was a small matter compared with what occurred later in the year (August and September, 1866) when the President and a part of his cabinet, with the pretext of honoring the memory of Senator Douglas by being present at the dedication of a monument to his memory erected at Chicago, on the 6th of September, made a political tour by a circuitous way through several States, to that city and beyond. He harangued the people by the way, in language utterly unbecoming the Chief Magistrate of a nation, and attempted to sow the dangerous seeds of sedition, by denouncing Congress as an illegal body because some of the disorganized States were not represented in it; declaring that it deserved no respect from the people, and that a majority of the members were traitors, "trying to break up the Government." That journey of the President, so disgraceful in all its features—its low partisan object, its immoral performances, and its pitiful results—forms a dismal paragraph in the history of the Republic.

That tour was suggested and its performances were inspired by the gathering in convention, at Philadelphia, on the 14th of August (1866), chiefly of men who had been engaged in the insurrection, and their sympathizers at the North. Their object was to form a new party, with President Johnson as their standard-bearer; but so discordant were the elements gathered there, that no one was allowed to debate questions of public



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interest, for fear of producing a disruption and the consequent failure of the scheme. It did utterly fail. Soon afterward a convention of loyal men from the South was held at Philadelphia, in which representative Republicans in the North participated. The President's journey being wholly for a partisan purpose, members of the latter convention followed in his track, making speeches in many places in support of the measures of Congress for effecting reorganization. They applied the antidote where the President had administered poison, and neutralized its effects.

So disgraceful was the conduct of the President when at Cleveland and St. Louis, in the attitude of a mere demagogue making a tour for a partisan purpose, under a false pretense, that the Common Council of Cincinnati, on his return journey, refused to accord him a public reception. The Common Council of Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania, did the same; and when, on the 15th of September, Mr. Johnson and his party returned to the Capital, the country felt a relief from a sense of deep mortification.

Having, soon after the meeting of Congress, laid aside the mask of assumed friendship for those who had labored most earnestly for the suppression of the insurrection and for the good of the freedmen, the President used the veto power—his most efficient weapon—in trying to thwart the representatives of the people in their efforts to reorganize the disorganized States, and to quickly secure a full and permanent restoration of the Union on the basis of equal and exact justice. In February, 1866, he vetoed an act for enlarging the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau, which had been established for the relief of freedmen, refugees, and for the cultivation of abandoned lands. In March he vetoed an act known as the Civil Rights Law, which was intended to secure to *all* citizens, without regard to color or previous condition of slavery, equal civil rights in the Republic. These acts became laws in spite of his veto, by the Constitutional vote of two-thirds of each House in their favor. The President's uncompromising warfare upon the legislative branch of the Republic, disgusted his ministers, who could not agree with him, and they resigned with the exception of Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War. The friends of the Republic urged him to remain, believing his retention of the bureau at that critical period in the life of the nation would be conducive to the public benefit. He did so, and became the object of the mad President's bitter hatred.

Congress worked assiduously in efforts to perfect the reorganization of the Republic; and on the 29th of July, after a long and laborious session, adjourned. On the 2d of April, the President, in a proclamation, had formally declared the Civil War to be at an end; and the first fruits of the Congressional plan of reorganization was seen by the restoration of the

State of Tennessee to the Union, six days before the adjournment of the National Legislature. Meanwhile notable events in the foreign relations of the Government had occurred. The Emperor of the French had been informed by Secretary Seward that the continuation of French troops in Mexico was not agreeable to the United States; and on the 5th of April (1866) Napoleon's Minister for Foreign Affairs gave assurances to our Government that those troops should be withdrawn within a specified time. This was done; and the Grand Duke Maximilian, of Austria, whom Louis Napoleon had, by military power, placed on a throne in our neighboring republic, with the title of Emperor, was deserted by the perfidious ruler of France. The deceived and betrayed Maximilian, after struggling against the native republican government for awhile, was captured and shot; and his loving wife, Carlotta, overwhelmed by her misfortunes and grief, became a hopeless lunatic. Such was the sorrowful ending of one of the schemes of the Emperor of the French for the gratification of his ambition. He had itched to aid the Confederates, with a hope that the severance of our Union would give him an opportunity to successfully defy the "Monroe Doctrine," and extend the domination of the Latin race and the Latin church on the American continent, as well as monarchical institutions. As a pretext for sending soldiers to our frontiers, primarily to be ready to assist the enemies of the Republic should expediency warrant the act, the Emperor of the French picked a quarrel with Mexico, overturned its republican government, established a monarchy and supported it by French bayonets until the strength of our Union was made manifest to him.

The British ministry, too, as we have seen, itched to help the Confederates destroy our Republic, and had done so in a large degree, until they were satisfied of the enormous reserved power of our Union against the combined and cowardly attacks of European powers and of internal foes, when they abandoned the insurgents whom they had deceived with false promises, and sneeringly called their political organization the "so-called Confederate States of America." Notwithstanding this faithlessness to their traditions, and fairly implied, if not absolutely stated, treaty stipulations on the part of the rulers of Great Britain, our Government was faithful to them all. When, in the spring of 1866, a military organization of Irish residents in our country, known as the Fenian Brotherhood, associated for the avowed purpose of freeing Ireland from British domination, made a movement, in May and June, for a formidable invasion of the neighboring British Province of Canada, the United States Government, instead of investing them with "belligerent rights," was true to its pledges to Great Britain concerning neutrality laws, interfered, and suppressed the warlike movement.

But these are now things of the past, and should not be held in remembrance with any unkind feelings. At about the same time a peaceful bond of union was formed with Great Britain, by the successful establishment of permanent telegraphic communication between England and the United States. An account of the first efforts toward this end will be given hereafter.

Notwithstanding the State elections in the autumn of 1866 indicated the decided approval by the people of the United States of the measures adopted by Congress for the restoration of the Union, the President persisted in his warfare with the National Legislature, and upon members of his cabinet who would not approve of his acts. The majority in Congress, feeling strengthened by the popular verdict upon their conduct, went steadily forward in perfecting measures for the restoration of the Union. They took steps for restraining the action of the President, who, it was manifest, had determined to carry out his own policy of reorganization, in defiance of Congress. Unmindful of his conduct, that body plainly indicated their general policy concerning suffrage, by passing a bill on the 14th of December (1866), by a large majority of both Houses, for granting the elective franchise in the District of Columbia (over whose affairs the National Legislature has direct control) to persons "without any distinction on account of color or race." The President vetoed the bill on the 7th of January, 1867, when it was immediately re-enacted by the constitutional vote of both Houses in its favor.

The course of the President in continually opposing his veto and casting obstacles in the way of the dispatch of legislative business, now appeared so essentially and purely factious, and was, withal, so mischievous, that it was resolved to make an effort to put an end to it. On the same day when Johnson vetoed the District of Columbia Suffrage bill, Mr. Ashley, a representative from Ohio, arose in his place, and charged "Andrew Johnson, Vice-President and Acting-President of the United States, with the commission of acts which, in the estimation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors, for which he ought to be impeached." Mr. Ashley offered the following specifications, in which he charged him with usurpations and violations of law: (1) in that he has corruptly used the appointing power; (2) in that he has corruptly used the pardoning power; (3) in that he has corruptly used the veto power; (4) in that he has corruptly disposed of public property of the United States; and (5) in that he has corruptly interfered in elections, and committed acts which, in contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Ashley also offered a resolution, instructing the Committee on the Judiciary to make inquiries on the subject. This resolution was adopted by 137 to 38,

forty-five members not voting. It was the first movement in the matter of the impeachment of the President, which resulted in his trial in May, 1868.

At a former session of Congress, bills were passed for the admission of the Territories of Colorado and Nebraska, as States of the Union. The President had interposed. Now similar bills were passed prescribing, as a preliminary to admission, a provision in their constitutions granting impartial suffrage to all citizens, and the ratification of the amendment to the National Constitution. As usual the President vetoed them; when that for the admission of Nebraska was passed over his veto. Colorado was compelled to wait ten years and six months for admission, while Nebraska took its place in the galaxy of States on the first of March (1867), making the thirty-eighth State.

An act was now passed for the purpose of limiting the authority of the President in making official appointments and removals from office. Among other provisions of the act was one that took from him the power to remove a member of his cabinet without permission of the Senate; declaring that they should hold office "for and during the term of the President by whom they may have been appointed, and for one month thereafter, subject to removal by and with the consent of the Senate." This law, known as the "Tenure of Office Act," was vetoed by the President, when it was passed over his negative by a large majority. Another bill was passed and vetoed and was made a law notwithstanding, repealing so much of an act passed in July, 1862, as gave the President power to grant amnesty and pardon to those who had been engaged in rebellion. A bill was also passed, with the same opposition of the President, for the military government of the disorganized States, which were divided into five military districts, Virginia comprising the *first*; North and South Carolina, the *second*; Georgia, Florida and Alabama, the *third*; Mississippi and Arkansas, the *fourth*; and Louisiana and Texas, the *fifth*.

The Thirty-ninth Congress closed its sessions at mid-day, on the 4th of March, 1867, and twelve hours afterward the first session of the Fortieth Congress was begun. The country was greatly disquieted by the factious conduct of the President, which created painful forebodings of evil should that obstinate and angry man be left without restraint from March until December. The majority in Congress shared in this feeling, believing that the President was ready, if he should deem it expedient, to plunge the country into a revolution, and attempt, by a reactionary movement, to undo all that the war for the Union had done for the preservation of the Republic. For that reason, provision had been made by the Thirty-ninth Congress for the immediate assembling of the Fortieth on the expiration of its prede-

cessor. That first session continued until the 30th of March, when, with the same lack of confidence in the patriotism of Johnson, both Houses adjourned to meet on the 3d of July following.

Among the acts of the expiring Congress was one for the establishment of a National Bureau of Education, which has become a most valuable auxiliary in the work of popular instruction. Also an act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States; and another for the abolition of peonage—a system of slavery—in the Territory of New Mexico and other parts of the United States wherever it might exist.

Congress reassembled on the 3d of July, and adjourned on the 20th to the 21st of November. The principal business of this short session was to remove impediments which President Johnson had cast in the way of the reorganization of the Union. A bill supplementary to the act of March, for the military government of the disorganized States, became a law, notwithstanding it was vetoed by the President; and it was hoped and believed that Johnson would refrain from further acts that were calculated to disturb the public peace and impede the prosperity of the country. This expectation was not realized. When the members of Congress had returned to their homes, the President proceeded, in defiance of the acts of that body, and in positive violation of the Tenure of Office Act, to remove the Secretary of War (Mr. Stanton), and put General Grant in his place. On the 5th of August (1867) the President sent a note to Mr. Stanton, in which he said: "Grave public considerations constrain me to request your resignation as Secretary of War." Mr. Stanton, sharing in the general suspicion that the President contemplated reactionary measures in the absence of Congress in favor of the defeated enemies of the Republic, and was seeking a means for using the army for that purpose, immediately replied: "Grave public considerations constrain me to remain in the office of Secretary of War until the next meeting of Congress."

Only a week had elapsed after this correspondence, when Johnson directed General Grant to assume the position and duties of the Secretary of War. Grant, as a dutiful soldier, obeyed the commands of his superior, when Stanton, satisfied of the firmness and incorruptible patriotism of the general-in-chief of the armies, withdrew, under protest. This change was followed by such arbitrary acts on the part of the President, that the country was thoroughly alarmed. In the face of the most earnest protests of General Grant, in the War Office, Johnson removed Generals Sheridan and Sickles from the command of the Fifth and Second Military Districts. By this act the country was given to understand that the most faithful officers, who were able and willing to work for the speedy restoration of the Union,

would be deprived of the power to be useful. He also issued, in defiance of law, a proclamation of amnesty for nearly the whole white population of the Southern States. These, and other unlawful acts, made the loyal inhabitants impatient for the reassembling of Congress, upon whom they relied in that dark hour of seeming peril.

Patriotic men of the opposition party, and even personal friends of the erring President, were amazed and mortified by his unwise conduct; and some of the latter charitably attributed these paroxysms of blind obstinacy to the effects of an unfortunate habit into which Mr. Johnson had fallen, and which appalled them at the time when he took the oath of office as Vice-President, in March, 1865. One of these friends—a distinguished politician—writing from Washington just after the removal of Sheridan and Sickles, said: “The President must be crazy. Does he suppose the country will much longer tolerate this unseemly warfare upon the Legislative branch of the Government? You and I know that he has not a single legitimate ground for his conduct, and that several of his acts are pure usurpations for which he may be impeached. It is neither just nor prudent for the Democratic party to countenance them; and it is in the highest degree impolitic for them to do so at this crisis. It is the best policy always to do right, for, in the long run, the right will prevail.”



CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE CONDEMNED—HIS CONDUCT ARRAIGNED—STANTON REINSTATED—JOHNSON AGAINST GRANT—"RECONSTRUCTION" ACTS—A HIGH-HANDED MEASURE—IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT—CHARGES—MANAGERS—POPULAR EXCITEMENT—TRIAL AND VERDICT—PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS—CONGRESS DENOUNCED BY A CONVENTION—REVOLUTIONARY PROPOSITION—GRANT AND COLFAX ELECTED—AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION—REORGANIZATION COMPLETED—AMNESTY—MILITARY RULE ABANDONED—TREATY WITH CHINA—POLICY TOWARD THE INDIANS CONSIDERED—FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT—FINANCIAL MEASURE—INAUGURATION OF GRANT—HIS CABINET—RETIREMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

THE second session of the Fortieth Congress commenced on the 2d of December, 1867. The President's annual message was so offensive in tone and temper, that when the usual resolution to print it was offered in the Senate, Mr. Sumner took fire and vehemently denounced it as a "libel," an "insult to Congress," and an "incendiary document, calculated to stimulate the rebellion once more, and to provoke Civil War. It is a direct appeal," he said, "to the worst passions and the worst prejudices of those rebels who, being subdued on the battle-field, still resist, through the aid of the President of the United States. It is an evidence of a direct coalition between the President and the former rebels." Senator Wilson, wiser and less impulsive than his colleague, while he as decidedly condemned "the tone and temper and doctrines of the message," saying in calm and dignified language that the President seemed to "have forgotten that we have had any rebellion at all," and pointing out the flagrant inconsistency of his conduct, nevertheless opposed a departure from the ordinary practice of the Senate in ordering the President's Message to be printed, and it was done.

A majority of the Judiciary Committee, to whom the charges against the President had been referred, for inquiry, reported the following resolution on the 5th of December: "*Resolved*, That Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors." In the course of the debate that ensued, Mr. Boutwell, of the majority of the Committee, submitted facts which proved that Mr. Johnson had long contemplated a desertion of the party that had elevated him; that while on his way to Washington to be inaugurated Vice-President of the Republic, he

had confidentially avowed to an old Democratic partisan with whom he had acted before the war, that he preferred the party opposed to the administration of Mr. Lincoln, and that the country could yet be saved from ruin through that party only. It was also proven that he and his friends had declared that his policy toward the enemies of his country and the freedmen before June, 1865, was only temporary and for a special object, and that he had since persistently pursued a course calculated to place the country under the control of those who had tried to destroy the Union. Notwithstanding this attitude of the President, so menacing to the good of the Republic, was well established, the House, hoping he might cease his impotent warfare upon Congress, hesitated to adopt extreme measures toward the erring Chief Magistrate, unless he should yet commit some flagrant act of disobedience to law. The resolution was, therefore, rejected by a decided majority.

A week later the President sent to Congress a message, in which he gave his reasons for the removal of Secretary Stanton. The reasons were not satisfactory; and, a month later (January 13, 1868), the Senate reinstated the former Secretary of War, when General Grant quietly retired from the office. This act enraged the President, and he reproached the general-in-chief for yielding to the implied commands of the Senate to retire. He charged him with having broken his promises; and Johnson tried to injure Grant's reputation as a citizen and a soldier. In the correspondence between them, which found its way to the public, a question of veracity between the President and the general-in-chief arose; and, finally, the latter felt compelled to say to the irate Chief Magistrate: "When my honor as a soldier and my integrity as a man have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter, from beginning to end, as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility in orders, and thus to destroy my character before the country." The President did not deny the truth of this damaging charge, and the correspondence ceased.

Congress now steadily advanced in the adoption of measures for the restoration of the Union on the basis of justice, by providing for conventions of the people in the disorganized States for forming new or revising old constitutions, and electing representatives in the National Legislature. They had also, by law, given enlarged powers to the general-in-chief for the administration of military government in those States, and had deprived the President of power to interfere in the matter, when Mr. Johnson startled the country by an act bolder in aspect than any he had yet attempted. It was the issuing of an order on the 21st of February (1868) directing Mr.

Stanton to vacate the office of Secretary of War; also another order to Adjutant-General Lorenzo B. Thomas, to enter and take the place of the deposed Secretary. These orders were officially communicated to the Senate on the same day, and drew from that body a resolution that the President had no authority, under the Constitution, for his act. Meanwhile Thomas had proceeded to the War Department and demanded the seals and the authority with which the President had invested him. Mr. Stanton, his official superior, refused to yield them, and ordered Thomas to return to the duties of his proper office. The President, satisfied that he would not be permitted to use military force to eject Mr. Stanton, did not attempt it, and that officer retained his place.

The patience and forbearance of Congress were now exhausted. This action of the President was such a flagrant violation of law and open defiance of the Legislature, that on the following day (February 22, 1868) the House of Representatives, by a vote of 126 to 47—an almost strictly party vote (only two Republicans voting with the minority)—“*Resolved*, That Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.” A week later, a committee of the House, appointed for the purpose, presented articles of impeachment, nine in number; and these, with slight alterations, were accepted. They charged: (1) Unlawfully ordering the removal of Mr. Stanton, as Secretary of War, in violation of the provisions of the Tenure of Office Act; (2) unlawfully appointing General Lorenzo B. Thomas, as Secretary of War *ad interim*; (3) substantially the same as the second charge, with the additional declaration that there was, at the time of the appointment of General Thomas, no vacancy in the office of the Secretary of War; (4) conspiring with one Lorenzo Thomas, and other persons to the House unknown, to prevent, by intimidation and threats, Mr. Stanton, the legally appointed Secretary of War, from holding office; (5) conspiring with General Thomas and others to hinder the execution of the Tenure of Office Act, and, in pursuance of this conspiracy, attempting to prevent Mr. Stanton from acting as Secretary of War; (6) conspiring with General Thomas and others to take forcible possession of the property in the War Department; (7) and (8) substantially the charge of conspiring to prevent the execution of the Tenure of Office Act, and for taking possession of the War Department; (9) charged that the President called before him the commander of the forces in the Department of Washington, and declared to him that a law, passed on the 30th of June, 1867, directing that “all orders and instructions relating to military operations, issued by the President or Secretary of War, shall be issued by the General of the Army, and in case of his inability, through the

next in rank," was unconstitutional, and not binding upon the commander of the Department of Washington; the intent being to induce the commander to violate the law and to obey orders issued by the President directly.

Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, John A. Bingham of Ohio, George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts, James F. Wilson of Iowa, Thomas Williams of Pennsylvania, and John A. Logan of Illinois, were appointed managers of the impeachment case, on the part of the House of Representatives. The chief management of the case was intrusted to Mr. Butler. At this stage of the proceedings the Democratic members of the House, to the number of forty-five, entered a formal protest against the whole action in the matter.

On the 3d of March (1868) the managers presented two additional charges against the President, which were adopted by the House, as a part of the impeachment indictment. The first charged that the President had, by inflammatory speeches during his journey, already mentioned, attempted, with a design to cast aside the authority of Congress, to bring that body into disgrace, and to excite the odium and resentment of the people against Congress and the laws they enacted. The second charged that in August, 1866, the President, in a public speech at Washington, declared that Congress was not a body authorized by the Constitution to exercise legislative powers. They then specified many of the President's offences in endeavoring, by unlawful means, to prevent the execution of laws passed by Congress.

These preliminary proceedings toward impeachment filled the loyal heart of the nation with the most profound satisfaction. Letters and telegrams covered the desks of members of Congress, all urging the most speedy and vigorous action toward impeachment. Appended is a copy of a despatch from Governor Oglesby, of Illinois, which is a fair specimen of the tone of the communications and expressive of the feelings of the people. It is dated "Springfield, Illinois; Executive Mansion, February 22, 1868," and is as follows:

"The usurpations of Andrew Johnson have created a profound sensation in this State. His last act is that of a traitor. His treason must be checked. The duty of Congress seems plain. The people of Illinois, attached to the Union, I firmly believe demand his impeachment, and will heartily sustain such action by Congress. The peace of the country is not to be trifled with by this presumptuous demagogue. We know the National Congress will proceed wisely and cautiously; but let it proceed. Millions of loyal hearts

are panting to stand by the Stars and Stripes. Have no fear. All will be well. Liberty and order will again triumph."

On the 25th of February, Messrs. Stevens and Boutwell appeared before the Senate in behalf of the managers, and in the name of the people of the United States, impeached "Andrew Johnson of high crimes and misdemeanors," and demanded of that body an order for the accused President to answer the impeachment. The Senate, by a provision of the National Constitution, composes a jury for the trial of such cases; and on the 5th of March (1868) it was organized as such, with Chief-Justice Salmon P. Chase as president of the court. The accused was summoned to appear at the bar on the 7th; but the Senate was not formally opened as a High Court of Impeachment until the 13th, when he did so appear, by his counsel, who asked for a delay of forty days wherein to prepare an answer to the indictment. Ten days were granted, and the answer was presented on the 23d, when the House of Representatives, which was the accuser, solemnly denied every averment of that answer. Then the President's counsel asked for a postponement of the trial for thirty days, but only seven were allowed.

On the 30th of March the trial was begun. Public feeling was profoundly excited by the event, and there was danger that the reason and judgment of the Senate might be swayed by unwise influences. Fortunately there were men in that body whose prescience clearly comprehended the future, and they were governed by that more than by their feelings or the mandates of present expediency. All through the trial, these men counselled moderation, and their advice was heeded. They pointed out the danger, that a verdict of guilty might create greater evils than the foolish President could possibly inflict, in his comparatively helpless state.

When, after an examination of witnesses, which was concluded on the 22d of April; the presentation of the arguments of counsel, which continued until the 5th of May, and the debates, which consumed twenty days more, the votes of the fifty-four Senators present were taken on the verdict, *thirty-five* of them were for conviction, and *nineteen* were for acquittal. Some of the latter votes were by Republicans. As two-thirds of the votes were necessary for conviction, the President was acquitted by one vote.

This verdict caused Secretary Stanton to send a letter to the President, informing him that as the resolution of the Senate reinstating the Secretary had not been supported by two-thirds of that body present and voting upon the articles of impeachment, he had relinquished the office; whereupon Mr. Johnson nominated General John M. Schofield to be Mr. Stanton's successor. The President, in his communication nominating General Schofield, said he

was to succeed "E. M. Stanton, removed." The Senate adopted the following preamble and resolution: "Whereas, the order of the President removing Secretary Stanton from office was unconstitutional and illegal; but on account of Mr. Stanton having, on Tuesday, relinquished said office, therefore *Resolved*, That the Senate do advise and consent to the appointment of General Schofield."

The brilliancy and intrinsic value of General Grant's military services in behalf of the Republic, and his firmness and patriotism in defeating the designs of President Johnson at the capital, endeared him to the loyal people; and, on the 19th of June (1868) the Republicans, in National Convention assembled at Chicago, nominated him for President of the United States, and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana for Vice-President. On the 4th of July following, a National Convention of representatives of the Democratic party met in Tammany Hall, in the city of New York, and nominated Horatio Seymour of the State of New York for President, and Francis P. Blair of Missouri for Vice-President. Wade Hampton, N. B. Forrest, and other prominent Confederate leaders, were members of that Convention, and were controlling architects of the platform there adopted, in which the acts of Congress for the reorganization of the Union were declared to be "usurpations, unconstitutional, revolutionary and void."

A few days before the meeting of the Convention, General Blair, the nominee for Vice-President, wrote a letter to James O. Brodhead, to be used at the Convention. In that letter he said, in contemplation of the election of the nominees: "There is but one way to restore the Government and the Constitution, and that is for the President-elect to declare these acts of Congress null and void; compel the army to undo its usurpations at the South; disperse the carpet-bag State governments (governments established under the authority of Congress); allow the white people to organize their own governments, and elect Senators and Representatives. The House of Representatives will contain a majority of Democrats from the North, and they will admit the Representatives elected by the white people of the South; and with the co-operation of the President, it will not be difficult to compel the Senate to submit, once more, to the obligations of the Constitution."

This revolutionary scheme—a scheme for inaugurating another Civil War—was so acceptable to the Convention, that its author was nominated for the second office in the gift of the people. But it was so distasteful to vast numbers of the patriotic and thinking members of the Democratic party, that the nominees were defeated at the polls by an overwhelming vote that elected Grant and Colfax.

During the unfortunate and unseemly controversy between President Johnson and the National Congress, the work of reorganization, according to the plans of the latter, had been going forward vigorously, in spite of the factious interference of the Chief Magistrate. A Fourteenth Amendment had been proposed by a joint resolution of Congress, adopted on the 13th of June, 1866. This amendment had been ratified by a sufficient number of States to make it a part of the *supremé* law of the land, in July, 1868, and on the 28th of that month the fact was officially promulgated by the

Secretary of State. That amendment secured the rights of citizenship to all persons "born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof;" politically disabled a certain class of chief offenders in the insurrection; declared the validity of the National debt; and forbade the payment of any part of the so-called "Confederate" debt. Refer to the National Constitution, in the Appendix, for the text of this amendment.



ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT.

Seven of the disorganized States, namely, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, had ratified the amendment; and having, by that act, by the adoption of State constitutions approved by Congress, and by the

election of National Senators and Representatives, complied with the prescriptions of Congress, they took their places as revived States of the Union. But the perfect reorganization was not effected until the spring of 1872, when, on the 23d of May, the remaining three States having taken their places with their sisters, every seat in Congress was filled, for the first time since the winter of 1861, when members from several of the slave-labor States abdicated them. On the previous day (May 22, 1872) an Amnesty Bill was passed for removing the political disabilities imposed by the third section of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, from all persons excepting members of the Thirty-sixth Congress, heads of departments,

members of diplomatic corps, and officers of the army and navy, who had engaged in the rebellion.

At a little past midsummer (1868), when all but three States had been reorganized and civil government had been established in the restored States, the general-in-chief issued a proclamation (July 28) declaring that so much of the "reconstruction" acts as provided for military rule in the South, had become inoperative. At the same time the President continued to display his factious spirit in a most ludicrous and futile manner. He asserted that the State governments in the South, established by an illegal Congress, were illegal, and, consequently, their ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment was of no effect, and it was not ratified. In order to forestall and weaken the operation of a part of that amendment, he issued a proclamation on the 4th of July (1868) declaring general and unconditional pardon and amnesty for all who had been engaged in acts of rebellion, excepting a few who were under presentment or indictment for the offence. This conduct of the President was so foreboding of mischief, that when Congress took a recess in August, it was agreed to meet again in September, should the public good require; but the Presidential election absorbed so much of the attention of Mr. Johnson and the whole people, that there was a lull in the war between the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government, and the recess continued until the regular session in December. Very soon after Congress met, the President made another foolish onslaught upon the authority of that body when, on Christmas day, he issued a proclamation which declared, in defiance of the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, unconditional and unreserved pardon to *all and every person* who had participated in the late rebellion.

Before the adjournment of Congress for the recess, the Senate had ratified an important treaty with China, which Anson Burlingame, the American ambassador in that country, had negotiated. It established mutual intercourse between the citizens of the United States and those of China, and secured to each mutual and equal privileges of trade, travel, education, and religion. This was a concession never before made by the Chinese to any nation. Mr. Burlingame brought the treaty with him, and was accompanied by several high Chinese officials. He had won the entire confidence of the government, and had been appointed by the Emperor a general Commissioner to several of the Christian powers.

The result of the Presidential election gave increased strength to the Republican party. This condition implied increased responsibility, and the need of wisdom and sound judgment in the management of public affairs.

The incidents of the war had produced causes of irritation between the governments of the United States and Great Britain, and most delicate questions of national responsibility had been raised. At home, that chronic evil, war with the Indians, was then raging on the great Western Plains; and there was a wide difference of opinion in the public mind as to the best methods of putting an end to the strife. There was great exasperation on both sides, along the frontiers. There was an abiding sense of mutual injury; while all well-informed persons had a clear conviction that the deep-rooted animosity of the Indians toward the white people was occasioned by the rank injustice which the former had suffered at the hands of the latter. With this conviction there was a widespreading desire that a policy toward the barbarians, founded on justice and kindness, should be pursued. But military leaders in the war, contemplating the barbarians from a point of view opposite to that occupied by the Christian philanthropist, recommended the most vigorous and unrelenting measures toward them, and for that purpose it was proposed to vest the entire control of the Indians in the War Department. "Indian tribes," said a distinguished general, "should not be dealt with as independent nations; they are wards of the Government, and should be made to respect the lives and property of citizens. The Indian history of this country for the last three hundred years, shows that of all the great nations of Indians, only remnants have been saved. The same fate awaits those now hostile; and the best way for the Government is to make them poor by the destruction of their stock, and then settle them on the lands allotted them." Another general, equally distinguished, formulated the estimate of the Indian character by the average frontiersmen, by saying, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian."

These indefensible propositions and this unjust judgment have been too long the inspiration of our methods of treating the Indians. Fortunately the ethics of the mailed hand—*Might makes Right*—does not wholly prevail, and a more humane policy has been adopted. President Grant, soon after his inauguration in the spring of 1869, recommended the appointment, as Indian agents, of several members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, who are noted for their uprightness and peaceful principles and conduct. Congress approved the recommendation of the President, and early in April (1869) sixteen Friends were chosen to carry out the policy of justice.

The radical defect in the general policy of the Government is in its treatment of the barbarians, namely, holding them as *foreigners instead of as citizens*, and making formal treaties with them; or as *children* having no legal rights. The peace-policy has not yet had a fair trial. Its excellent

fruits are seen in many places, and give abundant evidence that if it could be faithfully carried out, under a wiser political plan, it would solve the great problem by pacifying the Indians, and tend to their rapid advancement in civilization. Evidences abound in the later reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, of a rapid advancement of the arts of peace, especially of agriculture, among the Indian tribes. Commissioner E. P. Smith, in his report for 1875, says: "The civilization of the Indians is not only entirely possible, but is fairly under way." He reported that out of the entire Indian population within the domain of the United States (278,963 souls), 40,638 men and boys supported themselves by the labor of their own hands. About one-sixth of the barbarian population in our Republic had become producers! "Five years ago," said the Commissioner, "10,329 Indian families were living in houses. This year shows 19,902; a gain of 92 per cent." He also reported that the number of children attending school was 10,600.

These facts show that our barbarian brethren are capable, not only of civilization, but of becoming orderly and valuable citizens. As a savage hunter, the Indian is expensive. During only six years—1870 to 1876—our Government made appropriations for the support of the Indians on their reservations (exclusive of the cost of military movements to keep them from "picking and stealing") of the large sum of nearly \$44,000,000. Treat the Indian as a *man* and a *citizen*, and wars and unprofitable expenditures on his account would cease.

Immediately after the assembling of Congress in December, 1868, Mr. Cragin of New Hampshire offered an amendment of the National Constitution, for securing the elective franchise to the freedmen. The proposition was debated for several weeks, and on the 26th of February, 1869, Congress adopted a joint resolution recommending the following, as a Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution:

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"SECTION 2. The Congress, by appropriate legislation, may enforce the provisions of this article."

This amendment was immediately submitted to the authorities of the several States for action, and was ratified by the requisite number. Before the close of that session, an important financial bill was adopted, of which the following was the chief provision: "The faith of the United States is

solemnly pledged to the payment, in coin, or its equivalent, of all interest-bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligations has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold and silver." This act was not only just, but expedient. It was intended to strengthen the credit of the Government at home and abroad, and that was accomplished.

The turbulent administration of Mr. Johnson closed on the 4th of March, 1869, when Ulysses Simpson Grant was inaugurated the eighteenth President of the United States. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Chase, and the Senate confirmed his cabinet appointments, after some necessary changes, as follows: Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; George S. Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury; John A. Rawlins, Secretary of War; Adolph E. Borie, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob D. Coxe, Secretary of the Interior; A. J. Creswell, as Postmaster-General; and E. Rockwood Hoar, as Attorney-General.

On the day when Johnson retired from the chair of state, he issued a long address to his countrymen in vindication of his course as Chief Magistrate. He recited his most prominent acts, declaring the necessity for them; and having done this he assailed the majority of the Congress with his usual vehemence of tone, accusing them of acting in "utter disregard of the Constitution." "Since the close of the war," he said, "they have persistently sought to influence the prejudices engendered between the sections, to retard the restoration of peace and harmony, and by every means to keep open and exposed to the poisonous breath of party passion the terrible wounds of a four years' war. They have prevented the return of peace and the restoration of the Union; in every way rendered delusive the purposes, promises and pledges, by which the army was marshalled, treason rebuked, and rebellion crushed, and made the liberties of the people and the rights and powers of the President objects of constant attack." He charged them with the commission of nearly every act of oppression enumerated in the indictment against George the Third, contained in the Declaration of Independence, and said, "This catalogue of crimes, long as it is, is not yet complete."

This public exhibition of the retiring President's weakness; his inaccuracy of statements; his unjust and untrue accusations, and his manifestation of blind anger, mortified his real friends and elicited a smile of pity from those who were assailed. In his whole career as President, Mr. Johnson seemed to feel, like Louis the Fourteenth, "I am the state." He seemed to forget that he was the *executive* and not the *legislative* or *judicial* branch of

the Government; that it was the duty of Congress to make laws, and his to see that they were executed; that after he had expressed his reasons for the disapproval of an act, in a veto message, and that act became a law by a constitutional vote, it was his solemn duty to enforce that law; and that the Supreme Court, and not the Executive, was the sole judge of the constitutionality of an enactment.

The career of Andrew Johnson exhibits a peculiar phase in our social system—the possibilities that wait upon citizens of the most humble origin. Mr. Johnson was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, late in 1808. His parents were poor and lowly; and at the age of four years he was bereft of his father. Without an hour's schooling, he was apprenticed to a tailor at the age of ten years; and during that service he taught himself to read. With his own hands he supported his mother, and with her he moved to Greenville, East Tennessee, when he was eighteen years of age. There he soon married an excellent girl, who taught him to write. The energy of his character, his sobriety and strength of mind, commended him to the citizens, and he was elected alderman of Greenville at the age of twenty, and mayor when he was twenty-one.

Mr. Johnson was possessed of a certain kind of rugged and ready oratory that made him very popular; also the elements and aspirations of an adroit politician; and he made his way upward in the path of distinction by his own indomitable will, passing successively through the offices of alderman, mayor, member of both houses of the Legislature of Tennessee, presidential elector, member of Congress, governor of Tennessee, national Senator, Vice-President, and Acting-President of the United States. His moral nature was more feeble than his ambition, and yielded to it; and in his career as President that weakness prevented his achieving most enviable fame as a patriot and a benefactor of his race.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS—"ALABAMA" CLAIMS—FINANCIAL AFFAIRS—NATIONAL DEBT, BANKING AND CURRENCY—SUSPENSION AND RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS—PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION—PACIFIC RAILWAY—INTER-OCEANIC SHIP CANAL CONSIDERED—DIFFICULTIES WITH CUBA AND SPAIN—THE "VIRGINIUS" AFFAIR—THE SAN DOMINGO QUESTION—SAMANA BAY COMPANY—JOINT HIGH COMMISSION—TRIBUNAL OF ARBITRATION AND ITS AWARD—DECISION ABOUT BOUNDARY ON THE PACIFIC—ELECTRO-MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH—LITIGATIONS—MARINE TELEGRAPHY—APPLIANCES OF THE TELEGRAPH—WEATHER SIGNALING—REVELATIONS OF THE CENSUS—NEW APPORTIONMENT—PENSIONS.

AUSPICIOUS omens of peace and prosperity appeared at the beginning of President Grant's administration. The condition of public affairs, at home and abroad, seemed to promise a bright official career for the new Chief Magistrate. The only cloud seen in the firmament of our foreign relations that betokened future difficulties, was the irritation felt concerning the depredations of the *Alabama* under the tacit sanction of the British government. The Government of the United States claimed for its citizens payment for the damages inflicted upon them by that Anglo-Confederate cruiser.

To effect a peaceful solution of the difficulty, Reverdy Johnson of Maryland was sent to England, in 1868, to negotiate a treaty for that purpose; but his mission did not have a satisfactory result. The treaty agreed to was almost universally condemned by his countrymen, and it was rejected by the Senate by a vote of fifty-four against one. Mr. Johnson was recalled, and J. Lothrop Motley, the historian, was appointed American Minister to the British court, charged with the negotiation of another treaty for the same purpose. Mr. Motley was no more successful in that particular mission than was his predecessor, and General Grant recalled him in 1870. The matter was finally settled by arbitration, as we shall observe presently.

The financial aspect in the public affairs of our country, at the time of the accession of President Grant, was encouraging because of a prospect of a steady reduction of the enormous debt which the Civil War had imposed upon the nation. On the first of August, 1865, or three months after the close of the Civil War, in the field, that debt, including back-pay, bounties, over-due contracts, transportation, and a variety of other expenses incident

to the closing of the war, was actually more than \$3,000,000,000. On the first of March, 1869, it was \$2,525,463,260, showing the remarkable fact that in the space of three years and eight months, the National debt had been reduced over \$600,000,000. This reduction has gone on gradually ever since until, on the first of October, 1877, the debt amounted to \$2,051,587,254.

It was during the Civil War that a radical and most salutary change was made in the banking system of our country. In 1860, on the eve of the breaking out of that war, the number of the banks in the Union was fifteen hundred and sixty-two, with an aggregate capital of almost \$422,000,000, and a circulation of about \$207,000,000. At the same time they held nearly \$84,000,000 in specie, and their aggregate deposits were almost \$254,000,000. The necessity for a better National currency was conspicuous soon after the beginning of the war, but no provision was made for one until the 3d of June, 1864. A law was then passed providing for a separate bureau in the Treasury Department, the chief officer of which was called Comptroller of the Currency, whose office is under the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. It also provided for the formation of private banking associations, within defined limits, to have existence for twenty years, the stockholders to be equally liable to the extent of the stock for the debts and contracts of the bank. Every such association was required, preliminary to the commencement of banking, to transfer bonds of the United States to an amount not less than \$30,000, and not less than the capital stock paid in. Then the association was entitled to receive from the Comptroller of the Currency circulating notes equal in amount to twenty per cent. of the current market value of the bonds transferred, but not exceeding ninety per cent. of the par value of such bonds. This made the Government of the United States the basis of security for the redemption of the paper currency, and that circulating medium was of equal credit in all parts of the United States. The latter feature of the system is of immense value to people in all financial transactions. The banking associations formed under this system are called National Banks; and at this time there are very few banks not included under that title.

By an act of Congress passed in 1875, banking under the National system is made free, without any restriction as to the amount of circulating notes that may be issued by the Comptroller of the Treasury to any part of the country; and the privileges attached to the National banks are open to individuals everywhere, making the proper deposit, for security, of United States bonds. Early in the Civil War, all of the banks in the Republic suspended specie payments, and they have not yet resumed, though

Congress has provided for the taking of an initial step toward resumption on the first of January, 1879, at which time the Government itself stands pledged to resumption and to the final redemption and removal from the currency of the country of the legal-tender notes as fast as they shall be presented for redemption. Resumption was really begun by the National Government in 1876, by calling in its fractional currency, and giving silver coin in exchange. The consequence is that there is, at the present time (close of 1877), an excess of silver currency in circulation.

At an early period of Grant's administration, an important amendment to the National Constitution was proposed, by Mr. Julian of Indiana, for securing the ballot to women, in the following form :

"The right of suffrage in the United States shall be based on citizenship, and shall be regulated by Congress; and all the citizens of the United States, whether native or naturalized, shall enjoy this right equally, without any distinction or discrimination whatever, founded on sex."

As the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment declares that "all persons, born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof [without an allusion to sex] are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside," this amendment clearly gives to women the rights and privileges of citizens. No action has since been taken by Congress on the subject; but organizations for effecting that object exist, and the matter will not be allowed to slumber indefinitely, for justice demands such a fundamental law. The right to the exercise of the elective franchise is guaranteed to our colored citizens; do women less deserve the privilege?

A most important event occurred in our country, in May, 1869, which has had a powerful effect already upon commerce, the arts and civilization, national and international. It was the completion of an uninterrupted railway communication, for freight and passengers, across our continent, between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, thereby opening a way for a vast trade, for our countrymen, with China, Japan, and the islands of the Sea. The ceremony of laying the last "tie" and driving the last "spikes," took place on the 10th of May (1869), in a grassy valley near the head of the Great Salt Lake, in Utah. It was performed in the presence of many hundred people of various nationalities, including some of our dusky barbarian brethren. That "tie" was made of laurel-wood brightly polished, its ends bound with silver bands. The "spikes" were three in number. One was of solid gold, sent from California; another was of solid silver,



COMPLETION OF THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

sent from Nebraska; and a third, composed of gold, silver and iron, was furnished by citizens of Arizona. These were driven, after some religious ceremonials; and when the work was completed, the fact was communicated to the people of our continent and across the seas, with the speed of the lightning's flash. That great railway crosses nine distinct mountain ranges, in its passage of about three thousand four hundred miles between New York and San Francisco, by way of Chicago; and the greatest elevation attained in the route is at Rattle Snake Pass, west of the Laramie Plains, where the road is seven thousand one hundred and twenty-three feet above the sea. Other railways—one more northerly and one more southerly—for connecting the two oceans by a bond of iron have been projected.

At the close of the Civil War, the subject of a ship-canal across the Isthmus of Darien to connect the waters of the two great oceans, was brought prominently before the American people. Explorations under the auspices of our Government, for such a purpose, had been attempted long before; but, for a time, nothing had been done. By a treaty concluded on the 14th of January, 1869, between our Government and that of the United States of Colombia, the former was empowered to survey and construct a canal at any point across the great isthmus, excepting along the route of the Panama Railroad, unless with the consent of the owners of that highway. Under the provisions of that treaty, the Government of the United States ordered surveys to be made, and two exploring expeditions were sent out in 1870. One, led by Commander T. O. Selfridge of the Navy, was sent to the lower portion of the Isthmus of Darien. Another, under Captain Shufeldt of the Navy, was sent to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, further south.

The report of Captain Shufeldt showed that no extraordinary engineering would be required on the Tehuantepec route; but that an elevation of about six hundred and eighty feet would have to be reached by means of locks. By this route the distance between New Orleans and Hong-Kong would be nine thousand miles less than by the way of Cape Horn, and over twelve hundred miles less than by the narrowest part of the Isthmus of Darien.

Commander Selfridge explored three routes across the Darien isthmus at its narrower part, all of which he reported to be impracticable. He also explored a route by way of the Atrato River and the Napipi, one of its tributaries, which he regarded as the best and most feasible in all that region. It includes one hundred and fifty miles of river navigation, and a canal less than forty miles in length, which would terminate at the mouth of the Limon River in Cupica Bay on the Pacific coast. The estimated cost of a canal by that route, including three miles of rock-cutting one

hundred and twenty-five feet in depth, is \$124,000,000. The highest point of the canal would be one hundred and thirty feet above the sea; and it may be fed by the Napipi River.

Selfridge made his report in 1871; and the next year the President appointed Major-General Humphreys, Professor Benjamin Pierce, Captain Daniel Ammen, commissioners to examine all plans and proposals for an inter-oceanic ship-canal across the isthmus. They are yet (1878) charged with the business while surveys are still in progress. The vast importance of such a work is conceded. The advantages to the commerce of the world is obvious. That commerce demands its speedy completion. The route to the East Indies, even from Liverpool, would be much shortened by it.

So early as 1850, our Government had difficulties with the authorities of Cuba, growing out of attempts to secure the independence of the Creoles. In 1869, an insurrection there had assumed such formidable proportions, and received so much moral support from the citizens of the United States, that again serious troubles, if not actual war with Spain, seemed inevitable. The American people naturally sympathize with others who are struggling against despotism and for the right to exercise local self-government, and are not always restrained by a wise prudence. Native Cubans and sympathetic Americans fitted out expeditions, under the general directions of a "Cuban Junta" in the city of New York, for the purpose of carrying men and war-material to the insurgent camps. Then our Government, determined to observe the strictest neutrality and impartiality, felt compelled to notice this flagrant violation of law, and took measures to suppress all *filli-bustering* movements, and to keep faith with foreign governments.

At times, these peculiar relations between our people and those of the neighboring Spanish colony caused much irritation, and promised a disruption of the peaceful relations between the United States and Spain. Finally, late in 1873, war between the two countries seemed to be inevitable. The steamship *Virginius*, flying the flag of our Republic, suspected of carrying men and supplies to the Cubans, was captured by a Spanish cruiser off the coast of Cuba, taken into port, and many of her passengers, and her captain and some of the crew, were publicly shot by the local military authorities. This outrage produced intense excitement throughout our country. There was, for awhile, a hot war-spirit in the land; but wise men in the control of the governments of Spain and the United States, calmly considered the international questions involved, and settled the matter by peaceful diplomacy. There were rights to be acknowledged by both parties. The *Virginius* was surrendered to the United States authorities, and ample reparation for the outrage was offered. While the vessel was on its way

to New York, under an escort, she sprung a-leak off Cape Fear, and went to the bottom of the sea, at the close of December, 1873. So, by wise diplomacy, peace with all the world has been maintained, since the close of our Civil War.

For full twenty years the governments of Western Europe have suspected the United States of designs to gain a controlling influence among the West India Islands, by obtaining possession of Cuba, or some other territory. The suspicion was first aroused by the declarations of the infamous "Ostend Manifesto." It was allayed by the manifest determination of our Government to suppress all unlawful military expeditions against that island, or any other territory. It was again excited by movements on the part of our Government to obtain possession, by annexation, of the island of Hayti or San Domingo. The wants of commerce, and political considerations, had created a strong desire of the American people for our Republic to have a territorial possession among the West India Islands. Movements, with that object in view, were made in 1869. President Grant was decidedly in favor of a scheme for the annexation of San Domingo; and late in the autumn of that year, a treaty, for the purpose, was conducted between our Government and that of Hayti. There was opposition to the measure in Congress. More exact information concerning the physical aspects of the island and the disposition of the people was demanded; and a Commission, consisting of judicious men, was sent to San Domingo for observation. Their report, although it was favorable, did not lead to a ratification of the treaty by our Senate, and the project has slumbered ever since. Then a private treaty was made by a stock company with the authorities of San Domingo, by which the government of that commonwealth ceded to the association a large portion of the island, with valuable privileges. All the public lands on the peninsula of Samana, and the waters of Samana Bay, were ceded to the "Samana Bay Company." That association has since slumbered.

In the year 1870, the claims of the Government of the United States upon that of Great Britain, for damages inflicted upon the American shipping interest by the depredations of the *Alabama*, and other Anglo-Confederate cruisers, occupied a large share of public attention. Two efforts to effect a treaty had been made and failed. Much diplomatic correspondence ensued. Finally, late in January, 1871, Sir Edward Thornton, the British minister at Washington, under instructions from his government, proposed, in a letter to Secretary Fish, a Joint High Commission, to be appointed by the two governments respectively, to settle a serious dispute which had arisen concerning the fisheries, and so to establish

a permanent friendship between the two nations. Mr. Fish, in reply, proposed that the Commission should embrace, in its inquiries, the matter of the "*Alabama* claims," and other subjects of dispute, so that nothing should remain to disturb the relations of friendship which might be established. The suggestion was approved by the British minister, and each government proceeded to appoint its commissions. President Grant appointed Hamilton Fish, the Secretary of State; Samuel Nelson, Associate-Justice of the United States Supreme Court; Robert C. Schenck, minister to England; E. Rockwood Hoar, late Attorney-General of the United States; and George H. Williams, United States Senator from Oregon. Queen Victoria appointed George Frederick Samuel, Earl de Grey and Earl of Ripon; Sir Stratford Henry Northcote; Sir Edward Thornton, the British minister; Sir Alexander McDonald, a member of the Privy Council of Canada, and Attorney-General of that Province; and Montague Bernard, Professor of International Law in the University of Oxford.

The commissioners of the United States were instructed to consider (1) the fisheries; (2) the navigation of the St. Lawrence River; (3) reciprocal trade between the United States and the Dominion of Canada; (4) the Northwest water boundary and the Island of San Juan; (5) the claims of the United States against Great Britain for compensation for injuries committed by rebel cruisers; and (6) claims of British subjects against the United States for losses and injuries arising out of acts committed during the recent Civil War.

On the 27th of February (1871), the Commission had their first meeting, in Washington city. Lord Tenterden, Secretary of the British Commission, and J. C. Brancroft Davis, Assistant Secretary of State of the United States, were chosen clerks of the Joint High Commission. They held many meetings and the subjects were fully discussed, when a treaty was agreed to, which provided for the settlement, by arbitration, by a mixed commission, of all claims on both sides for injuries by either governments to the citizens of the other, during the Civil War, and for the permanent settlement of all questions in dispute between the two nations. This treaty was signed on the 8th of May, 1871, and was speedily ratified by the two governments.

The conclusion of the treaty was followed by the appointment of arbitrators. The United States appointed Charles Francis Adams; and Great Britain, Sir Alexander Cockburn. The two governments jointly invited the Emperor of Brazil, the King of Italy, and the President of the Swiss Confederation, each to appoint an arbitrator. The Emperor appointed Baron d'Itazuba; the King chose Count Frederick Sclopis; and the President of the

Swiss Confederation appointed James Stämpfli. J. C. Bancroft Davis was appointed agent of the United States; and Lord Tenterden, of Great Britain. These gentlemen formed what was termed the "Tribunal of Arbitration."

On the 15th of December, 1871, the "Tribunal" assembled at Geneva, in Switzerland, where Count Sclopis was chosen to preside. After two meetings, it was adjourned to the middle of June, 1872. A final meeting was held in September, the same year; and on the 14th of that month, its decision on the *Alabama* claims was announced. That decision decreed that the government of Great Britain should pay to the Government of the United States, the sum of \$15,500,000 in gold, to be given to citizens of the latter for losses incurred by the depredations of the *Alabama*, and other Anglo-Confederate cruisers. That amount was paid into the Treasury of the United States, a year afterward, through the agency of the banking firms of Drexel, Morgan & Co. and Jay Cooke & Co., who made a contract with the British government to pay this award on or before the 10th of September, 1873. This transaction was performed in the following manner, without moving a dollar of coin:

The contracting bankers, from time to time, bought bills of exchange, which they deposited in comparatively small amounts, and received coin or gold certificates for such deposits, and purchased United States bonds. Those bonds and coin certificates they finally exchanged with the Secretary of the Treasury for a single certificate for \$15,500,000, which reads as follows: "It is hereby certified that fifteen million five hundred thousand dollars have been deposited with the Treasurer of the United States, payable in gold, at his office, to Drexel, Morgan & Co., Morton, Bliss & Co., and Jay Cooke & Co., or their order." This was endorsed by these parties to pay the amount to the British minister at Washington, and the British Consul-General at New York. The minister and consul endorsed it with an order to pay the amount to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; and he, in turn, endorsed it with an order to pay it to W. A. Richardson, Secretary of the Treasury. The money was invested in the new five per cent. bonds of the United States of the funded loan, redeemable after the first day of May 1881; and a commission was appointed to distribute the award among the just claimants for damages.

The question of boundary on the Pacific coast between our country and the British possessions, was referred to the Emperor of Germany, who decided in favor of the claims of the United States, which gave to our territory the island of San Juan, the domain in dispute. So was settled by the peaceful and just method of arbitration, most exciting questions,

which, at one time, threatened to be referred to the arbitrament of the sword.

Allusion has been made to the electro-magnetic telegraph, and the first establishment of communication between America and Europe by it. That invention, conceived more than a century ago, was first brought to perfection and made a medium for the transmission of language instantly over great spaces, by Samuel Finley Breese Morse of New York, and was first presented to public notice in the year 1838. He filed a caveat at the Patent Office in the autumn of 1837, and gave a private exhibition of its marvellous power, in the New York University, in January, 1838, when intelligence was instantly transmitted through a circuit of ten miles of wire, and plainly recorded on a cylinder.

Professor Morse applied to Congress for pecuniary aid to enable him to construct an experimental line of telegraph between Washington and Baltimore. He was unsuccessful, and for four years he waited for the tardy action of his government. Then, in the spring of 1842, Congress appropriated \$30,000 for his use; and two years afterward Professor Morse transmitted from Washington to Baltimore, a distance of forty miles, the first message, furnished him by a young lady—"What hath God wrought!" The first public message was the announcement of the nomination of James K. Polk for President of the United States, by a Democratic convention sitting at Baltimore, in May, 1844.

Others claimed to be the authors of the great invention, and Professor Morse was put upon the defensive. Infringements of the patents he had obtained ensued, and years of costly litigation. He triumphed. His rights were fully and finally established by the careful sifting of testimony by the courts, and a decision was made from which there could be no just appeal, that Professor Morse was the original and sole inventor of the electro-magnetic recording telegraph system, known by his name. Its value was soon perceived. Monarchs bestowed *orders* and pecuniary gifts upon the inventor, and colleges conferred honorary degrees upon him.

Professor Morse originated marine telegraphy. He suggested the possibility of telegraphic communication between America and Europe, by means of a submarine cable, in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury in the summer of 1843; and in 1858 he participated in the labors and honors of achieving it. In the summer of that year a cable was laid between Valencia in Ireland and the shore of Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, over the great ocean plateau discovered by Professor Maury of the National Observatory. The first intelligent communication was made on the 13th of August. Early in the morning of the 17th, a message was received from the Queen

of Great Britain, for the President of the United States, and an answer was immediately returned, when the cable ceased its functions. It was dumb until the summer of 1866, when communication was re-established, and has been permanent ever since. There now seems to be no impediment to its utterances by a pathway under the sea, and over the land, between nearly all the countries of the civilized world.

Many new functions of this great invention have been discovered, and its powers seem to be in their infancy of manifestation. Messages are now sent by a single wire, each way, at the same instant of time. The human voice and the melody of musical instruments may now be transmitted over hundreds of miles of space, and even impressions of handwriting and the living features of the human face may now be sent by friend to friend, from State to State, from ocean to ocean. Commerce and agriculture are receiving vast benefits from its use in meteorological observations and scientific predictions of future events.

In the year 1870, Congress authorized the establishment of a Weather-Signal Service, under the control of the War Department, which was designed to collect information and give notice by signals or by telegraph, of *any* approaching danger; in time of peace, of dangers to arise from storms in their progress, or other atmospheric disturbances. This peculiar service was invented and organized by General Albert J. Myer, who has been at the head of it from the beginning. The system, as arranged by General Myer, permits the forecasting of atmospheric phenomena for twenty-four hours in advance; and to such perfection is the system brought, that almost ninety per cent. of the predictions are verified by actual results. Simultaneous weather reports from simultaneous observations, taken at different places, are transmitted to the Signal Office at Washington. Three of these simultaneous reports are made in each twenty-four hours, at the same instant of time, at intervals of eight hours; and warnings are given by signals, maps, bulletins, and official despatches, furnished by the Signal Office three times each day, to nearly all the newspapers of the land. So thoroughly is this work done, by means of the telegraph, and by the perfect organization of the system and the discipline of the operators, that it is estimated one-third of all the families in our country are in possession, each day, of the information at the Signal Office in Washington. The value of this service to commerce and agriculture is incalculable. A storm raging in any part of the country may be known to ports and districts in its track many hours before it can reach such points; and deductions from known meteorological laws, enables the Signal Bureau to predict the probable state of the weather in every part of the country with great accuracy. The

advantages of such a service is obvious. The invention and operations of the electro-magnetic telegraph, furnishes a marvellous chapter in the history of our country.

In the year 1870, the ninth enumeration or census of the inhabitants of the United States and their productions, was begun ; but it was not completed until late in the next year. The revelations of that census concerning the growth of our country in population, development of its resources and its various industries, was wonderful. It shows the remarkable fact that the inhabitants of this comparatively young country with its immense out-of-doors, are not even now, in their youth, a pre-eminently agricultural people. When the first enumeration was taken in the year 1790, and the population was about four million, the value of the annual products of our agriculture was reported at \$150,000,000. That of our manufactures was then quite small. The assessed wealth of the people then was estimated at \$497,293,000. Sixty years after that enumeration (1850), the value of the annual products of agriculture was given at \$1,070,000,000, and of manufactures at \$1,019,000,000, and the assessed wealth at \$2,276,000,000. Our population then was little more than twenty-three million. Twenty years later, or at our last national enumeration (1870), when our population was almost forty million, the value of the annual agricultural products, including that of the farms, orchards, forests, buildings and live-stock, was estimated at almost \$3,000,000,000. At the same time the value of the annual product of our manufactures was estimated at \$4,232,325,000, or \$1,232,325,000 more than the total value of the agricultural products of our country. This shows an increase in the value of the products of our manufactures, in the last twenty years, of over three hundred per cent.

After this enumeration of the inhabitants, and the final restoration of the Union, in May, 1872, a new apportionment in representation was established, making the ratio one hundred and thirty-seven thousand, instead of ninety thousand. A new Pension bill was also adopted, giving eight dollars a month to all surviving officers, enlisted men, and volunteers in the wars of the Revolution and of 1812, or their surviving widows. To these recipients of pensions, and those of the late Civil War, our Government is now paying nearly \$30,000,000 a year.



CHAPTER XXIX.

PROPOSITIONS OF NATIONAL INTEREST REJECTED—PUBLIC PARK—NATIONAL CONVENTIONS—DISTINGUISHED VISITORS—INAUGURATION OF GRANT—HIS CABINET—ACTS OF CONGRESS—SALARIES—ASPECT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS—THE “PANIC”—INDIANS AND INDIAN WARS—THE MODOCS—CHEAP TRANSPORTATION—“PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY”—DISTURBANCES IN THE SOUTH—“WHITE LEAGUE”—THE SIOUX AND THEIR RESERVATION—EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SIOUX—DESTRUCTION OF CUSTER AND HIS COMMAND—CUSTER’S REMAINS TAKEN TO WEST POINT—ESCAPE OF SITTING BULL—ADMISSION OF COLORADO—INDIAN TERRITORY AND ALASKA—INHABITANTS OF INDIAN TERRITORY.

THE year of grace, 1872, was a “Presidential year”—a year when the Chief Magistrate of the Republic is chosen—and that subject naturally occupied much of the public attention during the summer and fall; yet there were, besides, projects of a national character, of great interest, presented for consideration. One of these was a proposition to place the telegraph system of our country under the control of the National Government, and make it a part of the postal system of the United States. Another project was the enlargement of the land-locked navigation, by means of canals, from the extreme eastern portion of the Union to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Mississippi River to various ports on the Atlantic coast. The governor of Virginia proposed that the State debts should be assumed by the National Government—an act that was wise and just when our Government first went into operation, for the State debts had been incurred chiefly by expenditures during the war for independence, for the general good. The present State debts have all been incurred for the benefit of each State separately. These various propositions failed to secure the popular favor.

By an act of Congress a large tract of the public domain, about forty miles square, lying near the head-waters of the Yellowstone River, on the northeastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, was set apart for a public park. It is withdrawn from sale, settlement and occupancy, and is dedicated to the “pleasure and enjoyment of the people of the United States.”

Early in the year 1872, several political national conventions were held for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency. The first was that of the “Labor-Reform Party,” held at Columbus, Ohio, in February,

when David Davis of Illinois, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, was nominated. Mr. Davis declined, and finally Charles O'Connor of the city of New York was nominated by that party. In April, a "Colored National Convention" was held in New Orleans; but they refrained from nominating a President. A movement, begun in Missouri in 1870, for an union of Democrats and so-called "Liberal Republicans," culminated, in the spring and summer of 1872, in the fusion of these two political elements. A convention of "Liberal Republicans" assembled at Cincinnati on the first of May (1872), and nominated the late Horace Greeley for President, and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for Vice-President. The regular Republican Convention assembled at Philadelphia on the 5th of June, and nominated President Grant for re-election, and Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts for Vice-President. On the 9th of July the Democratic Convention assembled at Baltimore, and adopted the nominees of the "Liberals" (Messrs. Greeley and Brown) by an almost unanimous vote. The Opposition party expected much strength from the coalition; but Grant and Wilson were elected, the majority of the former being much greater than he received in 1868.

Distinguished visitors came to the United States in 1872. An imposing embassy of twenty-one persons came from Japan to make inquiries about the renewal of former treaties between the two governments; but, not having sufficient delegated power to make such renewals, the matter was not then settled. Relations between the United States and Japan are cordial in the extreme; and the commerce, politics, and society of the two nations are rapidly becoming more intimate with each other. The same year the Grand Duke Alexis, son of the Emperor of Russia, made a tour through our country, and was graciously received everywhere.

President Grant's second term of office began on the 4th of March, 1873. It was an intensely cold day at the National Capital; but the inaugural ceremonies were performed, as usual, in the open air, at the east front of the Capitol. Chief-Justice Chase administered the oath of office; and it was one of the latest public acts of that distinguished jurist. His health had been failing for some time, in consequence of a paralytic stroke in 1872, and he died two months after these imposing ceremonies. The Senate immediately confirmed President Grant's nominations of constitutional advisers, which were as follows: Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; William A. Richardson, Secretary of the Treasury; William W. Belknap, Secretary of War; George A. Robeson, Secretary of the Navy; Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior; John A. J. Creswell, Postmaster-General; and George H. Williams, Attorney-General. Changes in the *personnel* of the

cabinet afterward took place, and only Mr. Fish retained his position during the eight years of President Grant's administration.

The third session of the Forty-second Congress closed on the 4th of March, 1873, at noon. Among the numerous acts passed during that session was one to abolish the grades of Admiral and Vice-Admiral in the United States navy. Another abolished the Franking privilege; and another fixed the pay of certain officers of Government and members of Congress. The salary of the President of the United States was raised from \$25,000 a year to \$50,000, payable in monthly installments. The salary of the Vice-President was fixed at \$10,000; of the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, \$10,500, and the Associate-Justices, \$10,000 each. That of the heads of the several departments, and of the Attorney-General, was fixed at \$10,000; of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, \$10,000; and of Senators and Representatives, \$7,500 each, a year, and no allowance made for traveling expenses, the mileage system having been abolished.

At the beginning of the second term of President Grant's administration, the future of our country, in all its aspects, appeared brighter than ever before, since the end of the Civil War. There seemed to be a steady improvement in the tone of public feeling after the irritations caused by the Civil War and the measures adopted for the restoration of the Union. The Government, in its dealings with the leaders in the insurrection, had been exceedingly lenient. Of the thousands of our citizens who consciously and willingly committed "treason against the United States," as defined by Article III, Section 3, Clause 1, of the National Constitution, not one had been punished for that crime; and only Jefferson Davis, the acting head of the Confederacy, had been indicted, and he was released from jail (illegally) by President Johnson's proclamation of Amnesty on Christmas day, 1868, already mentioned, and has never been called to account.

There was, also, a gradual lightening of the burdens of taxation which the war had imposed. The amount was reduced by many millions annually, while the revenue had increased from \$371,000,000 in 1869, to \$430,000,000 in 1873. The exports showed an increase as compared with 1859, of more than twenty-five per cent., while there had not been an equal increase in the value of imports.

Emigration from Europe poured, in an immense volume, upon our shores that year (1873), reaching the unprecedented number of souls that came, of 473,000. Never before nor since have so many aliens come to the United States, adding vastly to our material wealth. Efforts have been made to ascertain the capital value of the average emigrant who comes

here, as a producer. Dr. Edward Young, the chief of our National Bureau of Statistics, Commerce and Navigation, has computed it at \$800, not counting the money the emigrant brings with him, which, he calculates, is spent by him in preparing to become a producer. If, then, we take the number of aliens who have come to our shores since the taking of the census in 1870, until now (1877), amounting, in round numbers, to say 2,000,000, we have an aggregate sum of \$1,600,000,000 added to our wealth within the last seven years, by emigration alone. It is estimated by Dr. Young, that previous to 1870, there have been added to our wealth from the same source, \$6,243,880,800; making a total increment from emigration alone of \$7,843,880,800. It is estimated that sixty per cent. of all the emigrants who arrive are in the prime of life, and ready to enter at once into their several industrial pursuits.

Dr. Young, writing in 1875, says: "As regards nationality, more than one-half of those who have thus far arrived in the United States are British, and come from the United Kingdom, or from the British possessions of North America. These speak our language, and a large part are acquainted with our laws and institutions, and are soon associated with and absorbed into our body politic.

"The German element comes next, and embraces nearly two-thirds of the remainder, being at once an industrious and an intelligent people, a large proportion settling in rural districts, and developing the agricultural resources of the West and South; while the remainder, consisting largely of artisans and skilled workmen, find profitable employment in the cities and manufacturing towns.

"The influx of Scandinavians, who have already made extensive settlements in the northwestern States, constitutes a distinctive feature of the movement; and though but a few years since it received its first impetus, it is already large and rapidly increasing. Industrious, economical and temperate, their advent should be especially welcomed.

"Asiatic emigration [Chinese], whatever views may be entertained of its influence upon our industries and customs, has not yet reached such proportions as to excite alarm in the most apprehensive, and falls short of what has been represented, never having reached, in a single year, the number of 15,000; forming only about four per cent. of our total immigration. So small a number can easily be absorbed into our population of 40,000,000, and no injury result, if the movement be confined to *voluntary* immigration. A peculiarity of the Chinese immigration is the small number of females, not exceeding seven per cent. of the whole, a fact which seems to preclude a large increase of the pure race.

"The Latin nations contribute very little to our population, and the Sclavic still less; while to-day, as from time immemorial, the different branches of the great Teutonic trunk are swarming forth from the most populous regions, to aid in the progress of civilization.

"While a brief review of the ethnic derivation of the millions who have transferred their allegiance from the Old World to the New, exhibits a favorable result, other elements of their value to this country require consideration. The wide contrast between skilled and unskilled labor, between industry and laziness, between economical habits and unthrift, indicates a marked variation in the capital value of the immigrant to this country. The unskilled laborers, who at once engage in subduing the forests, or cultivating the prairies, are of far more value to the country than those who remain in the large cities."

The "panic," the great tide of business revulsion that swept over the country in the autumn of 1873, prostrating thousands of commercial and manufacturing establishments, and so paralyzing various industries that the wages of hundreds of thousands of laborers were cut off or greatly reduced, caused a sudden check to emigration. The great depression in the business of the country, which immediately ensued, caused a reflux tide of emigration. In 1874, the number of immigrants who returned to Europe, was 72,346, and in 1875 the number was 92,754. That business depression yet (1877) continues; but a gradual improvement is visible, with sure signs of returning prosperity. The reflux tide of emigration has almost ceased to flow, and the inflowing of a foreign population goes steadily on.

Over the firmament of the future of our country, at the time of President Grant's second inauguration, dark clouds soon appeared floating, and they have hung there almost ever since, more or less foreboding of evil in their aspect. In some of the late slave-labor States there have been fitful evidences of existing discontent and rebellious feeling, the manifestations of which have given the National Government much anxiety and trouble. "Indian hostilities" have continued as a sort of chronic disturber of the tranquillity of the nation, and especially of the settlements in mid-continent on the frontier borders of civilization.

Owing to the unwise feature of the "Peace-policy" inaugurated by President Grant, of a continuance of the vicious system of treating our barbarian population as foreigners, keeping them on reservations, and so making necessary the employment of agents and contractors, who are too frequently unscrupulous speculators, continually worrying the Indians and exciting their righteous anger, that policy, as we have observed, has not worked so well as its friends had hoped it would. There are nearly one

hundred reservations upon which about one hundred and eighty thousand Indians are seated. The aggregate area of these reservations is about one hundred and sixty-eight thousand square miles. Thirty-one of these are east of the Mississippi River, and upon the Pacific Slope are nineteen. The remainder are between these. There are about forty thousand Indians who have no lands awarded them by treaty, but they have reservations set apart for them upon the public lands of the United States, fifteen in number, and aggregating about sixty thousand square miles.

We have remarked that Indian wars have continued to disturb the repose of the Government and the frontier settlements. It is estimated that the potentially hostile tribes, at this time, number about sixty-four thousand; but they are widely scattered over a vast territory. War with such an enemy is exceedingly costly in men and money. War with the Cheyennes in 1864 caused about eight thousand troops to be taken from the armies engaged in suppressing the great insurrection, to fight the Indians. The result of the year's campaign was the killing of fifteen or twenty of the barbarians, at a cost of about one million dollars a-piece, while hundreds of soldiers lost their lives, and many border settlers were butchered! This and subsequent wars with the Indians have cost our Government over \$100,000,000. How much cheaper and Christian-like it would have been to treat them with justice and kindness, as men and women possessed of souls and the qualities of common humanity, than as ravenous wild beasts, deserving only to feel the power of bail and sabre.

In the spring of 1873, difficulties occurred with the Modoc Indians who, for twenty years, had shown a hostile feeling toward the white people. A treaty had been made with them in 1864, which provided for the setting apart for them of seven hundred and sixty-eight thousand acres of land in Southern Oregon. Some of the tribe settled there; others, led by a chief known as "Captain Jack," a conspicuous warrior, preferred to remain where they were; but sullenly consented to go. Troubles with other Indians there caused the Modocs to leave the reservation and begin anew their depredations. It was finally determined to compel them to go to their reservation, when the Indians, under the immediate leadership of Captain Jack, broke out into open war late in 1872, and on the same day eleven citizens were murdered.

In January, 1873, a severe engagement occurred between the National troops and the Modocs, who were strongly intrenched among rocks and vast lava-beds. All attempts to dislodge them were made in vain, and a peace commission was appointed to confer with them. That commission reported, on the 3d of March, that the Modocs had agreed to surrender their arms

and go to the reservation. On the following day they were compelled to report that the barbarians had changed their minds, and had rejected all propositions for a removal, and refused to go to the reservation. Then another peace commission was appointed, composed of General Canby, the Rev. Dr. Thomas, and others. They found the Modocs under the influence of Captain Jack, very insolent in their bearing, and showing unmistakable signs of hostile feeling. Finally, on the 11th of April, 1873, while they were engaged in a council with the Indians, General Canby and Dr. Thomas were murdered by them, the savage warriors stealing upon them in a most cowardly manner.

This treachery caused the Government to make the most vigorous war upon the Modocs; and before the first of June they were driven from the lava-beds and were completely subdued. Captain Jack was deserted by most of his followers, and was finally captured, with several of the participants in the murder. They were tried by a court-martial, in August, and six of them were condemned to death. Captain Jack and three of his companions were hung on the 3d of October following, at Fort Klamath, in Oregon.

In 1873, public attention, especially in the teeming West, was much occupied with the subject of cheap transportation along the courses of commerce from west to east. The matter was brought before the National Legislature, when it was decided by competent authority, that Congress had, under an express provision of the Constitution, power to regulate commerce carried on by railroads. A bill was introduced, and passed the House of Representatives in March, 1874, for the institution of a board of commissioners (representing the nine judicial districts of the Republic) for the regulation of commerce carried by railroads among the several States. Nothing more was done. In that movement, a new organization known as the "Patrons of Husbandry," took a conspicuous part. It was a secret order for the promotion of the various interests of agriculture, and had then become powerful in numbers and influence. Its growth had been marvelous. It was divided into local associations known as "Granges." There was a central or parent organization, called the National Grange, established at the capital of the Republic. State Granges were formed, with subordinate Granges in towns and counties. The membership consisted of men and women interested in agricultural pursuits.

These Granges first appeared in 1870. Their wonderful growth began in 1871, when there were only ninety in the whole country; in 1876, when they reached their maximum in strength, there were *nineteen thousand*. As the organization grew into immense proportions, politicians tried to seduce the Granges to their support; but the imperative rule of the Order, that no

political or religious topics should be discussed at their meetings, foiled the politicians. In its aim, the organization was an admirable one; and it was the first of the secret societies (for it had secret pass-words and methods of admission) which has admitted women to full membership. How could the Patrons of Husbandry do otherwise, when the work and influence of women in the business of agriculture in our country, is so important? The value of their exertions may be estimated, in a degree, when we consider the vast amount of mental and physical labor now performed, directly or indirectly, by women in the food production of our country, as in all others. In the annual production here of more than *six hundred million* pounds of butter and *two hundred and fifty million* pounds of cheese, a very large proportion is the result of woman's labor, besides their attention to poultry, the gathering of honey, and the products of the garden and orchard. In the Great West, and especially among the foreign-born population, women do a vast amount of planting, weeding, cultivating, haying, harvesting, and even caring for live-stock.

During the year 1874, social and political affairs in several of the Southern States, particularly in Louisiana, were so unsettled that much uneasiness was produced in the public mind. Outrages of various kinds, and even murders, were committed in many places for the evident purpose of keeping peaceable citizens from the polls, and an utter disregard for law was shown. In September (1874), when these outrages were increasing in number and violence, the Attorney-General, with the sanction of the President, issued a Circular-Letter to the authorities in the States alluded to, expressing his determination to take vigorous steps for upholding the laws and protecting the rights of all citizens of whatever class or hue; and the President directed the Secretary of War to consult and act with the Attorney-General in the matter. By prompt action on the part of the National Government, these outrages were nearly suppressed by the beginning of 1875; but they broke out with greater vehemence in the summer of 1876, and prevailed in fearful force during the canvass for President of the United States, in the autumn of that year. The leaders and inciters of these outrages were members of a secret organization known as the "White League," formed for the purpose of overawing the colored population, and depriving them of the privileges of the ballot.

The Indian, whose dusky visage has appeared prominent on almost every page of our national history from the time of the arrival of the Northmen until now, became a conspicuous object again at the beginning of 1875. All through that year there were either threatened or actual hostilities on the part of the barbarians. General George A. Custer had been sent into the

region known as the Black Hills, with a military force, to examine and report upon the state of affairs there. It is a region that had been set apart, by our Government, as a reservation for the powerful and warlike Sioux Indians. They are the most numerous of all the tribes, and more difficult to conquer than any body of barbarians within our domain. It is estimated that if they should rally all their strength, they might muster ten thousand warriors. The Black Hills, which had been assigned to them, occupy portions of the Territories of Dakota and Wyoming. Custer was charmed with the beauty and apparent fertility of that region of country. He reported it to be another Florida in the exuberance of its floral beauty, and also extremely rich in precious metals. The cupidity of frontiersmen was excited, and very soon prospecting miners appeared on the Sioux domain. Instructed by past experience of the bad faith of our Government the Indians saw in these movements a sure sign of their final dispossession of these fair lands. Their jealousy was aroused. Their suspicions were well-founded; for near the close of 1874, a bill was introduced into Congress which provided for the extinguishment of the Indian title to so much of the Black Hills reservation as lay within the Territory of Dakota.

In the spring of 1875, Mr. Jenny, Government geologist, was sent to the Black Hills country to make a survey of that region. He was escorted by six companies of cavalry and two of infantry. This invasion of their reservation, and the significant presence of surveyors, confirmed the suspicions of the Sioux, of the design of our Government to deprive them of these lands; and all through that year they showed such unmistakable signs of preparations for war to defend their domain, that early in 1876 a strong military force was sent into the region of the Yellowstone River, in Montana Territory and the adjoining region, to watch the movements of the barbarians. Finally, a campaign against them was organized. The general plan was for the military force to make a simultaneous movement, under experienced leaders, in three columns—one from the Department of the Platte, led by General Crooke; one from the Department of Dakota, commanded by General Terry; and a third from the Territory of Montana, led by General Gibbon. The latter was to move with his column down the Valley of the Yellowstone, to prevent the Sioux from escaping northward. General Custer, at the same time, pushing across the country from the Missouri to the Yellowstone to drive the Indians toward General Gibbon, while General Crooke was to scout the Black Hills and drive out any of the hostile Sioux that might be found there. The expedition was under the chief command of General Alfred H. Terry, a brave, judicious, and experienced officer. He and his staff accompanied Custer from Fort Abraham

Lincoln to the Yellowstone River. On their arrival in the vicinity, at about the first of June (1876), and communicating with General Gibbon, they found that Indians were in that neighborhood, in large numbers, and well supplied with munitions of war.

The reports of scouts caused a belief that the Indians, with their great movable village, were in the meshes of the net prepared for them near the waters of the Big and Little Horn, Powder and Tongue rivers (tributaries of the Yellowstone), and Rosebud Creek. The concentrated troops began to feel for themselves. On the 17th of June, Crooke had a sharp fight with a superior force of Sioux, who were thoroughly armed and equipped, and was obliged to retreat. Terry and Gibbon met at the mouth of the Rosebud. Custer was there, at the head of the stronger column, consisting of the whole of the Seventh regiment of cavalry, composed of twelve companies, and he was ordered to make the attack. He and Gibbon marched toward the vicinity of the Big Horn River. Custer arrived first and discovered an immense Indian camp on a plain. He had been directed to await the arrival of Gibbon, to co-operate with him, before making an attack; but inferring that the Indians were moving off, he directed Colonel Reno to attack them at one point with seven companies of the cavalry, while he dashed off with five companies (about three hundred men) to attack at another point. A terrible struggle ensued on the 25th of June, 1876, with a body of Indians, in number five to one of the white men. They were commanded by an educated, bold and skillful chief named "Sitting Bull." Custer and almost his entire command were slain. Two hundred and sixty-one were killed and fifty were wounded.

With General Custer perished two of his brothers, a brother-in-law, and other gallant officers. Many of them had doubtless been murdered after they had been captured, and their bodies were horribly mutilated. The body of the general was afterward found and fully identified. It was taken to Fort Abraham Lincoln, in Dakota Territory, where provision was made for its conveyance to West Point, on the Hudson River, for interment. It was at first sent to Poughkeepsie, at midsummer, 1877, and deposited in the receiving vault of the Rural Cemetery there, where it remained until the 10th of October following, when it was conveyed to West Point, with a certificate from the post-surgeon of Fort Lincoln, that the burial casket contained "the remains of General George A. Custer, lieutenant-colonel Seventh cavalry, killed at the battle of Big Horn River, June 25, 1876." The casket containing the remains was escorted to the steamboat that conveyed it to West Point, by Poughkeepsie military, followed by the mayor and common council of that city, and a large number of citizens in

carriages and on foot. It was received at West Point by a guard of honor, and buried with imposing ceremonies, religious and military.

The news of the destruction of Custer and his command produced much excitement throughout the country; and the Government immediately ordered a large military force into the region of the Black Hills, for the



DESTRUCTION OF CUSTER'S COMMAND.

purpose of utterly crushing the power of the Sioux. Sitting Bull and his followers, anticipating severe chastisement, at length withdrew into the British possessions, where they remained until the summer of 1881.

We have alluded to the fact that the Territory of Colorado had to wait for admission into the Union as a State, ten years after first making application for the privilege. That act was consummated on the 4th of July,

1876, by a decision of Congress, and was the crowning achievement in our national growth at the end of the first century of the political existence of the Republic. By that act it was made to comprise thirty-eight independent States within its sovereign control. There are, also, ten Territories besides, each making rapid progress in population and the development of its resources. All are preparing for admission into the Union as States, at a time not distant in the future. Two bounded domains, namely, the Indian Territory and Alaska, have not yet secured Territorial governments, with chief magistrates, and legislatures, and with representatives in Congress.

Alaska is a large domain, lying in the extreme northwestern portion of the North American Continent, and separated from the States and Territories by British possessions. It was purchased from Russia, in 1867, for the sum of \$7,200,000 in gold. Its seal and other fisheries, and timber, are very valuable. According to official reports, in 1873, the "Alaska Commercial Company" of San Francisco, supply eighty per cent. of the fur of seals killed, in the world, and therefore have a virtual monopoly of that trade; and in 1870, the product of other fisheries was large. In salted codfish alone, it was ten million six hundred and ten thousand pounds.

The Indian Territory lies west of Arkansas and Missouri, between Kansas and Colorado on the north, and Texas on the south, and with Texas and New Mexico on its western borders. In 1870, it contained a population of about sixty thousand Indians, twenty-four thousand white people, and between six and seven thousand colored people. It comprises seventeen Indian reservations, upon which are settled as the principal nations of the dusky occupants, Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles. Many of these are civilized, and are following the pursuits of civilization. They cultivate the soil and raise live-stock. The value of their agricultural productions is over \$5,000,000, annually; and of their live-stock, in 1875, over \$10,000,000. The Choctaws, who have about fifty thousand acres of cultivated land, possessed over one hundred thousand horses, one hundred thousand horned cattle, eight thousand sheep, and one hundred and fifty thousand swine. It is clear to the judgment of judicious observers, that the Indian makes a better herdsman than agriculturist. The white people and the red men of the Indian Territory agree in a desire for Territorial government, and one will, undoubtedly, soon be granted them.

CHAPTER XXX.

A CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION PROPOSED—FIRST PRACTICAL MEASURES ADOPTED—THE SUBJECT PRESENTED TO CONGRESS—ACTION OF CONGRESS—COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED—ORGANIZATION OF THE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION—CENTENNIAL BOARD OF FINANCE—OFFICIAL SEAL—PREPARATIONS FOR BUILDINGS—GROUNDS DEVOTED TO THE EXHIBITION—ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT—MEDALS AUTHORIZED—EXHIBITION BUILDINGS AND THEIR EXTENT—WOMEN'S WORK—UNPATRIOTIC ACTION IN CONGRESS—OPENING OF THE EXHIBITION—WHITTIER'S CENTENNIAL HYMN—THE RESULT OF THE EXHIBITION—ITS CLOSE.

THE year 1876 was not only a "Presidential year," but a "Centennial year," in the life of the Republic. On the 4th of July was the anniversary of the great act which, supported by the people, secured to the thirteen English-American colonies their political independence of Great Britain.

When the Centennial year was approaching, the American people came to the conclusion that a celebration at that time would be appropriate. Taking a retrospective glance at the progress of the Republic during the century, they perceived that it was marvellous, in comparison with that of any nation on the globe. With pardonable egotism they resolved to display the result of that progress by an exhibition of the products of American industry, skill, science and invention, in a great fair to be held in 1876, and to invite the nations of the earth to bring their products to the same fair, in a spirit of generous rivalry in well-doing for the benefit of mankind.

Among those who first suggested a Centennial Exhibition, the names of John Bigelow, now (1877) Secretary of the State of New York; Charles B. Norton, United States Commissioner at the Paris exhibition in 1867; Professor John L. Campbell of Wabash College, Indiana, and M. Richards Muckle of Philadelphia. The last-named gentleman first suggested (in a letter written to President Grant, on the 4th of July, 1869) Fairmount Park, in Philadelphia, as an appropriate place for holding a grand musical celebration of one week's duration, by twelve hundred performers, in a building to be erected in the Park that would accommodate one hundred thousand persons. The first recorded suggestion "that the Centennial celebration involve

an *International Exhibition* to be held in Philadelphia," was made in a letter, written in 1866, by Professor Campbell.

The idea of a Centennial celebration was nebulous, at first, in the public mind, but it soon assumed regular form and a luminous aspect. And when Philadelphia was first suggested as the most appropriate place for celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence, there was universal approval. In that city the resolution declaring the English-American colonies to be "free and independent States," was drawn up, and adopted by the Continental Congress. In that city the great preamble to that Declaration was written, adopted by the Congress, and signed by a majority of the members of that body; and in that city, the hall was yet in existence in which the Congress was convened when the great act was performed. At what other place could that celebration be as appropriately held? None whatever.

The first practical step toward making Philadelphia the theatre of the proposed event, was taken by the Franklin Institute of that city, in an address to the municipal authorities thereof, in which the use of Fairmount Park for a Centennial celebration was asked for. When this address was presented, a resolution for the appointment of a committee of seven from each chamber of the city legislature was adopted, and the measure was carried into effect. John L. Shoemaker was appointed chairman of that Joint Committee, and steps were immediately taken to interest the State and National legislatures in the project.

The Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, by resolution, asked the National Congress to take action in favor of a Centennial celebration to be held in the city of Philadelphia, and appointed a committee of ten to visit Washington and present a memorial to Congress on the subject. This committee was joined by that appointed by the Councils of Philadelphia, and they arranged a memorial which was laid before Congress by the Hon. William Kelley, a representative of Pennsylvania. He warmly urged the claims of Philadelphia to the privilege and honor of having such celebration within her borders. Early in March, 1870, Hon. Daniel J. Morrell (also a representative of Pennsylvania) offered a bill providing for a celebration in or near Philadelphia, in 1876. That bill was afterward modified somewhat, and, being adopted, became a law by receiving the willing signature of President Grant on the 3d of March, 1871. At that time the character of the celebration was clearly defined. It was determined to make it a purely national affair—the occasion of a display of the products of our own country. The object of the act was clearly set forth in the following preamble to the bill:

"Whereas, The Declaration of Independence of the United States of America was prepared, signed and promulgated in 1776, in the city of Philadelphia; and

"Whereas, It behooves the people of the United States to celebrate, by appropriate ceremonies, the Centennial anniversary of this memorable and decisive event, which constituted the 4th day of July, A. D. 1776, the birthday of the nation; and

"Whereas, It is deemed fitting that the completion of the first century of our national existence shall be commemorated by an exhibition of the national resources of the country and their development, and of its progress in those arts which benefit mankind, in comparison with those of older nations; and

"Whereas, No place is so appropriate for such an exhibition as the city in which occurred the event it is designed to commemorate; and

"Whereas, As the exhibition should be a national celebration in which the people of the whole country should participate, it should have the sanction of the Congress of the United States; therefore," etc.

The bill provided for a National Commission to be appointed by the President of the United States, and to be composed of one commissioner and one alternate commissioner for each State and Territory in the Union; these commissioners to be nominated by the governors of the respective States and Territories. The bill also provided for the celebration or exhibition to be held at Philadelphia, and secured the National Government against all liability for any expenses or losses incident to the conduct of the affair.

Under the provisions of this bill the President appointed commissioners and alternate commissioners, and these were named as corporators. They were invited to assemble at Philadelphia on the 4th of March, 1872, for the purpose of effecting an organization. On the appointed day, representatives of twenty-four States, three Territories and the District of Columbia, were present. In a parlor of the Continental Hotel they were temporarily organized, when they proceeded in a body to Independence Hall, in the State-House, where they were received with an address of welcome by the mayor of the city (Mr. Stokely), which was responded to by General Jos. R. Hawley of Connecticut. In another room, they made a permanent organization, by the appointment of General Hawley President of the Centennial Commission, and other officers. Some changes were afterward made; and at the opening of the Centennial year, the following persons composed the officers of the Commission: *President*, Joseph R. Hawley; *Vice-Presidents*,

Orestes Cleveland, John D. Creigh, Robert Lowry, Thomas H. Coldwell, John McNeil, and William Gurney; *Director-General*, Alfred T. Goshorn; *Secretary*, John L. Campbell; *Counsellor and Solicitor*, John L. Shoemaker.

On the first of June, 1872, Congress passed an act by which provision was made for a *Centennial Board of Finance*. The members of this board were authorized to secure subscriptions to a capital stock not exceeding



GOSHORN.

HAWLEY.

WELSH.

\$10,000,000, in shares of \$10 each. Provision was also made for the opening of books of subscription to the stock on the 21st of November, 1872, to be kept open one hundred days, in order to give citizens in each State and Territory an opportunity to subscribe for the stock. Under this act, a meeting of the corporators and subscribers to the stock was held in Philadelphia after the expiration of the one hundred days, to choose the *Centennial Board of Finance*—another name for a board of directors. The meeting

was held in the spring of 1873, when a board was chosen consisting of twenty-five stockholders. It was organized by the appointment of John Welsh of Philadelphia, *President*; William Sellers of Philadelphia and John S. Barbour of Virginia, *Vice-Presidents*, and Frederick Fraley of Philadelphia, *Secretary and Treasurer*. The remainder of the twenty-five were appointed *Directors*. William Bigler was chosen *Financial Agent*; Henry Pettit, Joseph M. Wilson and H. Swarzmman, *Engineers and Architects*; and an *Executive Committee* of thirteen, with Myers Asch, *Secretary*.

An official seal was adopted. It was quite simple in design and elegantly executed. The title of the organization—*The United States Centennial Commission*—was placed in concentric circles around the edge of the seal. In the centre was a view of the State-House as it appeared when the Declaration of Independence was signed in its principal room; and beneath the building were the words which were cast on the State-House bell, many years before the Revolution, and which, in the summer of 1776, had great significance: "PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT THE LAND, AND TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

Very soon after the organization of the *Centennial Commission*, it was determined to make the affair international instead of national—an exhibition of the products of the industry of *all nations*. Fairmount Park was engaged for the Exhibition. That Park consists of extensive public grounds belonging to the city of Philadelphia, through which the Schuylkill River flows in a sinuous course about seven miles. The work of preparing the grounds for the erection of buildings for the Exhibition was begun in the spring of 1873, and on the 4th of July that year, the Park Commissioners formally surrendered a portion of the grounds designated for the Exhibition into the custody of the *Centennial Commission*, with imposing ceremonies. The act took place in the presence of an immense multitude of citizens. Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, opened the proceedings by a prayer, when Hon. Morton McMichael, President of the Park Commission, made the surrender, with a brief address. General Hawley followed with a short discourse, formally accepting the grounds, and closed with the direction that the National flag should be unfurled and saluted. When it was spread to the gentle breeze, the trumpeter of the "City Troop" gave a signal blast. Then the "Keystone Battery," stationed near, fired thirteen guns in honor of the event. A military review, a banquet, and fireworks succeeded. The plat of ground assigned for the Exhibition contains four hundred and sixty-five acres, and occupies a plateau, on rising ground.

Before the transfer of the ground, the President of the United States

had issued a proclamation, setting forth that an exhibition of "arts, manufactures, and the products of the soil and mines" would be held at the city of Philadelphia, beginning on the 19th of April, and ending on the 19th of October, 1876. The proclamation concluded with the following words:

"And in the interest of peace, civilization, and domestic and international friendship and intercourse, I commend the Celebration and Exhibition to the people of the United States; and in behalf of the Government and people, I cordially commend them to all nations who may be pleased to take part therein."

The Secretary of State (Hamilton Fish) immediately addressed a note to all the foreign ministers in the United States (in which he inclosed the President's proclamation and the regulations adopted by the Commission), setting forth the objects of the Exhibition. In that note the Secretary said:

"The President indulges the hope that the government of _____ will be pleased to notice the subject, and may deem it proper to bring the Exhibition and its objects to the attention of the people of that country, and thus encourage their co-operation in the proposed Celebration. And he further hopes that the opportunity afforded by the Exhibition for the interchange of national sentiment and friendly intercourse between the people of both nations, may result in new and still greater advantages to science and industry, and at the same time serve to strengthen the bonds of peace and friendship which already happily subsist between the government and people of _____ and those of the United States."

The question had been discussed, for a long time, in and out of Congress, whether the Exhibition should be national or international. It had finally been settled by an act of Congress, passed in June, 1874, which requested the President to extend, in the name of the United States, "a respectful and cordial invitation to the governments of other nations to be represented and take part in the Centennial Exposition."

Congress also passed an act authorizing the striking of medals commemorative of the first meeting of the Continental Congress, and the Declaration of Independence. These were prepared at the United States Mint in Philadelphia, and were appropriate in design and elegant in workmanship. That which commemorated the Declaration of Independence bore upon one side a feminine figure that represented the Genius of Liberty, with a sword buckled to her girdle. On a shield, leaning at rest, were the

Stars and Stripes. Liberty extended both her hands in token of welcome, in each of which was a chaplet which she presented respectively to two other feminine figures representing Art and Science. These had brought evidences of their skill and craft to do honor to the occasion indicated by the date of 1876 inscribed on the platform. Around the device were the words: "IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE," and "ACT OF CONGRESS, JUNE, 1874." On the other side of the medal was a feminine figure representing the Genius of America, just rising from a recumbent position, and grasping a sword in her right hand, while her left hand was raised toward a galaxy of thirteen stars, which indicated the original thirteen colonies. Beneath this figure was the date, 1776. Around the whole were the words from Richard Henry Lee's resolution, passed on the 2d of July, 1776: "THESE COLONIES ARE, AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES."

On the 18th of July, 1874, Congress passed an act for the admission free of duties, of all articles intended for the Exhibition; and the preliminary work and arrangements being completed, contracts were made for the erection of suitable buildings for the Exhibition. These were five in number, and were erected at a total cost of \$4,444,000. They were named, respectively, the "Main Exhibition Building," "Memorial Hall or Art Gallery," "Machinery Hall," "Horticultural Hall," and "Agricultural Hall." The "Memorial Hall" and "Horticultural Hall" are elegant structures, and remain as permanent buildings in Fairmount Park. The "Main Exhibition Building" has also remained, and is used for a Permanent Exhibition.

Memorial Hall or Art Gallery was the first building erected. The construction of it was begun on the 4th of July, 1874, and cost \$1,500,000. Horticultural Hall was begun on the first of April, 1875, and cost \$251,937. A week later Machinery Hall was begun, and cost \$792,000. In May, that year, the Main Building, covering twenty-one acres and a half, was begun, and cost \$1,600,000; and Agricultural Hall was begun on the 15th of October, 1875, and cost \$300,000. It was the last one completed, having been finished on the first day of February, 1876. These several buildings covered about forty-nine acres of ground, and had annexes that covered twenty-six acres, making a total of seventy-five acres; a much greater space than was ever before covered by any Exhibition buildings. Besides these there were numerous other structures erected by national and individual exhibitors, and by our several States and Territories, making the whole number on the Centennial grounds one hundred and ninety.

The managers of the Exhibition classified it into seven departments, namely, Mining and Metallurgy, Manufactures, Education and Science, Art,

Machinery, Agriculture, and Horticulture. From the beginning, the women of our country manifested great interest in the enterprise; and when, in the summer of 1875, it was found that applications for space from foreign countries were so numerous that, under the rules for classification, much work done by women would be thrown out, or lost among the crowd of masculine exhibitors, a separate building for women was suggested. The idea created much enthusiasm among the women of our land, and very soon, through their exertions, ample means were provided for the erection and equipment of such a building. Under the leadership of Mrs. E. D. Gillespie of Philadelphia, and with the sanction of the Centennial Commission, a *Women's Centennial Committee* was formed, composed of active women in various States and Territories. Mrs. Gillespie was appointed *President*; Mrs. John Sanders, *Vice-President*; Mrs. Frank M. Etting, *Secretary*, and Mrs. S. A. Irwin, *Treasurer*.

A *Woman's Executive Committee* was formed, composed of Philadelphians. They proposed to erect a building for the exhibition of the highest types of women's work, in sculpture, painting, literature, engraving, telegraphy, lithography, needlework, education of all kinds, etc., at a cost of \$30,000. It was done, and much more. An appeal was made to the women of the United States, and in the space of a hundred days, they had contributed a sum sufficient for the building and for interior decorations. A sub-committee of the Women's Executive Committee gathered a vast amount of information concerning women's work in religious, philanthropic and patriotic efforts, which include their labors in homes, asylums, missionary fields at home and abroad, sisterhoods, industrial schools, and in the cause of temperance and moral reform. The women of our land also contributed to the general fund of the Centennial Commission more than \$100,000. The building which they erected was an elegant structure, covering thirty thousand square feet, and was called the "Women's Pavilion." In it was displayed in profusion the products of women's fingers. Among them were elegant needlework from a royal institution in London, and etchings by the hand of Victoria, queen of England.

The time for the opening and closing the Centennial Exhibition was changed to the 10th of May and the 10th of November. With good judgment, perseverance and untiring industry, the managers pushed forward the preparations for opening at the appointed time. *Ten million dollars* were required for the purpose. That was a large sum to be raised by voluntary subscription at any time. Since the beginning of the preparations, the country had suffered from an unusually protracted depression in all industrial pursuits; yet the people of the country responded nobly to the drafts

on their patriotism and their purses. But at the opening of the Centennial year there were yet lacking for the completion of the preparations \$1,500,000. Congress was appealed to for the amount. More than thirty nations had accepted the invitation of our Government to participate in the Exhibition, and were preparing to come with their industrial treasures; and every patriotic American felt that nothing should be wanting to make the Exhibition what it had promised to be. And yet there was seen in Congress the mortifying spectacle of a powerful minority, who opposed a bill for the appropriation of that amount, and voted against it. The act was passed, however; but the appropriation was made still less gracious and more conspicuously unpatriotic by a feature which required the Centennial Commission to refund the amount to the Government in the event of any surplus remaining after the expenses were paid. This was actually done, to the full amount.

The great Centennial Exhibition was opened on the 10th of May, 1876. The morning dawned with a lowering sky, as preceding mornings had done, and there were the usual threatenings of a rainy day. But the weather-prophet at the Signal Office in Washington had predicted, at midnight, "clearing weather," and so truthful are his utterances generally, that the people believed them then, and prepared for the enjoyment of a fine day. Nor were they disappointed.

On that May morning, the city of Philadelphia was brilliantly clothed in Stars and Stripes. Our national banner floated over every pinnacle, and waved from almost every window and balcony when the hour of sunrise came and the clouds that overspread the heavens began to break. At about nine o'clock a vast flood of strangers and citizens began to flow toward the Centennial grounds. It increased every moment, and soon filled the broad street in front of the main entrance. Only privileged ones were permitted to enter first—the Women's Committee, and representatives in Congress and of foreign governments. A large number of the Women's Work Committee, each decorated with a brilliant silver star, led the van. These, with our own and foreign representatives, took seats upon a large platform which had been erected in front of Memorial Hall, under the flag of their respective nations. Before ten o'clock, Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil (the only foreign potentate present), with his empress leaning upon his arm, arrived, and took his seat under the Brazilian flag, greeted by the cheers of the immense multitude that thronged the grounds in that vicinity. More than one hundred thousand had passed through the gates, and stood in a surging mass, while the orchestra of Theodore Thomas, placed near the front of the platform, played airs that were familiar to the ears of representatives of the

nations present, closing with our own "Hail Columbia!" These sweet sounds repressed, in a great degree, the rising passions of the much-jostled multitude. The sun had burst forth in splendor, and the promises at his rising were fulfilled.

At length the President of the United States appeared upon the platform, accompanied by his wife, when the orchestra performed the "Grand Centennial March," prepared for the occasion by the eminent German composer, Richard Wagner. Then Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, uttered fervent thanksgivings to the Almighty, in the name of our people, for his great goodness in the past, and implored His blessings in the future. He specially asked the bestowal of great mercies upon the women of our land who, then, for the first time in the history of our race, had taken so conspicuous a part in a national celebration. "May the light of their intelligence, purity and enterprise," he said, "shed its beams afar, until, in distant lands, their sisters may realize the beauty and glory of Christian freedom and elevation."

When the prayer was ended, choral music went up from the lips of a thousand singers on the platform, who chanted the following beautiful and impressive "Centennial Hymn," composed by John Greenleaf Whittier, accompanied by the organ and the whole orchestra :

Our father's God ; from out whose hand,
The centuries fall like grains of sand,
We meet to-day, united, free,
And loyal to our land and Thee,
To thank Thee for the era done
And trust Thee for the opening one.

Here where of old, by Thy design,
The fathers spake that word of Thine,
Whose echo is the glad refrain
Of rended bolt and falling chain,
To grace our festal time, from all
The zones of earth our guests we call.

Be with us while the New World greets
The Old World thronging all its streets,
Unvailing all the triumphs won
By art or toil beneath the sun ;
And unto common good ordain
This rivalry of hand and brain.

Thou who hast here in concord furled
The war-flags of a gathered world,
Beneath our western skies fulfill
The Orient's mission of good-will

And freighted with Love's golden fleece,
Send back the Argonauts of peace.

For Art and Labor met in truce,
For beauty made the bride of Use,
We thank Thee while withal we crave
The austere virtues strong to save ;
The honor, proof to place or gold,
The manhood never bought and sold.

O ! make thou us, through centuries long,
In peace secure, in justice strong ;
Around our gift of Freedom draw
The safeguards of Thy righteous law,
And, cast in some diviner mould,
Let the new cycle shame the old !

When the chanting of that grand hymn was ended, the Hon. John Welsh, President of the *Centennial Board of Finance*, formally presented the buildings to the *United States Centennial Commission*. Then a cantata, composed by Sidney Lanier, of Georgia, and set to exquisite music by Mr. Buck, was sung, when General Hawley, president of the Centennial Commission, at the close of a short speech, presented the Exhibition to the President of the United States. The latter made a brief response. At the end of these ceremonies, the American flag was unfurled over the great tower of the Main Building, as a signal to the multitude that the Centennial Exhibition was open. That multitude listened to (or joined in) the singing of Handel's magnificent Hallelujah Chorus, and then dispersing, spread over the grounds and through the great buildings.

The Centennial Exhibition was eminently successful in every aspect of the affair. The management was judicious throughout; the police regulations and the provisions for comfort and security were perfect; and its financial success, considering the depressed state of the business of the country, was decided. In the extent of the Exhibition space, the amount and variety of the products of industry there gathered, and the number of the visitors, this "World's Fair" exceeded all others that had preceded it, either municipal, national, or international. The buildings of the first International Exhibition, held in London, in 1851, covered a space of twenty acres, and those of a similar Exhibition in 1862, covered a little over twenty-five acres. The buildings of the Paris Exhibition, in 1867, covered thirty-one acres, and those of Vienna, in 1873, covered fifty-six acres. The buildings constructed under the directions of the *Centennial Commission*, with their annexes, as we have observed (exclusive of those erected by the General and State governments), covered seventy-five acres. In these

buildings, thirty-three nations besides our own, exhibited the products of their industry, namely, Argentine Republic, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chili, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland, India and British Colonies, Hawaiian Islands, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg Grand Duchy, Liberia, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Orange Free State, Peru, Portugal, Russia, San Domingo, Spain and Spanish Colonies, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunis, Turkey, and Venezuela.

The Centennial Exhibition was open for pay admissions one hundred and fifty-nine days, the pay-gates being closed on Sundays. The total number of cash admissions at fifty cents each was 7,250,620, and at twenty-five cents each, 753,654. The number of free admissions was 1,906,692, making a grand total of 9,910,965 admissions. During the very hot summer, the number of admissions were comparatively few. The smallest number in a full month was in July, when the weather was excessively hot, and the rural population were engaged in the harvests. The number was 906,447. The largest number of admissions in a full month, was in October, when 2,663,911 persons were admitted. The largest number admitted in a single day was 274,919. That was on the "Pennsylvania Day," Thursday, September 28th. The total amount of cash receipts during the Exhibition was \$3,813,725.50.

The Grand International Exhibition was closed on the 10th of November with appropriate ceremonies. After the performance of Wagner's "Inaugural March," a prayer, singing, and speeches by officers of the Centennial Commission, the President of the United States stepped to the front of the platform, and in quiet tones said to the multitude before him: "I now declare the Centennial Exhibition closed." Then the message—"The President has this moment closed the International Centennial Exhibition, 3:37 P. M., November 10, 1876"—was sent by telegraph all over the Union and across the seas; and the immense congregation joined in singing the Christian Doxology. The great Corliss engine that had driven acres of machinery for six months, gave one or two strokes, when the giant fell asleep and ceased to move. The American Centennial Exhibition had passed into history.

The close of this interesting and important exhibition is a favorable opportunity for briefly recapitulating the story of American Progress from the foundation of the Republic. To this end, therefore, our next chapter is appropriately devoted.

CHAPTER XXXI.

GROWTH, EXTENT AND POPULATION OF OUR DOMAIN—PROGRESS IN AGRICULTURE AND ITS PRODUCTS—MINERAL WEALTH—BEGINNING OF MANUFACTURES—EARLY INDUSTRIES AND THEIR PRODUCTIONS—VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL AND MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS—COMMERCE, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC—POST ROUTES—CANALS—THE WEST—STEAMBOATS AND RAILWAYS—BANKING AND INSURANCE—ELECTRO-MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH AND ITS USES—WEATHER SIGNALS—RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS—CONCLUSION.

THE progress of our Republic in all departments of activity during the past one hundred years has been marvellous. In 1776, its domain comprised only a narrow border of the continent along the ocean coasts for almost a thousand miles, with an average width between the sea and the lofty Alleghany mountains of about thirty leagues. The extent of the domain of the new-born Republic was then 800,000 square miles; now (1876) it forms an irregular belt across the continent from ocean to ocean, embracing an area of 3,500,000 square miles of land and water. Our population in 1776 was a little more than a million and a half; now it is full 42,000,000.

Agriculture, the primary source of wealth, woos manufactures as a help-mate, and these, wedded, become the parents of commerce. The latter promotes social refinement as manifested by the cultivation of the fine arts, science, literature and education; and these foster true religion and morality, the basis of highest civilization. These processes of growth may be seen in the history of our country within the past one hundred years.

Agriculture here, in 1776, was simply an art, not a science. The tillers were ignorant of the principles of vegetable production and followed the methods of their forefathers, without question. The country was sparsely settled; and social attrition, which expands the mind, was then very slight. The implements of labor, made by common carpenters or blacksmiths, were very rude. They were nearly all moved by human muscle, for the use of labor-saving machinery was unknown in our country, and improvements were opposed as innovations. Farm work was then far more laborious and less productive than now. The plow of that day required more than double the strength of man and beast to manage it, than does the plow at present; and the improvements made in that implement alone, within the last fifty

(1761)

years, save, annually, to the farmers of our country in the cost of work and teams, at least \$12,000,000. A large proportion of the agricultural work was performed then by negro slaves in the region south of Baltimore; and in the loose soil of the cotton-growing States, the hoe was the substitute for the plow in the hands of men and women.

The cereals, potatoes, flax and tobacco, were the chief products of the soil in 1776; for the cultivation of the cotton-plant, as an article of com-



CULTIVATION BY SLAVES

merce, was then unknown. The invention of Whitney's Cotton-Gin, for separating the seed from the fibre, gave a wonderful impetus to this branch of agriculture in the closing decade of the last century. That machine performed the work of a thousand hands, and made the cotton culture profitable. The entire production of cotton in the United States, in 1791, was 2,000,000 pounds; now the average annual product is over 1,500,000,000 pounds. It is estimated that one-half of the entire cotton product of the earth is raised in the United States.

The seed of our cereals was all sown by hand a hundred years ago, and the standing grain was cut with a sickle and threshed with a flail. Now

drills scatter the seed, and ingenious machines not only cut the crop and gather it into sheaves, but thresh and winnow it for market. Then the hay crop was cut with a hand-scythe, and cured and gathered entirely by human labor; now ingenious machines do all that labor with very little of man's strength. These machines and a hundred others that now do the work of men's hands, have nearly all been invented within fifty years.

In 1776, almost the whole agricultural products of our country, including live-stock, were used for the support of the million and a half inhabitants; now, not only 42,000,000 are fed and largely clothed from the products of our soil, but a vast surplus of our cereal and fibrous productions are sent to other countries. In 1870, there were 189,000,000 acres of improved farm land in our country, which produced in cereals (in round numbers) wheat, 288,000,000 bushels; rye, 17,000,000; Indian corn, 761,000,000; oats, 282,000,000; barley, 30,000,000; buckwheat, 10,000,000 bushels; and rice, 74,000,000 pounds. Of the common potato, there were raised 143,000,000 bushels, and of the sweet potato, 22,000,000 bushels. The hay crop amounted to 28,000,000 tons, and the tobacco crop to 363,000,000 pounds. Of the principal fibrous products there were raised that year over 1,200,000,000 pounds of cotton. The average annual product, as we have observed, is now greater. The amount of flax raised was 27,000,000 pounds; wool, 100,000,000 pounds; silk cocoons about 4,000 pounds, and 13,000 tons of hemp.

There were also produced 87,000 hogsheads of cane sugar, and 28,000,000 pounds of maple sugar; also nearly 7,000,000 gallons of molasses from the cane, 16,000,000 gallons from sorghum cane, and 921,000 gallons of maple molasses. Fruit culture in our country was so limited that it was not recognized in the national census until 1840. Orchards were small, and bore inferior fruit; and there was scarcely a nursery for the sale of apple-trees in our broad land sixty years ago; now there are hundreds, and full 30,000,000 trees are sold annually. In 1870, the products of our orchards were valued at \$48,000,000; and the total value of the increasing grape crop in the United States, cannot now be less than \$30,000,000. The choicest varieties of fruit and berries are now cultivated everywhere in the Republic.

On the same acreage of unimproved farm lands there were, in 1870, not less than 7,200,000 horses; 1,125,000 mules; 9,000,000 cows; 1,320,000 working oxen; 13,570,000 other cattle; 29,000,000 sheep, and more than 25,000,000 swine. These animals are now far superior in every way to those on the farms a hundred years ago. In 1768, Washington recorded in his diary, that with one hundred and one cows on his Mount Vernon estate, he was compelled to buy butter for his family. Now, the dairy products of our

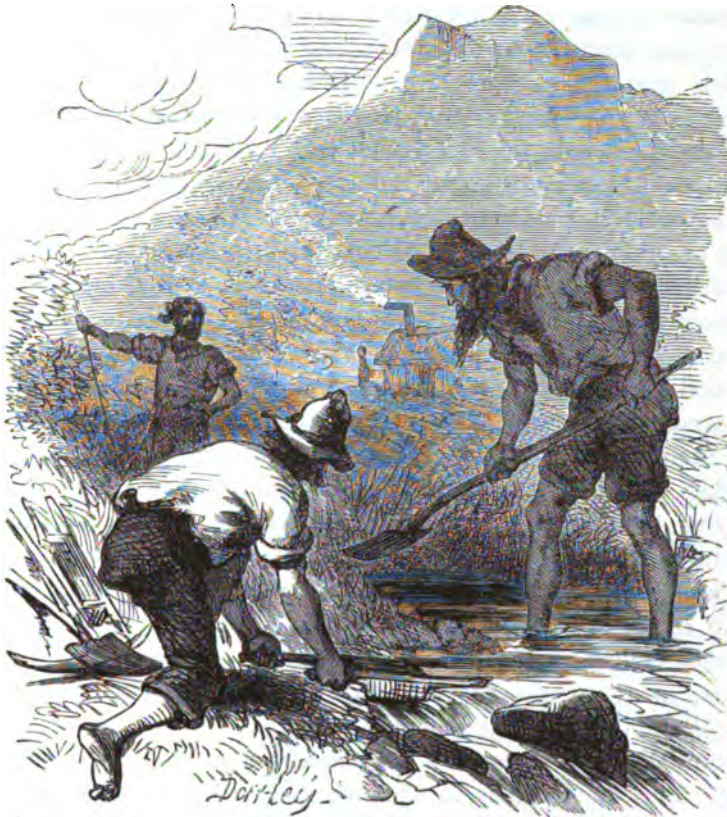
cows, annually, are 514,000,000 pounds of butter; 54,000,000 pounds of cheese, and 236,000,000 gallons of milk, not used in the manufacture of butter and cheese. This gives more than twelve pounds of butter (besides cheese and milk) to every man, woman and child in the land. In 1790, when the first census was taken and the population was about 4,000,000, the value of the agricultural products of our country was about \$150,000,000; in 1870, the value including crops, live-stock, "betterments," forest, garden and orchard products, was estimated at almost \$3,000,000,000.

Out of the bosom of our country a vast amount of mineral wealth has been drawn within a comparatively few years—coal, iron, copper, lead, petroleum and the precious metals. Only within a little more than fifty years, mineral coal has become an article of domestic commerce with us. In 1820, there were sent to market only 365 tons of anthracite; now the average annual production is about 25,000,000 tons. The entire coal product of our country annually, is over 50,000,000 tons, one-half of which is bituminous. Pennsylvania alone produces seventy-two per cent of the amount.

Iron has been known to exist in abundance, in our country, ever since the first settlements; but the restrictive commercial policy of Great Britain caused it to be left almost untouched until after the Revolution. Then, with manufactures freed from restraint, it was mined in ever-increasing quantities, until now the product is enormous, a greater portion of which is used in the manufactures of our own country. Copper is not very abundant in the United States. In 1870, there were forty copper-mining establishments here, and the value of their annual product was about \$5,200,000. Our lead mines seem to be decreasing in their yield, the amount of production being now less than 20,000 tons a year. Petroleum, a new article of commerce among our mineral wealth, has been a marvel of production. It was first made a marketable product about fifteen years ago; in 1875, we exported 220,000,000 gallons of petroleum, chiefly as kerosene or other illuminating oils, besides a vast amount consumed at home.

The production of the precious metals drawn from the bosom of the earth in our country, has been remarkable only within about twenty-five years. At the time when gold was discovered in California (1848) only a small amount of that metal had found its way to our Mint, and that chiefly from the Southern States. The value of the total amount of that metal mined in those States, from the time of its first discovery until 1873, was only \$20,500,000. From 1848 to 1873, the total value of the gold product of our country, was \$1,241,000,000. Very little silver had been found here until after gold had been discovered in California. Our country was not

known as a silver-producing region; but the gold miners of California, who became numerous and ambitious when "prospecting," discovered rich deposits of silver. Now the United States contains the greatest silver-producing regions on the globe, the average annual yield being not less in value than \$100,000,000, and is continually increasing.



MINERS AT WORK.

The growth of manufactures and the mechanic arts in the United States is the work of less than a hundred years. Before the Revolution these were discouraged in the colonies, as we have seen, by the British government; and it was only when necessity compelled the people, during the war for independence, to carry on domestic manufactures, that such industries may be said to have existed here. It was almost simultaneous with the departure of the last British soldier from our shores, in 1783, that Oliver Evans introduced his grain-mill, and Fitch and Rumsey proved the

possibility of navigation by steam. The first cotton-mill in the United States was set in motion at Beverly, Massachusetts, in 1787; and the only woolen mill in our country was in operation at Hartford, when Samuel Slater, in 1790, introduced Arkwright's spinning-machine, and so laid the foundation of the manufacture of textile fabrics here as a national industry. Already the manufacture of iron had been begun, and the inventive genius of the American people was aroused to action. The records of our Patent Office give indications of its ever-increasing activity. During the ten years ending with 1800, the number of patents issued in the United States was 306; during the ten years ending in 1870, the number was 79,612. From 1790 to 1870, the whole number issued was 120,028. Within that period, the steam-vessel, locomotive and railway, electro-magnetic telegraph and sewing-machine—all perfected inventions by Americans—appeared, with thousands of other mechanical contrivances which have made ours a leading manufacturing nation. Our iron is fashioned into everything of which it is capable, from the tiny watch-screw that requires 150,000 to weigh a pound, to the locomotive and railway bridge. In 1870, we manufactured cotton goods valued at \$178,000,000, and woolen goods estimated at \$155,000,000; and the same year we curried over 13,000,000 sides and skins of leather, which we manufactured into goods valued at almost \$377,000,000. Even so late as 1840, ours was, eminently an agricultural nation; but in 1870, the value of our manufactures, that year, was \$4,133,000,000, or over \$1,300,000,000 more than the estimated value of our agricultural productions of every kind. There was an increase in the value of our manufactures from 1850 to 1870, a period of twenty years, of three hundred per cent. The assessed value of the real and personal property of the 4,000,000 inhabitants, in 1790, was \$479,293,000; in 1870, it was \$13,700,000,000, exclusive of the Government property.

The commerce of our country has had a wonderful growth within about a century. In colonial times, as we have observed, the restrictive policy of Great Britain kept it within very narrow bounds. The total value of the products of the colonies exported in 1770, was \$14,262,000; in 1790, it was a little more than \$20,000,000. From the adoption of the National Constitution in 1789, the expansion of our commerce has been wonderful. The total value of our exports of domestic and foreign productions, during the year ending with June, 1875, was over \$600,000,000. We also export a large amount of the precious metals, in bullion. As in colonial times, so until a very recent period, the trade between Great Britain and our country constitutes a large proportion of our external commerce. Five-twelfths of our exports are to and imports from Great Britain; while one-sixth of the

total of the exports and imports of that country, are to and from the United States. It has been estimated that the sea-going vessels that convey the world's commerce is nearly 63,000, of which number more than one-half belong to Great Britain and the United States; and that these two Anglo-Saxon nations carry sixty-six per cent. of the world's aggregate tonnage.

Our inland navigation and commerce are of vast dimensions. A hundred years ago the inland trade was carried on chiefly by means of pack-horses or mules, and clumsy wheeled-vehicles on land, and on the lakes and rivers by canoes, bateaux, and sloops. The steamboat and the railroad were then undreamed of, and the canal was only in embryo in the minds of a few men. The roads were wretched everywhere; and the incessant toil of muscle was the hard condition imposed upon our internal commerce. Our postal arrangements, which are essential helps in facilitating and simplifying the operations of commerce, were then very meagre. The entire length of post-routes in 1776 was 1,875 miles; now the entire length is 278,000 miles. Of this number, over 70,000 miles is by railroads, and nearly 16,000 miles by steamboats. The entire receipts of the General Post-Office in fifteen months, ending in November, 1776, were \$27,900, and the expenditures were \$32,142. In 1875, the annual receipts of the Post-Office Department were \$26,672,000, and the expenditures were \$33,613,000. Included in expenditures were about \$6,000,000 granted by the National Treasury.

The first great improvement in our internal commercial facilities was the beginning of our canal system at the close of the last century; but the effects were small until the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, which soon revealed the possibilities of agriculture and commerce in the Great West. At that period the vast inland seas—the great lakes—with a total length of 1,500 miles, and an aggregate area of about 90,000 square miles, and draining a fertile region 336,000 square miles in extent, had no commerce of consequence on their bosoms. So late as 1819, when there was a steamboat on Lake Erie, the principal traffic in all the lake regions was carried on with the Indians, who came to ports in canoes with peltry and furs to exchange for the products of the Eastern States, borne upon the bosom of the waters in sloops and schooners. Now the Indian has disappeared from our commerce; and the value of the products of “the West,” transported on the land and water vehicles, may be estimated by hundreds of millions of dollars. The canal, the steamboat and the railway, have caused large cities to spring up in desolate places, and the wilderness to bud and “blossom as the rose.” Chicago, which was composed of vacant village lots in a wild and almost unknown region of our continent forty-five years

ago, is now a city of 300,000 inhabitants, and is the greatest grain market and centre of internal commerce in the world. Its entire trade amounts annually to \$450,000,000.

When the Erie Canal was first conceived, the steamboat and the railway were unknown in our land. It is only seventy years since the first successful steamboat made a voyage between New York and Albany; and it is



TRAFFIC WITH THE INDIANS.

only about fifty years ago that a railroad three miles in length was first put in operation in our country. The first American locomotive was built by Peter Cooper, of New York. Now the extent of our railways is 73,000 miles, and these represent a capital stock of \$2,000,000,000. Full 20,000 miles of these roads were built and equipped between 1850 and 1860, at a cost of \$720,000,000. For the benefit of the commerce of the United States and the world, we are now contemplating the construction of a ship-canal across the Isthmus of Darien, at a cost of more than \$100,000,000.

In banking and insurance, commerce finds important auxiliaries. The Bank of North America, founded at Philadelphia in 1781, with a capital of \$400,000, was the first one established in our country. After the National

Government went into operation and commercial activity became very great, the number of banks rapidly increased; and when the civil war broke out in 1861, the number was 1,562. During that war a National system of banking was organized, and at the beginning of 1876, the number of banks formed under it was over two thousand, with an aggregate capital of more than \$500,000,000. Savings banks were first established in the United States in 1816. These useful institutions have rapidly increased in numbers and importance, and now have an aggregate amount of deposits of about \$810,000,000.

The first Fire Insurance Company in our country was organized in 1752, in Philadelphia, and is still in existence. Such companies have rapidly increased in numbers and capital within ten or fifteen years, and they now represent a stock capital of between \$55,000,000 and \$60,000,000. Marine Insurance had been conducted here by individuals. It was late in the present century before a regular Life Insurance Company was organized. The first was the "Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company," established in 1825. These companies also have recently increased in numbers and capital. One of them—the New York Life Insurance Company—now has assets amounting to more than \$30,000,000.

The Electro-Magnetic Telegraph, perfected by Professor S. F. B. Morse, an American, a little more than thirty years ago, is one of the most efficient aids of commerce now known. It is a perpetual wonder, as the astonishing developments of its capabilities for good are rapidly revealed. Only a short time ago, it was discovered that messages might be transmitted over a wire each way at the same moment; now audible words and musical sounds may be transmitted to any required distance. This invention seems to be in its infancy. In 1846, three men conducted the entire telegraph business in the United States, from a dingy basement in New York city; now a thousand persons are employed in that business, in the city of New York alone; and one company (the Western Union), which monopolizes the business, has a building chiefly used for that purpose, which cost about \$2,000,000. Now there are nearly 80,000 miles of telegraphic communication over the surface of our Republic alone. The telegraph is aiding commerce and agriculture potentially by the operations of Weather Signals, a system of meteorological observations originated by General Albert J. Myer of our army, a few years ago. By it, knowledge of the state of the weather in various parts of our Union is transmitted by telegraph simultaneously to the Signal Bureau at Washington, and thence sent immediately by telegraph all over the land, with predictions concerning the state of the weather, in different sections of the Union, twenty-four hours afterward. Agriculture and commerce are

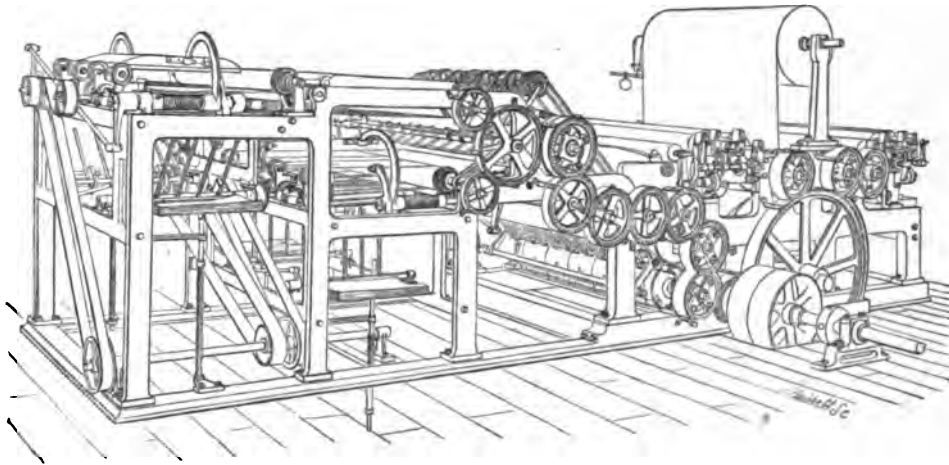
greatly benefited by these forewarnings. This American system of weather signalling has been adopted in the eastern hemisphere.

Popular education has made great advancement in our country within the present century, and especially within the last forty years, by means of the common school and the printing-press. In 1776, there were seven colleges in this country for the higher education of the young; but the common schools were very inferior. Those colleges are yet flourishing institutions; but the common schools—the seminaries for the people—have now the real substantial work of education under their control. The colleges have increased in numbers, from seven in 1776, to three hundred and forty-nine in 1876. The increase in the school population has been wonderful within twenty-five years. It is now more than 13,000,000. Of these, about 6,000,000 are enrolled on the records of public schools. Within a very few years, higher seminaries of learning for young women have been provided, and are flourishing. The first college proper for women, ever established, was founded by Matthew Vassar, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and was opened in 1865. The other colleges of the land are now making way for the introduction of feminine students. Sabbath-schools are also doing a great work in the field of popular education. The first one was opened by the Methodists, in Virginia, in 1786; now they number 70,000, with over 753,000 teachers, and 6,000,000 pupils.

The printing-press not only multiplies books at a cheaper rate for popular education, but by newspapers and magazines it scatters knowledge broadcast over the land. A century ago, the number of newspapers in the colonies was only thirty-seven, with an aggregate circulation of not more than 4,000 a week. In 1870, there were published in the United States, 5,871 newspapers, with an aggregate circulation of 20,843,000 daily or weekly, and a yearly issue of more than 1,500,000,000 copies. In 1776, the printing-presses then in use turned out about 250 sheets, printed on one side, in an hour; now the "power-press" like Hoe's, turns out 15,000 perfected newspapers in an hour, all folded for delivery. In 1776, the publishing of books was not an extensive business in our country, for readers were few; now the value of books issued each year from the American press cannot be less than \$46,000,000. One firm (Harper & Brothers) use \$2,000 worth of white paper a day in their publishing establishment. Our public and private libraries are rapidly increasing. In the space of ten years—1860 to 1870—the aggregate number of volumes in them increased from 13,316,000 to 45,500,000. In 1870, the number of libraries in our country was 164,815, of which 108,800 were private, containing a total of about twenty-six million volumes.

Literature, science, and art have kept pace in our country with material

progress. In these pursuits very few were employed in the infancy of the Republic; and from 1776 until the war of 1812 our most eminent writers were the earnest statesmen. After that period belles-lettres literature received more attention, and now no department in the republic of letters remains untouched by American authors. In the domain of science, American men and women now occupy a front rank among the philosophers; and our artists of both sexes rival those of Europe in architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry, and music. The painters have not made much advance in historical composition, but in landscape they are unsurpassed.



HOE'S POWER-PRESS. SEE PRINTING-PRESS ON PAGE 303.

Our physicians and surgeons hold a high place in the profession; and our benevolent institutions, especially those devoted to the deaf and dumb, the blind, the insane and the idiotic, not only attest the skill and philosophy of the medicinal professors, but the generous philanthropy of our people; for these and the many homes for the orphans, the infirm and the friendless, are largely supported by private gifts.

The institutions above-named have all been established in our country within the century just closed, and their numbers and usefulness have kept pace with the population. In 1870, there were about 4,000 persons in our country who were deaf and dumb, of whom 1,900 were girls; 20,000 who were blind; 38,000 who were insane, and 24,500 who were idiotic. Of the insane, only 16,000 were in asylums; the remainder were at their homes or in alms-houses.

A hundred years ago, society here was largely composed of members of the leading religious societies—Baptists, Congregationalists, Dutch Reformed, Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Roman Catholics, Moravians, Friends, etc. The denominational line was then more sharply drawn than now, for there was much sectarian zeal and not a little bigotry. Since then, new religious societies have appeared, and there are now twenty-seven distinct ones in our country. In 1870, these bodies had an aggregate of 72,459 organizations; 63,082 edifices; 21,685,082 sittings, or about one sitting for every two of the population, and property valued at \$354,483,581. These churches made a rapid increase in membership and wealth in the twenty years ending in 1870. The number of organizations in 1850 was 38,062; sittings, 14,234,825; and their aggregate property was valued at \$87,328,801.

With this brief outline sketch of the most important features of our National progress, material, intellectual and moral, during the century just closed, I will return to the narrative of OUR COUNTRY.

Here, on the threshold of another century of the existence of our beloved Republic, I ask you, my fellow-citizens, who have followed me in this delineation of its history, and especially the young people of our country, to be faithful to the sacred trust committed to you by the fathers. You are the guardians of the vestal fire of Liberty. Let it never grow dim in your keeping, but feed its living flame with generous self-sacrifices, that the struggling nations eager to feel its warmth may never be without a sure beacon to guide them to its altars and its temples. Young men and women, a glorious field of usefulness is before you. A white harvest calls for zealous reapers. Human progress, with all its varied labors and felicities, beckons you on. Be not unfaithful, be not idle; but work as God gives you opportunity.

“Young men of every creed! up and be doing now.
 The time is come to ‘run and read’ with thoughtful eye and brow.
 Extend your grasp to catch things unattained before;
 Touch the quick springs of Reason’s latch, and enter at her door
 The seeds of mind are sown in every human breast;
 But dormant lie, unless we own the Spirit’s high behest.
 Look outwardly and *learn*; look inwardly and *think*;
 And Truth and Love shall brighter burn o’er Error’s wasting bank.”

CHAPTER XXXII.

IMPEACHMENT OF A CABINET OFFICER — AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION — ISSUE OF SILVER CURRENCY — A "PRESIDENTIAL YEAR" — A VIGOROUS POLITICAL CAMPAIGN — LAWLESSNESS IN THE SOUTH — THREATENED TROUBLE THERE PROVIDED AGAINST — THE PRESIDENT'S ORDERS — A COMMITTEE OF OBSERVATION — ACTION OF CONGRESS — PRELIMINARY COMMITTEES — THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION — ITS ACTION — HAYES AND WHEELER DECLARED ELECTED — INAUGURATION OF HAYES — HIS POLICY AND HIS CABINET — DISPOSITION OF TROOPS IN THE SOUTH — IMPROVED TONE OF PUBLIC FEELING — APPROPRIATIONS NEGLECTED — A CALLED SESSION OF CONGRESS — THE DEFICIENCIES — THE NEZ PERCÉ INDIANS — WAR WITH THEM — SITTING BULL.

A FEW weeks before the opening of the Centennial Exhibition, the country was startled by the public accusation of a cabinet minister of serious malfeasance in office. That minister was General William W. Belknap, the Secretary of War. He was charged with having received a bribe from a post-trader to whom he had granted permission to sell goods to any officer and private soldiers. Articles of impeachment were formally presented to the senate, on the 4th of April (1876), and when the day fixed for the commencement of the trial arrived, the Secretary's counsel interposed the plea of non-jurisdiction. On the 29th of May the Senate decided that it had jurisdiction of the case, and it was determined to proceed with the prosecution. The arguments of counsel closed on the 26th of July, and on the first day of August the Senate voted on the verdict. The result was an acquittal.

Soon after this the Senate acted upon a proposed Amendment of the National Constitution concerning popular education. In his annual message in December, 1875, the President had recommended such action, and early in the session Mr. Blaine, of Maine, offered a joint resolution to that effect in the House of Representatives. The proposed Amendment (making the Sixteenth) was passed by the House by an almost unanimous vote. It was as follows:

"ARTICLE XVI, *Section 1*.—No State shall make a law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public land devoted thereto,

(1773)

shall ever be under the control of any religious sect or denomination; nor shall any fund so raised, or lands so used, be divided among any religious sects or denominations.

"*Section 2.*—This Article shall not vest, enlarge or diminish legislative power in Congress."

The proposed Amendment was carried to the Senate, where it lay undisturbed for several months. Meanwhile, certain religionists raised a clamor against it, outside of Congress, that had an effect upon one of the great political parties. The subject seemed to be passing out of the public mind when, on the 7th of August, 1876, Senator Frelinghuysen moved that the joint resolution proposing a Sixteenth Amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting the appropriation of any school fund for the support of sectarian schools, etc., be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Substitutes were submitted, and on the 10th of August the Judiciary Committee reported the following substitute:

"ARTICLE XVI, *Section 1.*—No State shall make any law respecting any establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under any State. No public property and no public revenue of, nor any loan of credit by or under the authority of the United States, or any State, Territory, and District, or municipal corporation, shall be appropriated to or made or used for the support of any school, educational or other institution under the control of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization or denomination, or wherein the particular creed or tenets shall be taught in any school or institution, supported in whole or in part by such revenue or loan of credit; and no such appropriation or loan of credit shall be made to any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or to promote its interests or tenets.

"This Article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution, and it shall not have the effect to impair the rights of property already vested.

"*Section 2.*—Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to provide for the prevention and punishment of the violation of this Article."

This proposed amendment, so important in its bearings upon the public welfare—so well calculated to secure our public schools and other methods for the intellectual training of the young from the malign influence of theological sectarianism, and to increase more and more the wholesome

separation of Church and State, was defeated by a strict party vote—twenty-eight republicans to sixteen democrats—the votes of two-thirds of the members of the Senate present being necessary to carry the measure. A week later Congress adjourned. Among the more important acts of the session was one in which the Government took the initial step in the direction of the resumption of specie payments by authorizing the issue, from the Mint, of \$10,000,000 of silver coin to take the place of the same amount of fractional paper currency. The bill provided that the Treasury might buy \$20,000,000 of bullion at the rate of not exceeding \$200,000 a month, to be issued in coin at the same rate, if required. It also contained propositions for making silver coin a legal tender, but these were stricken out, except an allowance of not more than five dollars in silver, as a legal tender, in any one payment. This bill became a law late in July, 1876. The consequence was that, within a year, nearly every vestige of the fractional paper currency disappeared from circulation, and silver coin became excessively plentiful. At the extraordinary session of Congress called in October, 1877, for the purpose of providing for the deficiency of money necessary for the public service, a bill making silver coin a legal tender equally with gold, was passed by the House of Representatives. What its fate may be in the Senate was undetermined, when this record was closed on the first of December, 1877.

We have observed that 1876 was a "Presidential year" as well as a "Centennial year." The campaign for the prize of the Presidency of the Republic was vigorously begun at the middle of June, when a Republican National Convention assembled (June 16) at Cincinnati, to make nominations for President and Vice-President. There were two prominent candidates before the Convention, James G. Blaine of Maine, and Roscoe Conkling of New York. They were both rejected, and the Convention nominated Rutherford Birchard Hayes, at that time governor of Ohio, for the Presidency, and William A. Wheeler of New York, for the Vice-Presidency. On the 27th of the same month a Democratic National Convention assembled at St. Louis for the same purpose, and nominated Samuel J. Tilden (then governor) of New York, for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, for Vice-President. A most exciting canvass ensued, during which the lawlessness that disturbed portions of some of the Southern States, was reproduced with increased vehemence, and at times local civil war seemed to be inevitable.

In South Carolina bands of lawless armed men, countenanced by some of the leading politicians, patrolled the election districts in that State for the purpose of intimidating their political opponents and keeping them from the polls. They dispersed political gatherings and silenced public speakers

by their presence and threats. It became evident that the majority of the citizens of that State would be deprived of the privilege of the elective franchise at the approaching election, and on the the 17th of October (1876) President Grant issued a proclamation commanding the "rifle clubs" of South Carolina to disperse within three days. On the same day the Secretary of War issued an order to the General-in-Chief to direct all of the available forces in the Military Division of the Atlantic, to report to the commanding general at the State capital of South Carolina, to carry into effect the President's proclamation.

The result of the Presidential election was long in doubt, each party claiming a majority for its candidate. One hundred and eighty-five votes in the electoral college was necessary to the success of a candidate. It was decided, immediately after the election, that Mr. Tilden had one hundred and eighty-four. Democratic Presidential Electors had been chosen in three Northern States—New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut; in one of the Western States—Indiana; and in all the Southern States except South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. The Republican Electors had been chosen in six Northern States—Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont; in eleven Western States—California, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Oregon, and Wisconsin; and in one Southern State—South Carolina—giving Hayes 173 votes.

Then ensued a long, bitter, and sometimes violent contest in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, over the official returns of the elections. Each party charged the other with fraud or intended fraud, in making up these returns. There was the wildest excitement in the Gulf region, and there was much agitation and anxiety at the North and West. To preserve order and secure fair play, President Grant issued the following orders on the 10th of November (1876) to General Sherman (the General-in-Chief) from Philadelphia, where he was temporarily sojourning:

"Instruct General Auger in Louisiana, and General Ruger in Florida, to be vigilant with the forces at their command to preserve peace and good order, and to see that the proper and legal Boards of Canvassers are unmolested in the performance of their duties. Should there be any grounds of suspicion of fraudulent count on either side, it should be reported and denounced at once. No man worthy of the office of President should be willing to hold it if counted in or placed there by fraud. Either party can afford to be disappointed in the result. The country cannot afford to have the result tainted by the suspicion of illegal or false returns."

This was immediately succeeded by the following order to the general :

"Send all the troops to General Auger he may deem necessary to ensure entire quiet and a peaceful count of the ballots actually cast. They may be taken from South Carolina, unless there is reason to suspect an outbreak. The presence of citizens from other States, I understand, is requested in Louisiana to see that the Board of Canvassers make a fair count of the vote actually cast. It is to be hoped that the representative and fair men of both parties will go."

The President's hopes were realized. He appointed distinguished gentlemen of both parties to go to Louisiana and also to Florida, to be present at the reception of the returns and the counting of the votes. They accepted the appointment, and they were acceptable to the respective parties. The duties prescribed were faithfully performed, and their report was presented to Congress, with a message from the President, on the 7th of December.

Meanwhile the Forty-fourth Congress had assembled in second session. There was a majority of Democrats in the House of Representatives, and Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania was chosen Speaker. Almost the first business of the session was the adoption, in the Senate, of a resolution devolving upon the Committee on Privileges and Elections the duty of inquiring whether, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, the right of any portion of the citizens to vote, had been denied or abridged, the extent to which and the means by which it had been accomplished, and by what authority. On the 4th of December the House adopted a resolution, providing for the investigation of the action of the returning or canvassing boards in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and this action was speedily followed by the report of the Committee of Observation, that was sent in by the President. That report defended the action of the Louisiana returning board, in excluding votes in certain parishes (wherein intimidation had been practised), and a majority of the votes of that State were given to the Republican candidates. The House, on the 12th of December, ordered the report of the Democratic committee that witnessed the canvass in Louisiana to be printed.

In the meantime the returning board of Louisiana had declared (December 5) that the Republican electoral ticket, in that State, was chosen by a majority of over four thousand; and on the following day (December 6) the electoral vote in all the colleges was cast. In South Carolina and Oregon both Democratic and Republican electors met and voted; and in the latter State the governor, on the ground of the ineligi-

bility of one of the Republican electors that had been chosen, assumed the election of the Democratic elector having the next highest number of votes, and gave him a certificate.

Thoughtful men foresaw much trouble at the final counting of the votes of the Electoral College by the President of the Senate, according to the provisions of the Constitution, for already the question had arisen as to his absolute power in the matter. Each party persistently claimed the prize of the Presidency, when returning boards in the doubtful States had decided that Mr. Hayes had one hundred and eighty-five electoral votes, and Mr. Tilden one hundred and eighty-four. To prevent serious difficulty, plans were offered. On the 5th of December, Senator Edmunds offered in the Senate an amendment to the Constitution, providing for the counting and declaration of the electoral vote by the Supreme Court of the United States. It was defeated. On the 14th, Proctor Knott (a Democrat), from the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, reported a resolution (as a substitute for one previously offered) that a committee of seven members, to be appointed by the Speaker, to act in conjunction with any similar committee that may be appointed by the Senate, to prepare and report such a measure, either legislative or constitutional, as may, in their judgment, be best calculated to accomplish the end proposed, namely, that the electoral votes may be counted and the result declared by a tribunal whose authority no one can question, and whose decision all will accept as final. This resolution was adopted without a division. On the 18th, the Senate voted in favor of a committee to act with that appointed by the House.

On the 18th of January, 1877, the joint committee reported. That committee consisted of fourteen members, as we have seen—seven of each party—namely, Senators Edmunds, Frelinghuysen, Morton and Conkling, and Representatives McCrary, Hoar and Willard, Republicans; and Senators Thurman, Bayard and Ransom, and Representatives Payne, Hewitt, Hunter and Springer, Democrats. The report was signed by all the committee, except Senator Morton. They presented a bill that provided for the meeting of both Houses in the hall of the House of Representatives, on the 1st of February, 1877. Two tellers, to have been previously appointed by each House, to whom should be handed, as they were opened by the President of the Senate, all the certificates and papers purporting to be certificates of electoral votes; these to be opened, presented, and acted upon in the alphabetical order of the States. When there should be a single return from a State, and an objection thereto, with its ground, should be made in writing, and signed by at least one Senator and one Representative, the two Houses should separately decide upon such objection or objections,

the vote to be rejected only by the affirmative vote of the two Houses. In the cases of more than one return from a State, all such returns having been read by the tellers, should be, upon objection being made, submitted to the judgment and decision as to which is the true and lawful electoral vote of the State, of a Commission of fifteen, to be composed of five members from each House, to be appointed *viva voce*, January 30, with five Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, four of these Justices being those of the First, Third, Eighth and Ninth Circuits, who should, on January 30, select another of the Associate Justices of the same Court; the entire Commission to be presided over by the Associate Justice longest in commission. Each of the members of the Commission to take an oath to consider the questions submitted, and to give a true judgment thereon agreeably to the Constitution and the laws. The decision of the Commission, or a majority thereof, to be made in writing, signed by the assenting members, and submitted to Congress; and this decision, having been entered in the journal of each House, must be final, unless overruled by the action of both Houses. This is a brief summary of the bill.

After much debate, this bill was passed by both Houses—in the House of Representatives on the 26th of January, by a vote of *one hundred and ninety-one to eighty-six*; in the Senate, on the previous day, by a vote of *forty-seven to seventeen*. The opposition to the bill proceeded mainly from prominent Republicans, both in debate and in the vote. There was only one Democratic vote against the bill, in the Senate. It was signed by the President on the 29th of January, and on the 30th the two Houses elected five members each, to serve on the Electoral Commission. On the following day, a communication was received by both Houses from the four Associate Justices named in the bill—Clifford, Miller, Field and Strong—announcing that they had chosen as the fifth member of Associate Justices, Joseph P. Bradley.

The joint Electoral Commission assembled in the hall of the House of Representatives on the 1st of February, 1877. The President of the Senate proceeded to open the certificates of the several States, in their alphabetical order. The votes from six States having been counted, that of Florida was reached, from which State there were three certificates that, under the provisions of the Electoral Bill, were submitted to the Electoral Commission. Two questions were then raised in the Commission: First, whether evidence should be admitted going back of the State returns; and second, as to the eligibility of F. C. Humphreys, one of the electors. After these questions were fully debated by counsel on both sides, the first was decided in the negative; and after receiving evidence concerning Mr. Humphreys, the

Commission decided to report Florida for Hayes and Wheeler. On the reception of this report in joint convention, objection having been offered, in due form, the two Houses separated. Reassembling on the 12th of February, and not concurring in the objection to the decision of the Commission, the vote of Florida was counted for Hayes and Wheeler.

The count then proceeded until the double returns from Louisiana were presented, when these, also, were referred to the Commission. That body reached a decision on the 16th of February. It was the same, and was sus-



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

tained by the same vote as in the case of Florida. On the 20th, the vote of Louisiana was, in joint convention, recorded for Hayes and Wheeler, and the count proceeded until it reached the vote of Michigan, to which objection was made, but not being sustained by both Houses, the count proceeded. When that of Nevada was reached, objection was made, but was not sustained. Oregon was reached, in the count, on the 21st, and the returns from that State went to the Commission. On the 24th, Oregon was counted for Hayes and Wheeler. The counting was completed on the 2d of March, when the President of the Senate announced that Rutherford B. Hayes was

elected President of the Republic, and William A. Wheeler was elected Vice-President. On Saturday, the 3d day of March, the Forty-fourth Congress finally adjourned.

The 4th of March—the day prescribed for the inauguration of a new President of the United States—falling on Sunday, Mr. Hayes, to prevent any technical objections that might be raised, privately took the oath of office on that day, and on Monday, the 5th, he was publicly inaugurated in the presence of a vast concourse of well-behaved people, at the usual place, on the east front of the Capitol. The oath was administered by Chief-Justice Waite. In his inaugural address that followed, the new President substantially repeated the promises which he made in his letter of acceptance of the nomination. He did not definitely announce any line of policy to be pursued, but he plainly indicated that it would be conciliatory toward the late slave-labor States wherein rebellion had existed. Already President Grant had appeared to question the wisdom of the policy of sustaining Southern State governments by military force, and the new President entered into careful inquiries concerning the matter.

A special session of the Senate was opened on the day of the public inauguration, and received and confirmed the following cabinet nominations from President Hayes: William M. Evarts of New York, for Secretary of State; John Sherman of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCrary of Iowa, Secretary of War; Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, Secretary of the Navy; Carl Schurz of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; David M. Key of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; and Charles Devens of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

The political situation in Louisiana—both parties claiming the right of the respective magistrates chosen by them to govern the State—was made the special subject for discussion in President Hayes's cabinet on the 20th and 21st of March, when it was decided to send a commission to that State to investigate the matter. There were two rival claimants to the governorship of the State, and each party declared that its own chosen officers were legally elected. There was a similar state of affairs in South Carolina and the President sought diligently for the truth and right. The opponents of the late administration declared their readiness to submit to law and justice, and promised obedience and loyalty in the event of the removal of United States troops, the presence of which they regarded as a menace, and as a restraint upon the free action which every citizen has a right to exercise.

Upon the report of the commission sent to the South, the President resolved to trust the promises of the opposition in both Louisiana and South Carolina, and removed from them the restraints of military force. A salu-

tary result was soon perceived, in an improved tone of public feeling there; and although that policy of conciliation is yet (December, 1877) an experiment, there are abundant evidences of its beneficence and success in re-establishing a brotherhood of feeling between the people of the North and the South to which they have long been strangers. Such an object is worth striving for; and if the experiment shall fail, it will fail in a good cause. This measure, and a reform in the civil service of the Republic, were the most conspicuous features of the public policy of the Administration. The most essential feature of that civil service reform may be found in the following circular letter addressed, by President Hayes, to all the Government office-holders on the 22d of June, 1877:

“SIR:—I desire to call your attention to the following paragraph in a letter addressed by me to the Secretary of the Treasury on the conduct to be observed by officers of the General Government in relation to the elections: ‘No officer should be required or permitted to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns. Their right to vote and to express their views on public questions, either orally or through the press, is not denied, provided it does not interfere with the discharge of their official duties. No assessments for political purposes on officers or subordinates should be allowed.’ This rule is applicable to every department of the civil service. It should be understood by every officer of the General Government that he is expected to conform his conduct to its requirements.”

This rule, strictly adhered to, would not only relieve office-holders of an enormous burden of taxation for partisan ends, but seal up, in a large degree, a prodigious fountain of official corruption and favoritism that has threatened, at times, to overwhelm our liberties and drown our free institutions.

The subject of the Presidency occupied so much of the time and attention of the last session of the Forty-fourth Congress, that at its adjournment there was left a great deal of unfinished important business. There was, toward the last, so much factious opposition to the outgoing and incoming Administration, that Congress failed to pass important appropriation bills, and this neglect caused the necessity for calling an extraordinary session of the Forty-fifth Congress, to provide means for carrying on the Government. It was thought proper, at first, to have a summer session, but prudential reasons forbade it, and on the 5th of May (1877), the President issued a proclamation calling a session in October. When Congress met on the 15th

of that month, the President in a message stated the object of their meeting, which was simply to make appropriations to supply money deficiencies; he presented a list of estimates of the amount needed, which aggregated about \$37,000,000. It was expected that the session would be short, and it would have been, had only its legitimate business been attended to; but other subjects engaged the attention of members. The deficiency bills were delayed, and the extraordinary session was prolonged until the time for the opening of the regular session, on the 3d of December.

During the summer of 1877, our Government engaged in a war with the Nez Percé (Pierced-Nose) Indians, in Idaho. It was not only a blunder, but crime, on the part of the United States. The story, briefly told, is as follows:

The explorers of the Continent from the Mississippi River toward the Pacific Ocean, whom President Jefferson sent out in 1803, discovered the tribe of savages, in what is now the Territory of Idaho, called the Nez Percé Indians. They were friendly to the explorers, and from that time until recently they have been the unwavering friends of the white man. They were organized, as most of the tribes have been west of the Rocky Mountains, into bands, but had no general chief. About twenty-five years ago, an Indian agent—one of a class of men who have done much to create discontent among the Indians—forced upon them a grand chief, whose principal recommendation was that he could speak English (which he had learned at a mission station), and could be controlled by the Government representative. From that time there was discontent among the Nez Percés. They waited patiently for the chief to die, that they might again enjoy their old political system. But he was succeeded by another English-speaking chief, who was chosen in opposition to "Joseph," a member of one of the most illustrious families of the tribe. He was the father of Joseph, the leader of the band with whom our Government troops lately engaged in war. Old Joseph withdrew, in disgust, from the councils of the Nez Percés, but claimed the chieftaincy, if there was to be one.

From time immemorial, the dwelling-place of the Nez Percé Indians has been the beautiful Wallōwa Valley, distinguished for its wealth of roots and fishing, as it now is for its abundant pasturage. Here begins the old, old story of the wrongs of the Indians. White people began to settle among the Nez Percés; and when they thought they were strong enough, they devised measures to dispossess these friendly barbarians of their beautiful valley. In this nefarious work the United States Government participated. From 1858 to 1868, several treaties were made with portions of the Nez Percés, by which they were provided with a reservation, and annuities from

the public treasury, in lieu of their lands. It was a mild and seemingly harmless way of dispossession. Old Joseph and his band refused to go upon the reservation, and remained in their ancestral home in the Wallowa Valley. So also did others of the non-treaty Indians (as those who were not parties to the treaty were called), for they claimed that the rest of their tribe had no right to alienate their lands.

Old Joseph died in 1871, and left his son Joseph at the head of his band. He, like his father, denied the right of a portion of his tribe to give up their lands. Neither he nor his father had signed a treaty to that effect, and if they had, Government agents had so violated it, that even those who did sign it had a just claim to re-enter. Joseph might have claimed a larger tract, but he wished to occupy only the Wallowa Valley.

Joseph and his band continued to occupy the Valley. Finally settlers began to encroach on the lands of the non-treaty Indians, which President Grant endeavored to prevent, by an order in June, 1873, that their possessions should "be withheld from entry and settlement as public lands, and that the same should be set apart as a reservation for the roaming Nez Percé Indians." Under this order Joseph and his band continued to occupy the Wallowa Valley in peace, until 1875, when President Grant was induced to issue another order, summarily revoking the first, and saying: "The said described tract of country is hereby restored to the public domain." White settlers now felt free to enter the Wallowa Valley, and they began to crowd the Nez Percés. The latter remonstrated, when they were peremptorily ordered to go upon the reservation. To their pleadings against the injustice, the reply of the Government was the gathering of troops to drive them from their lands into enforced exile. This meant war, if necessary to complete the cruel wrong.

About one year ago, General O. O. Howard, in command of the Department of the Columbia, in his report to the Secretary of War, referred to the discontent of the Nez Percés and the righteousness of Joseph's claim to the Wallowa Valley, and implored the Government to send a commission there to "settle the whole matter before war was even thought of. The Nez Percés," he said, "have never been, up to the present time, hostile to our people." But the Government did not heed General Howard's wise and humane suggestions; and Joseph, who had held back for months from a resort to hostilities, to which he and his band were reluctant to engage in, at length, just before the time fixed for driving him from the home of his fathers, and seeing the soldiers preparing to invade his domain, he plunged into war. The country was startled by the announcement in the newspapers that "a serious Indian outbreak began in Idaho, about the middle of June

(1877), when the savages of White Bird's and Joseph's bands murdered a score of settlers fifty miles east of Fort Lapwai. Captain Perry, who was sent against them, was severely repulsed. General O. O. Howard, making a forced march, came upon the Indians at the mouth of the Cottonwood, July 12, and, after an engagement in which eleven of his men were killed and twenty-four were wounded, shelled them from their position and put them to flight. On the 10th of July, Joseph's band had massacred thirty Chinamen on the Clearwater River."

Then followed the usual events that mark the wars of our Government with the Indians—slaughter on both sides, and final defeat of the barbarians, for the odds are generally fearfully against them. The distressing war continued from June until the second month of the autumn of 1877, when, on the 5th of October, Joseph and his band surrendered to the victorious General Nelson A. Miles, at Eagle Creek, Montana Territory. In a speech made at the time of his surrender, equal in pathos to that of Logan, the Mingo chief (see page 747), Joseph said to General Miles: "Tell General Howard I know his heart. What he told me before, I have it in my heart. I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. Looking-Glass is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who say yes or no. He who led on the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children, and see how many of them I can find. May be I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs. I am tired. My heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I shall fight no more forever."

This war has embittered the feelings of the friendly Nez Percés against the white people, and planted the fruitful seeds of future troubles. In its origin and purpose, on our part, it was a "gigantic blunder and crime."

After the destruction of Custer and his command by the Sioux under Sitting Bull, recorded in a preceding chapter, that leader and his followers fled northward into the British possessions, where he remained sullen and revengeful for more than four years. The United States Government appointed a commission to confer with him in his retreat to make arrangements for securing peace and friendship with the hostile tribe. General A. H. Terry, Commander of the Military Department in the Northwest, was placed at the head of the commission, and on hearing of the surrender of the Nez Percés, and considering it a favorable time to negotiate, they started for the rendezvous of Sitting Bull, near Fort Walsh. There they met him on the 17th of October, 1877. He and his chiefs rejected with scorn the proposals for peace made by the commission, and the latter returned. Then the British authorities gave Sitting Bull notice that if he should attempt to cross

the border with hostile intentions, the British as well as the Americans would be his enemies. There he remained until late in 1880 nursing his wrath. Then perceiving longer resistance to be hopeless, and his followers experiencing great misery, he showed willingness to treat with the United States authorities for the return of the fugitives. Still there was delay. Early in 1881 about one thousand of Sitting Bull's followers surrendered; but the wily chief, fearful of peril to his life or liberty, did not give himself up till late in the summer:

So it is, that the Indian has appeared conspicuously in our history, at every period, from the time when Europeans first trod the virgin soil of this new-found Western World, until now. His race is fading. Perhaps in another century it may disappear, and become a thing of the buried past.

In future years, the son of a dusky exile, coming from the far-off borders of the Slave Lake, may be gazed at in a city street at the mouth of the Yellowstone with as much wonder as the Oneida woman, with her blue cloth blanket and bead-work merchandise, is now, in the city of New York. Even now these barbarians may chant in sorrow:

'We, the rightful lords of yore,
Are the rightful lords no more;
Like the silver mist, we fail,
Like the red leaves on the gale,—
Fail, like shadows, when the dawning
Waves the bright flag of the morning."

Or,

"I will weep for a season, in bitterness fed,
For my kindred are gone to the hills of the dead;
But they died not of hunger, or lingering decay—
The hand of the white man hath swept them away!"



CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE BLAND SILVER BILL—YELLOW FEVER—RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS—THE CHINESE—FAILURE TO PASS APPROPRIATION BILLS—NEGRO EXODUS—OUTBREAK OF THE UTES—A SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION PROPOSED—NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS IN 1880—NEW APPORTIONMENT—NEW FUNDING BILL VETOED—THE PUBLIC DEBT—POPULATION IN 1880—INTER-OCEANIC CANAL—INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD AND VICE-PRESIDENT ARTHUR—ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD—CHESTER A. ARTHUR BECOMES PRESIDENT—TRIAL OF THE ASSASSIN GUITEAU—CHANGES IN THE CABINET—STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

AT the first regular session of the Forty-fifth Congress, a bill known as the "Bland Silver Bill" was passed, on the 21st of February, 1878. The President returned it to the House of Representatives on February 28th, with his objections; but, on the same day, it was passed by both Houses over his veto, and it became a law. It provided for the coinage of silver dollars of the weight of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and that the rate of coinage should be at least \$2,000,000 a month, and not more than \$4,000,000. That coinage has gone on at the minimum rate, and now (1885) the vaults of the United States Treasury are overloaded with silver coin.

During the summer and fall of 1878 the yellow fever prevailed as a fearful epidemic in the region of the Lower Mississippi River from Memphis to New Orleans. In his annual Message to Congress the President called the attention of that body to the necessity for investigating the causes of the epidemic; and on the 5th of December the Senate appointed a committee to act in the matter, with one from the House of Representatives, and appropriated \$50,000.

On the first of January, 1879, a most important event occurred—it was the resumption of specie payments by the National Government and the Banks, after a suspension of about eighteen years. There was very strong and persistent opposition to the measure on the part of the opponents of the administration, and efforts were made in Congress to defeat it. The authorization of the circulation of silver coin by Act of Congress, in January, 1875, prepared the way for resumption. As the time approached for resump-

(1787)

tion, the opponents became louder prophets of evil. They predicted greater prostration of business, and the impossibility of meeting the enormous demand for coin on the day fixed for resumption, and afterwards. The premium on gold, however, continually diminished, and paper money was at par value in December, 1878. For some weeks private business houses had been paying out gold. Notwithstanding these indications, the Government Sub-Treasuries and the Banks employed an increased clerical force to assist in the labors of the first of January. These clerks were not needed. At the closing hour the Banks had more gold in their vaults than at the opening. Resumption had been imperceptibly effected. Its salutary influence was immediately felt. From the first day of resumption, business began to revive, and the tide of prosperity throughout the whole country has continued to rise higher and higher.

On the Pacific Coast a strong prejudice against the Chinese immigrants had been created, chiefly by other foreign-born persons, because of their alleged monopoly of labor at reduced prices. The matter was brought to the attention of Congress, and a bill to restrict Chinese immigration passed both Houses in the winter of 1879. It restricted the number of Chinese passengers in one voyage to fifteen. The President vetoed the bill.

The opposition majority in Congress resolved to defeat, by means of legislation, the operations of the law authorizing the use of United States troops to keep the peace at the polls where candidates for National offices were to be voted for. The employment of United States Marshals for the same purpose was also opposed. The method resorted to for effecting their purpose caused very exciting debates in Congress. They burdened every appropriation bill with a "rider," or conditions requiring that United States troops should not be allowed at any election in any State, and that the Marshals should not interfere in any elections. So persistent were the opposition members in their methods, that they seemed determined to clog the wheels of Government unless their measures were adopted. The Forty-fifth Congress expired without passing the usual appropriation bills, and this failure in duty caused the necessity for calling a session of the Forty-sixth Congress. They were summoned to meet on March 18, 1879. They did so, and passed appropriation bills with obnoxious "riders," which were vetoed by the President. This extraordinary session lasted until July 1st. Failing to pass the vetoed bills over the President's veto, they were shorn of their obnoxious appendages, and were passed and approved by the President.

There was a remarkable and comparatively sudden exodus of colored people from the States on the Lower Mississippi in 1879. The reason for the movement was alleged to be a denial of the exercise of civil rights to the

negroes, to which they had a constitutional right, and their oppressions in various ways at the hands of the white people. The earlier emigrants and the larger number went to Kansas. Later a considerable number went to Indiana. A committee was appointed by the Senate to investigate the causes of the movement. Their report was not very satisfactory. They declared that the causes were partly political and partly pecuniary.

There was a sudden outbreak of hostility to the white people by the Ute tribe of Indians in Colorado in the early autumn of 1879. The movement was fierce and desperate, and created great alarm throughout a considerable portion of this new State. The barbarians murdered N. C. Meeker, the Indian agent at White River. Major Thornburgh, of the United States Army, was sent with a force to suppress the hostile movement; and in a battle with the Utes at Milk Creek, on September 29th, he and ten of his command were slain. For six days the rest of his force were surrounded by Indians, but being intrenched it held out until succor arrived. The outbreak ended almost as suddenly as it was begun.

The subject of the equality of men and women in law and society as well as in nature, is engaging the attention of statesmen, publicists, and the people generally, more and more as the years move on. The chief topic of discussion now is the conferring upon women the right to exercise the elective franchise. In some States this has been done in a slight degree. The most significant action yet taken in the matter was the introduction in both Houses of Congress, in January, 1880, of the following joint resolution proposing a Sixteenth Amendment to the National Constitution:

"ARTICLE 16. — The right of suffrage in the United States shall be based on citizenship, and the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of sex, or for any reason not really applicable to all citizens of the United States.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The year 1880 was the "Presidential year," and both the great political parties as well as smaller organizations, began early to make preparations for the quadrennial contest for the coveted prize of the Presidency of the Republic. In the month of June the several political parties each held a National Convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. In this movement the Republican party first appeared. Its chosen representatives assembled in convention at Chicago, Illinois, on June 2d, 1880. They nominated James Abram Garfield, of Ohio, for President, and Chester Allan Arthur for Vice-President of the

Republic. The National ("Greenback") Party held a convention at Chicago on the 9th of June, 1880, and nominated John B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and Benjamin J. Chambers, of Texas, for Vice-President. This ticket had a large following in the Labor Party. The Prohibition National Convention assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, on June 17, 1880, and nominated Neal Dow, of Maine, for President, and A. H. Thompson, of Ohio, for Vice-President. On June 22d the Democratic National Convention assembled at Cincinnati, and nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, of the United States Army, for President, and William H. English, of Indiana, for Vice-President. There were also Anti-Masonic candidates* for President and Vice-President. General John W. Phelps, of Vermont, was named for the office of President, and G. C. Pomeroy, of Kansas, for Vice-President.

The Republican and Democratic parties, the only hopeful contestants in the field, made an energetic struggle for the prize from June until November. The Republican platform adopted at Chicago affirmed that the National Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and that out of a league of States it made a sovereign nation: that the work of popular education is left to the several States, but that the National Government should aid that work so far as the Constitution gives it power; that the Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of any religion, and recommended an amendment to the Constitution forbidding any State appropriation of public funds for the support of sectarian schools; that no further grants of the public domain be made to any corporation; that the improvement of water-courses and harbors is a duty belonging to the National Government, but that further subsidies to private persons or corporations should cease; and that judicious laws should be made concerning Chinese immigration. In the preamble to the platform the Convention took a brief retrospective glance at the history of the Republican party during the last twenty years. They said: "Without resorting to loans it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of Government besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed annually over \$30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It has paid \$888,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at lower rates has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$151,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed."

The Democratic platform declared opposition to centralization of power in the National Government; that Church and State ought to be separate, and common schools fostered and protected; "Home Rule" and honest

money should prevail; that a tariff for revenue only should be laid; that the military should be subordinate to the civil power; and that a thorough reform in the civil service should be made. They declared that the administration of President Hayes was "the representative of conspiracy only"; denounced the election laws which provided against violence and fraud at the polls through the watchfulness of United States Marshals; and demanded a reform which "shall make it forever impossible for a defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of a usurper by billeting villains upon the people," and in "making places in the civil service a reward for political crime." They declared against monopolies of every kind; and they demanded a revision of the treaty with China, so as to provide that no Chinese should ever come to our shores, "except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded." They concluded the manifesto by saying: "We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress, which has reduced the public expenditure \$10,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the National honor abroad; and above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the Government as shall insure a genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service."

After a most exciting canvass and months of anxious suspense endured by earnest men engaged in the conducting of the various industries of the country, the election, in November, 1880, resulted in the choice of James A. Garfield for President, and Chester A. Arthur for Vice-President of the Republic. The result gave a wonderful forward impulse to business of every kind.

During the last session of the Forty-sixth Congress, which expired on the 4th of March, 1881, the most important business transacted, excepting the passage of the usual appropriation bills, was the adoption of a bill by the Senate providing for a new apportionment of Congressional representation under the census of 1880, and a new refunding bill by both Houses. The first-named bill increases the number of members of the House of Representatives from 293 to 319. The ratio is increased 131,425 under the census of 1870, to 154,769 under the census of 1880. The House of Representatives did not act upon this bill.

The new funding bill fixed the rate of interest at three per cent. a year. One section of the bill was regarded as so hostile to the interests of the National Banks, which are closely allied to the business interests of the country of every kind, and so perilous to the advancing prosperity of the Nation, that the President, on the 3d of March, 1881, vetoed it, and no further action on the subject was taken.

It is conceded by all candid men that the administration of President Hayes was remarkable for the purity of the public service and financial success and prosperity. The public debt at the beginning of his administration was nearly \$2,100,000,000; at its close, the public debt had been reduced \$209,000,000. Since March 1, 1877, about \$850,000,000 of the public debt have been refunded, a portion of it bearing interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. a year, and the remainder at 4 per cent. This refunding has caused a reduction in the interest charge on the public debt of about \$17,000,000. Not many years ago, the Government of the United States found great difficulty in borrowing so small a sum as \$25,000,000, and for a considerable portion of it was compelled to pay as high as 12 per cent. a year. In the spring of 1879 the Government found no difficulty in borrowing (otherwise refunding) \$225,000,000 at 4 per cent. In one month \$500,000,000 was offered at 4 per cent. And so high was the credit of the National Government at the beginning of 1881 that these 4 per cent. bonds were sold at a considerable premium.

The population of the United States is rapidly increasing. At the census of 1870, the total population of the States and Territories was a little more than 38,558,000, in 1880 it was more than 50,000,000. The tide of emigration to our shores from Europe is continually increasing in volume. At the port of New York alone there arrived during 1880 the enormous number of 320,808 emigrants, the largest number in one year since the Emigration Commission was established in 1847. It is estimated that each emigrant adds to the capital of the country, besides the cash he brings with him, about \$800. The products of our agriculture, manufactures, and mines have enormously increased.

The project of an inter-oceanic canal to connect the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, has been powerfully revived by the organization at Paris of an International Company for the construction of such a canal. The chief actor in the movement is M. de Lesseps, who constructed the Suez Canal at a cost of \$60,000,000. He came to the United States at the beginning of 1880 to promote the project. He visited Panama, decided that the construction of a canal across the isthmus there was feasible, and has since pushed the enterprise with great vigor. He estimates the entire cost of the work at \$102,400,000, and promises that it shall be completed in 1888. The United States Government, as we have seen, have had a similar project under consideration for many years. Surveys of routes across the isthmus have been made and estimates of cost submitted. The movement of Lesseps will probably stimulate the people of the United States to a speedy construction of an inter-oceanic communication across the great isthmus some-

where, either by a ship-canal or ship-railway. They are unwilling to have such a communication controlled by any foreign government or governments. They are stirred by the spirit of the Monroe doctrine; and the President represented public sentiment in the United States, when, on the 8th of March, 1880, he sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that it is the duty of the United States Government to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over the enterprise as will protect our National interests.



JAMES A. GARFIELD.

On the 29th of February, 1881, President-elect Garfield left his home at Mentor, Ohio, for Washington City. He was accompanied by his family—his aged mother, eighty years old, his wife, and his two young sons. He made a short, parting address at the railway-station, which he concluded with the words: "What awaits me I cannot now speak of; but I shall carry to the discharge of the duties that lie before me, to the problems and dangers I may meet, a sense of your confidence and your love, which will always be answered by my gratitude. Neighbors, friends, constituents—farewell!"

Many friends accompanied General Garfield on his journey. He reached Washington on the morning of March 1st, where he was met by a committee

and taken to his quarters. His aged mother was conveyed to the President's house, where the room she was to occupy was assigned her by Mrs. Hayes, whose guest she remained until after the inauguration, which event occurred on Friday, March 4, with imposing ceremonies.

Considerable snow had fallen in Washington City on the night of March 3d and 4th; but the sun shone so brightly during the forenoon of the 4th that it was all gone by noon. At the proper hour, General Arthur, the Vice-President elect, was installed in office in the Hall of the United States Senate in the presence of a brilliant assemblage of the National law-makers and foreign ministers. From that room the whole company proceeded to a platform at the eastern front of the Capitol, where the inaugural ceremony was to take place. The President and President-elect walked arm-in-arm to their assigned positions. Near them were seated together Mrs. Hayes and Mrs. Garfield. By the side of Mrs. Hayes was the venerable mother of the President-elect, to whom he owed so much for his success through life. At least 50,000 people were gathered to observe the imposing spectacle. In a clear, ringing voice, that might be heard by thousands of the mass of listeners, he delivered his inaugural address to the multitude, and the usual oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Waite. Then the vast crowd dispersed, and the new President and his family were driven to the "White House," as the Presidential mansion is termed, and took possession.

President Hayes had issued a proclamation convening the Senate, in special executive session, on the afternoon of the 4th of March, to receive and act upon the nominations of Cabinet ministers which the new President might make. These were sent in the next day, and the nominations were immediately confirmed without debate. They were as follows: For Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine; for Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota; for Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, son of President Lincoln; for Secretary of the Navy, William H. Hunt, of Louisiana; for Secretary of the Interior, Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa; for Postmaster-General, Thomas L. James, of New York; for Attorney-General, Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania.

Subsequent nominations sent in to the Senate for confirmation were not so well received. With regard to one of them, the nomination of Judge Robertson to the important office of Collector of Customs at New York, great efforts were made by Senator Conkling of New York and the wing of the Republican party which acknowledged him as its leader, to procure its rejection. The cause of this hostility to this particular candidate can be traced back to the events which led to the nomination of Garfield as the Presidential candidate of the Republicans at the Chicago Convention. At that

meeting, a powerful and compact body, headed by Conkling of New York, Logan of Illinois, and Cameron of Pennsylvania, voted with unswerving pertinacity for the nomination of General Grant for a third term. In number, the votes given for General Grant far exceeded those given for Mr. Blaine, or for Mr. Sherman, but did not reach the two-thirds which were necessary for a nomination. In the New York delegation there was discord and division. An active minority refused to accept the unit rule, and to follow the lead of Conkling. This defection was chiefly due to the influence and exertions of Judge Robertson. He was, therefore, regarded by the so-called Stalwart wing as a deserter from his party and a traitor to the cause. They argued that if he and the delegates who sympathized with him had voted with the rest of their New York colleagues, the example of the Empire State would have had a powerful effect in silencing hostility elsewhere, that the nomination of Grant would have been assured, and no opportunity could have arisen for the concentration of the Blaine and Sherman votes on the name of Garfield. Judge Robertson may, therefore, be regarded as powerfully contributing to Grant's defeat and to Garfield's triumph. It was natural that the President should seek to place a supporter who had done him such service in a prominent position, and it was equally natural that the Senators whose plans had been baffled and whose ambition had been thwarted by his action should be uncompromising enemies of his appointment to an office of such power as the Collectorship of New York is in our present system of political management. To Senator Conkling the appointment of Judge Robertson was peculiarly unwelcome. He had always held that Federal appointments in a State ought to be made on the recommendation, or at least with the approval of the Senators of the State, and he called upon his fellow Senators to reject the nomination of Judge Robertson, on the ground that the "courtesy of the Senate" had established the principle that the Senate would not confirm any nomination to a Federal office in a State if it were repugnant to the two Senators from the State. A prolonged deadlock in the Senate was the result. The President was reminded that but for the powerful aid given to his canvass by General Grant, Senator Conkling, and the "Stalwarts," his election would have been impossible. He was accused of ingratitude to the men who had really placed him in the Executive Mansion, by rewarding the man who had abandoned them in their struggle. Garfield, however, regarding himself as the President of the whole nation, not of any party in it, or of any wing of a party, steadily refused to withdraw the obnoxious nomination, and the two Senators from New York State, hopeless of carrying their point, adopted the unprecedented step of resigning their seats in the Senate. Senators Conkling and Platt at

once appealed to the Legislature of New York for re-election. The conflict between the two factions was now transferred to Albany, and the war was carried on with unexampled bitterness. The Vice-President, Mr. Arthur, did not think it unbecoming his high office to mingle personally in the fray and exert his influence for the cause of his friend Conkling. But it was in vain. The Senators who had resigned did not succeed in gaining the re-election which would have returned them to the Senate with the endorsement of their State. The fierce political struggle was just terminating, when every heart was stricken with horror at the intelligence of a terrible tragedy. For the second time the elected head of this free people was struck down by the hand of an assassin. On the 2d of July the President was leaving Washington for a brief holiday, during which he was to pass the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence with Mr. Cyrus W. Field, near New York, and then to visit Williams College, Massachusetts. In the company of Mr. Blaine and other members of his Cabinet, he was taking his ticket at the railroad station, when the assassin Guiteau shot him in the back with a heavy ball from a pistol called an "English Bulldog." The President fell to the ground, and from the nature of the wound death was regarded as imminent. It is impossible for words to describe the excitement produced by this assassination. In every city of the Union, as soon as the telegraph flashed the sad news, crowds poured into the streets and surged around the telegraph offices, waiting for further intelligence. Everywhere threats against the assassin's life were heard. Before the full effect of the deed was realized, Guiteau had been arrested and conveyed to prison, a circumstance fortunate for our national honor by reserving his punishment to the solemn verdict of justice, instead of leaving it to the passions of an infuriated mob. The assassin made no attempt to escape. He had been a lecturer, a lawyer, a persistent seeker for office of any kind, always a swindler. He boasted of his crime. He was a "Stalwart," he said, and believed that the death of Garfield was the only means of saving the Republican party. Meanwhile, the wounded man was removed to the White House, where, in the language of the legal indictment of his murderer, which has a deep pathos in the words, "he did languish, and languishing did live" till the 19th of September. All that our best surgical skill could do was done, but in vain. The magnificent constitution of the sufferer enabled him to linger, not to recover. While thus slowly dying, his demeanor was throughout manly, with that manliness which touches every heart. "Is the wound mortal?" was the first question he addressed to the surgeons who examined him. "There are," was the straightforward answer, "ninety-nine chances to one against your recovery." "Then," was the brave reply, "I will take that one chance." His chief

anxiety was for his wife, and how she would bear the news. A telegram was sent to her at Elberon, summoning her to Washington. She came to be his nurse and strengthener. To all foreboding of a fatal termination she replied, "He has made up his mind to recover, and he will recover." Her courage was as great as his own. When, after the lapse of a few days, it was seen that the illustrious patient had not succumbed to the shock, as was anticipated, hope grew strong in every breast. Every fluctuation of the pulse, every rise or fall of temperature, was watched with interest by every citizen in our wide extended Union. Operations had to be performed to discharge the purulent secretions from the track of the wound; they were borne with constancy, and the temporary relief they gave inspired the sufferer with new confidence, and the people with new hopes. Baseless hopes and unfounded confidence! The assassin's ball, as it was thereafter proved, had injured the spinal column, and recovery was impossible. The President gradually got weaker. The White House, situated near the swamps of the Potomac, was considered unhealthy, and the opinion spread that Garfield's recovery was kept back by malarial influences. He himself seemed to share this opinion, and longed for change of scene. He wished to be removed to Mentor, his quiet, unpretending home in Ohio. But the distance from Washington to his beloved home was too great for him to bear. As a last resource he was taken to the sea-coast at Elberon. Weeping crowds accompanied the litter on which he was carried out from that Executive Mansion to occupy which has been the aspiration of our best and bravest. The line of railroad by which he passed was bordered by sorrowing multitudes who flocked thither for miles, and a sympathizing throng awaited his arrival. But no voice was heard, no cheer was raised as the sad cortege went on. At Elberon he seemed, for a day or two, to gather strength; he felt himself a new man; he was raised up to see the bright ocean heaving in the sunlight and splashing on the shore. But neither change of place, nor refreshing breezes, were of avail. He was able to sign one official document. The last words he wrote were scribbled on a bit of paper, *Strangulatus pro republica*. The day before his death he said to his old friend Rockwell, "Old boy, do you think my name will have a place in human history?" "Yes, a grand one; but a grander, in human hearts. Old fellow, you must not talk in that way, you have a great work to do." "No," said the dying man, "my work is done."

And then the end. Down to the very last, no murmurs escaped his lips, no regrets at leaving the power and glory of his exalted position, or at the sudden cutting short of his brilliant career. He sank with patient resignation, courageous and uncomplaining, only anxious for her who had borne

him, and her who had been the bride of his youth, and the true companion of his manhood.

Agonizing as these months of suffering were to the patient, Garfield's long martyrdom was a blessing to the country, for delay gave time for the excitement, which had burned so fiercely at first, to subside, and to give place to calmer thoughts. The deepest sympathy for the sufferer was everywhere felt, and there was no people in the world which did not share the sorrow of this nation when he at last sank into the arms of death. During all his illness, the Queen of England had exhibited the warmest sympathy for the afflicted family, and, a widow herself, was the first to condole with the widow of the President. The court of England set an example followed by the court of Spain, and went into mourning. Kings, emperors, every state, were profuse in their condolences. Still more touching was the regret everywhere expressed by the working classes, who had never forgotten that Garfield had risen from labor and poverty to his high estate, and who regarded his career with fond pride as a proof of what could be achieved in a free country by honesty, industry, and virtue. The President was buried in a spot which he had chosen in the cemetery at Cleveland, and on his coffin reposed a wreath sent by Queen Victoria, and tokens of sorrow from every state and city. We cannot more fitly close our notice of the brief Presidential career of James Abram Garfield than with the lines of the poet which he himself quoted so effectively in reference to the death of Lincoln :

"Divinely gifted man,
Whose life in low estate began,
And on a simple village green,
Who breaks his birth's invidious bars,
And grasps the skirts of happy chance,
And breasts the blows of circumstance,
And grapples with his evil stars ;
Who makes by force his merit known,
And lives to clutch the golden keys,
To mold a mighty State's decrees,
And shape the whisper of the throne ;
And moving up from high to higher,
Becomes, on Fortune's crowning slope,
The pillar of a people's hope,
The center of a world's desire."

When Garfield's death was announced, President Arthur at once took the oath of office in his own house at New York, at one o'clock in the morning, and two days afterward repeated it at Washington, in the presence of

the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court and the Cabinet. As usual, the Cabinet tendered their resignations, and were requested to retain office till new appointments could be made.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

The year 1881 being the centenary of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, that crowning triumph of the Revolutionary War was celebrated at the spot where it took place. Delegates from the French government were present to commemorate a victory in which the arms of France had borne a conspicuous part, and descendants of Rochambeau, La Fayette, De Grasse, and Villiers, as well as representatives of Von Steuben, met on the field where their ancestors had stood side by side a century before. The celebration was concluded by a ceremony which shows in a striking manner the generosity of our people and its gratitude for the sympathy displayed by the English sovereign during Garfield's illness and at his death. The British flag was hoisted and received a royal salute. A striking token of good will between the two branches of the great Anglo-Saxon race; a good will which it is to be hoped will long continue to promote civilization and bless mankind.

On the fourteenth of November, 1881, the trial of Guiteau for the assassination of President Garfield began in the Court of the District of Colum-

bia. Between the murder and the trial he had been detained in jail, under the guard of some regular troops. But so deep and so wide-spread was the indignation of the people at his dastardly deed, that even his guardians did not escape it, and even one of the sentries of the prison attempted to shoot the wretched criminal through the bars of his cell. During the progress of the trial, another attempt to kill Guiteau was made. The assailant, mounted on a fleet horse, rode up to the cellular van in which the prisoner was being carried from the court-house to the jail, and fired his pistol through one of the windows of the vehicle. In both cases Guiteau received no injury. Judge Cox presided over the trial, the prosecution was conducted by the District Attorney, Corkhill, assisted by Mr. Davidge and Judge Porter, the latter an eminent advocate of New York, who had been conspicuous in the Beecher trial. The evidence of the murder was soon given. The facts were indisputable. The question as to the sanity of the prisoner remained to be discussed. The whole life of the prisoner was dragged to light, and the whole history of his family examined. The prosecution sought to prove inveterate depravity; the defence to establish hereditary insanity. The prisoner was defended by Mr. Scoville, his sister's husband, and in the latter part of the case by Mr. Reed of Chicago. Medical experts from all parts were summoned to testify as to his state of mind, and the conflict of evidence, usual in such case, took place. The weight of evidence was overwhelmingly in favor of his sanity. It was proved that the prisoner had always been of ungovernable temper, that he had been a member of the Oneida Community, that he had been divorced from his wife, and had for years been living by swindling or similar practices. It was shown that he had made preparations for the deed long before its committal with the utmost deliberation. During the trial the conduct of the prisoner was outrageous beyond description. He interrupted alike judge, counsel, and witnesses. The counsel on both sides came in equally for his vituperation. Those in the prosecution were denounced by him as liars, those who were defending him as fools. His brother-in-law, Scoville, was continually assailed in the foulest manner. "I do not want any more of this fool, Scoville," he would cry, "he is too stupid to know what to do." He persistently claimed that he acted by inspiration from on high. "God and I are partners in this. Don't you forget it," he kept exclaiming. He said to the witnesses, "How about Abraham? Tell us something about Abraham's case." As the trial progressed, and as the evidence of his sanity became stronger and stronger, his blasphemy and insolence became more pronounced. "God will take care of me, and so will the American people. You, Porter, are a liar, you old whelp. You and Corkhill will be the top of those down below." Much

blame was expressed in some quarters respecting the conduct of Judge Cox in allowing these violations of public decency. But he exercised a wise discretion. The whole demeanor of the prisoner, as well as his own evidence in chief, showed that he not only was in full possession of his faculties, but that those faculties were of no ordinary degree of cunning. On the 25th of January, 1882, the jury returned a verdict of guilty, amid volleys of blasphemy from the prisoner. An appeal was made, and a new trial demanded. But the demand was rejected, and on the 3d of February Charles J. Guiteau was sentenced to be hung on the 30th of June.

The conduct of the trial is not one of which we have any reason to be proud. The trial for life of the meanest human being should be conducted with decency and dignity. The court at Washington became a show to which the idle and fashionable world crowded as to a farce. The prisoner's ribaldry was received with peals of laughter, the repartees into which the prosecuting advocates allowed themselves to be goaded were followed by cheers, and deafening applause greeted the verdict of the jury. Every Sunday during the trial the prisoner held a levée in his cell. Well-dressed men and women flocked there to shake his hand and ask for his photograph. After the sentence was pronounced, a speculative showman offered Scoville a thousand dollars for Guiteau's body, with the object of embalming it, and exhibiting it through the country, and Scoville was inclined to accept the offer, had not public indignation been expressed too loudly. If a morbid desire of notoriety was one of the causes which urged Guiteau to commit his murderous assault, it has been amply gratified.

The first change in the Cabinet took place in November, 1881, when Mr. Windom resigned the Treasury, and was succeeded by Judge Folger of New York. On the 1st of January, 1882, Mr. James resigned the Postmastership, and was succeeded by Mr. Howe. Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of State, had, during the illness of Garfield, inaugurated a line of foreign policy which seems calculated to involve the country in sundry complications. He had sent instructions to our Ministers in Peru and Chili which looked to an intervention on the part of the United States to prevent Chili exercising her legitimate rights of conquest. He had proposed in a highly undiplomatic tone the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Great Britain respecting the guarantees of an interoceanic canal between the Atlantic and Pacific, and proposed to the Central American Republics the meeting of a convention of delegates from each state to be held at Washington, and to deliberate on their common and mutual interests. The full extent of these negotiations was not known to the public till Mr. Blaine finally left the Cabinet. The new Secretary of State, Mr. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey,

modified the instructions given by Mr. Blaine to Messrs. Trescott and Blaine, our special envoys to Peru and Chili, and to the moderation of the views held by him and the President, ample evidence is borne by their subsequent acts.

The prosperity of the whole country during the year 1881 was great. An enormous extension of our railway system has taken place. Numerous new lines were constructed, and old lines consolidated. The most important of these are the various lines running westward to the Pacific, and the important scheme of railroads connecting our lines with the most fertile and most rich provinces of the neighboring republic of Mexico. Almost every branch of industry took in those last three years an important step in advance, and the transformation which all our cities are undergoing bears witness to an unparalleled extension of commerce, and an enormous increase in our national wealth. The immigration also was of unparalleled magnitude, amounting in the year 1881 to 716,868 souls. The commerce of the country also exhibited a steady increase. In 1861 the exports were \$219,553,833; the imports \$289,310,542. In 1881 the exports were \$902,377,345; the imports \$642,664,628, or a total of foreign commercial movement during the year of \$1,545,041,974.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

ARTHUR AS PRESIDENT—THE "STAR ROUTE" TRIALS—THE PANAMA CANAL AND THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY—PERU AND CHILI—CRITICISM OF MR. BLAINE'S POLICY—THE SILVER QUESTION—THE MORMON QUESTION—CHINESE IMMIGRATION—THE "JEANNETTE" LOST IN THE ARCTIC SEA—RECALL OF MR. SARGENT, THE MINISTER AT BERLIN—THE RUIN OF GENERAL GRANT—THE GREELY ARCTIC EXPEDITION—DEATHS OF LONGFELLOW, EMERSON, PETER COOPER, AND A. H. STEPHENS—CIVIL SERVICE REFORM—ELECTION OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND—THE ASPINWALL AFFAIR—DEATH OF GENERAL GRANT AND VICE-PRESIDENT HENDRICKS.

ONE of the most important state trials ever held in this country, whether we regard the high position of the parties incriminated, or the failure of justice which public opinion considers to have taken place, was that of the "Star Routes." The "Star Routes" of our Postal Service may be described as lines upon which mail can not be carried by railroad or steamboat lines. There were one hundred and thirty-four such routes, on which the compensation was raised from \$143,169 to \$622,808. This was accomplished by increasing the number of trips, shortening their time, and obtaining therefor by political influence additional compensation. On twenty-six of the routes the pay was raised from \$65,216 to \$530,319. Chief among those accused of being implicated in this attempt to defraud the Government were Senator S. W. Dorsey, and Second Assistant Postmaster-General Thomas J. Brady. Against them and others in minor positions, the formal indictment was brought on the 4th of March, 1882, the proceedings having commenced in November of the year previous. The first jury disagreed, and charges of receiving bribes were brought against several of its members. The Marshal of the District of Columbia, the Washington Postmaster, and others, were accused of aiding the prisoners, and were dismissed. A new trial was begun in December of the same year, ending, however, in acquittal of the chief delinquents.

A question concerning Peru and Chili arose from the war going on between those countries. Peru, being overrun by the Chilians, was in a state of anarchy, and two so-called governments co-existed. In June, according to instructions from Secretary Blaine, the Provisional Government of Calderon, one of the pretenders, was formally recognized in place of that of Pierola

(1803)

General Hurlburt in July sent a communication to General Lynch, commander of the Chilian forces, saying that the United States disapproved of war which had in view territorial aggrandizement, and that the proposal of Chili to take possession of Peruvian territory, unless Peru demonstrated its inability to pay in any other way the indemnity imposed upon it by Chili, was disapproved of by this Government. This letter produced violent excitement. The Peruvians expected aid from the United States, and were correspondingly elated and grateful. The Chilians, on the other hand, denounced Minister Hurlburt with exceeding the bounds both of his own authority and of that of the United States. In response to the inquiries of the Chilian Government, General Kilpatrick, the minister at Lima, wrote a letter contradicting the statements of his Peruvian colleague. Upon this affair Secretary Blaine, for his own vindication, published his instructions to the ministers and various other documents. In these he desires the ministers, if it lies in their power, to persuade Chili to forego the claim upon Peruvian territory. He wrote: "There is nothing more difficult or more dangerous than forced transfer of territory, carrying with it an indignant and hostile population, and nothing but a necessity, proved before the world, can justify it. It is not a case in which the Power desiring the territory can be accepted as a safe or impartial judge." As a consequence of General Hurlburt's letter, President Calderon was imprisoned by order of General Lynch.

Affairs having become so involved, Mr. William H. Trescot was appointed special envoy to Peru and Chili. He was sent with instructions to try to arrange amicably the misunderstanding between the two countries. If, however, he found that the Chilian Government had suppressed that of Calderon to resent its recognition by the United States, he was to state that it would be regarded as an unfriendly act, and that diplomatic intercourse should be immediately suspended. This part of the instructions seemed liable to lead to serious complications with Chili, but on December 12th Mr. Blaine was succeeded, as already mentioned, by Mr. Frelinghuysen. He immediately telegraphed to Mr. Trescot that the questions arising from the suppression of the Calderon Government could be attended to in Washington, and he proceeded to say: "Were the United States to assume an attitude of dictation toward the South American republics even for the purpose of preventing war, the greatest of all evils, or to preserve the autonomy of nations, it must be prepared by navy and army to enforce its mandate, and to this end tax our people for the exclusive benefit of foreign nations." He nevertheless urged moderation on Chili's part, declaring that otherwise this Government would not give any aid in negotiating with Peru. Mr. Partridge was afterward sent as minister to Peru. He called an informal meeting of the

representatives of various European Powers to endeavor to agree upon a solution of the difficulty. In this action he was regarded as having exceeded his authority, and was recalled. Since then all intercourse with Chili has been of a friendly nature.

Secretary Blaine's attitude was very sharply criticised. It was stated that he was largely interested in the success of the Peruvian Company which held and was about to prosecute claims against the Government of that country. If its autonomy were to be destroyed these claims would be worthless, and it was charged that this consideration influenced to some extent Secretary Blaine in his attitude toward Chili. An investigation into the charges was conducted by the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the House of Representatives. The committee reported that no blame was attached to any United States minister. Mr. Perry Belmont, however, made a separate report criticising severely the course of the State Department in countenancing the demands of different claimants, and thus embarrassing the position of the Government.

In regard to the Panama Canal, the United States contested the right of any European Power to guarantee its neutrality, maintaining that the United States had the sole right so to do. It intimated its intention of withdrawing from the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with England, wherein a joint guarantee of those Powers was established. This position was taken by the United States because of the changed condition of affairs since that treaty was made. Then the United States made concessions to England because possessed of resources and wealth too limited to undertake so arduous an undertaking. Now the country is larger, twice as populous, and richer by far. Above all, its possessions on the Pacific Coast would be exposed to attacks from an enemy in case the neutrality of the Canal were guaranteed by European powers alone.

The question of the coinage of silver again became a prominent subject, not merely in political, but in financial and commercial circles. By November 1st there were in the Treasury about 66,000,000 silver dollars. The danger arose that this would inflate the paper circulation of the country and reduce its currency to the standard of the silver dollar, and that gold would be withdrawn from circulation. To avoid this emergency, France and the United States invited various important nations to send delegates to a convention which should determine a fixed ratio between gold and silver. The convention was held, but Great Britain and Germany refused to be bound by any promises, and the convention was adjourned.

During the year one of the most memorable events was the occurrence, on September 6th, of the "Yellow Day," which will hereafter be associated

in history with the dark day of 1780. The peculiarity of the atmosphere was most marked in New England. So dark did it become in some places that schools and factories were closed. The suspension of dense volumes of smoke by a heavy fog, is supposed to have been the cause of the phenomenon, the sun's rays passing through them as through a tinted screen. The colors of objects seemed to change, and all things wore so unearthly an aspect that many thought the last day had arrived.

During the spring of 1882, in consequence of the partial failure of crops the preceding year, the prices of provisions rose. This caused much distress throughout the country, and the working classes believing they suffered the most heavily, demanded an increase of wages. In reply, the employers refused, declaring that they were the heaviest losers. Strikes followed in every direction. For the first time an organization which entitled itself the Knights of Labor, and which claimed to be organized with a view to enforce the rights of the laboring classes, made its power really felt. Of this body each member is taxed five cents a month, and the amount thus collected is put into a general fund for the support of those who join in a strike at the advice of the organization. Persuaded by their leaders, in June those employed in the iron trade demanded higher wages. The demand being refused, a strike ensued on so extensive a scale that almost forty thousand men were thrown out of employment—most of them in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Kentucky. After two months had elapsed, the employers remaining firm, the strikers tried to make terms, but finally were obliged to surrender unconditionally. Soon after, the freight-handlers of the railroads terminating in Jersey City and New York struck for higher wages. This and other strikes terminated in favor of the companies.

Early in the session two important measures were brought before the attention of Congress. The peculiar practices of the Mormons in the Territory of Utah—practices which, openly avowed as they are, conflict with our normal civilization—were felt to be in discord with the ordinary moral principles of society. The other was a bill relating to Chinese immigration.

As regards the Mormon Question, a law passed in 1862 prohibiting the Mormon system of "sealing," or polygamous marriage, was so negligently enforced that only three convictions had occurred. To carry out the intention of the bill, and render prosecution more easy of proof, the so-called Edwards Law was passed. By this, in addition to a re-enactment of a fine and imprisonment, those who contravene the law are prohibited from voting or holding office. Under this act all the elective officers in Utah were dismissed from office, and a commission of five appointed by the President to discharge their duties. The result of the position taken by the Federal Gov-

ernment has been the conviction of many of the leading bishops, elders, and other dignitaries of the Mormon Church for violation of the law.

The Chinese Question is one of much greater extent than any mere local issue. It is this: whether this republic, which has always loudly proclaimed itself as the refuge for the poor and oppressed of all nationalities, shall, in violation of its own constitutional principles, and of the treaties which it has, as a sovereign power, entered into with a foreign nation, refuse the ordinary protection for life and property to a certain class of immigrants who, in frugality, industry, and patience, afford a striking contrast to the majority of those who advocate their exclusion. By the articles of the Burlingame treaty concluded between the United States and China in 1868, the Chinese were accorded the same privileges in regard to settling in this country and becoming naturalized as are enjoyed by those of any other nationality. In 1880, after violent agitations against their admission, fomented particularly by the working classes of the Pacific States, the treaty was modified. By the new terms this Government could regulate or suspend, but not prohibit, the immigration of the laboring classes, and in response to many demands for a stricter law, a bill was passed in 1882 prohibiting the importation of Chinese laborers for a term of ten years.

The consideration of revising the tariff attracted such wide-spread and marked attention that the President appointed a commission to investigate the subject. Twenty-nine places were visited, and nearly three thousand pages of testimony taken. Most of this was of a conflicting nature, for, of course, in whatever industry men were engaged, the one, which in giving their evidence they represented, needed, in their opinion, strict protection; while, on the other hand, free admission was demanded for other articles ancillary to the business in which they were engaged. The committee finally presented its report. An average reduction of 20 per cent. was recommended; the changes on some articles being 40 per cent. or 50 per cent., while others were left untouched, while on some it was recommended that the duties be raised. After some discussion in both Houses of Congress, and the introduction of several radical changes, the bill was finally passed.

President Arthur submitted for the consideration of Congress a copy of a circular invitation extended to all the independent countries of North and South America to participate in a general Peace Congress to be held at Washington. This was for the purpose of adjusting the differences existing between Chili and Peru, the Central American States and Mexico and Guatemala, but no action was taken by Congress.

In this year full reports were heard of the ill-fated band who had sailed under De Long in the *Jeannette*. The vessel was during the September of 1879

caught in the ice and drifted helplessly to the Northwest, till on the 11th of May, 1881, the fields of ice which had, two days previously, temporarily parted, again came together with irresistible force and crushed the hapless intruder into the Arctic solitudes. Fortunately before she sank most of the provisions, the boats, and the sleds were saved. Then commenced the terrible retreat of the survivors. Where was the nearest land? Far distant was the nearest coast, the coast of Siberia; and six hundred miles of ice and water, with its fluctuations, more distressing even than solid ice-fields, separated them from that most northern portion of the habitable globe. They could make but a mile each day, and for a time the drift of the ice caused them to lose more than they gained. Finally reaching open water the sledges were left behind, and the members of the band—about thirty—were divided among the three boats. Two only reached the shore—that of Captain De Long and that of Lieutenant Danenhower. The latter met some fishermen on the bank of the Lena, and thence sent for assistance to the nearest Russian settlement. As the messengers sent by Lieutenant Danenhower were returning to give what aid they could procure, they met two of the band sent out by the ill-fated De Long. These latter had marched nearly a hundred and fifty miles, amidst the most appalling distresses, without food, except what they could, in their extremity, obtain from devouring the fur clothing in which they had commenced their perilous journey. But their devotion and intrepidity were all in vain. The natives whom Danenhower's men had induced to accompany them, refused to take the risk of attempting to rescue De Long, and he and the remainder of his companions perished from famine and exposure. De Long had kept a journal to the day of his death, but none was needed to bear testimony to the dreadful sufferings endured. Everything which could sustain life, had been consumed.

The foreign relations of the country were not allowed to suffer in the hands of our Secretary of State, Mr. Frelinghuysen. He continued the correspondence with the English Government, which Mr. Blaine had commenced, respecting the validity of the Bulwer-Clayton Treaty. In reply to Lord Granville's allegation that the British Government had committed no act which could invalidate the treaty, he replied that the treaty in question was voidable because it referred solely to the Nicaragua Canal, and not, as the British Government maintained, to any passage of communication across the Isthmus. He also asserted that the treaty was broken by the holding of British Honduras. This was, he said, in opposition to the stipulations that neither the United States nor Great Britain should colonize or exercise dominion over any part of Central America. It is true that after the treaty had been ratified Mr. Clayton did exchange memoranda with Sir Henry

Bulwer, stating that the stipulation in Article I. should not apply to the settlements in British Honduras; but it is also true that Mr. Clayton declined to affirm or deny the British title in this settlement. Further correspondence ensued without any definite result being attained.

An important question arose respecting the claims to American citizenship, so often brought forward. In this case, the question arose respecting the citizenship of a miscreant named O'Donnell, who had murdered Carey, the Irish informer, on board a British ship. He claimed citizenship, first, on the ground that his father had become naturalized while he himself was a minor; secondly, because he had served in the civil war; thirdly, because he had resided in the United States for three years prior to coming of age, and had remained thereafter till he had taken out naturalization papers.

These statements were thoroughly investigated, and all found to be false. As, however, he had a certificate of naturalization, he was deemed by Secretary Frelinghuysen a citizen of this country. On this declaration followed a resolution of the House directing the attention of the Government to the trial of the murderer; but, as might have been expected, the British Government firmly but politely declined to interfere with the judicial sentence on a convicted murderer, even at the request of a Government anxious to conciliate, for its own purposes, the Irish vote.

With Germany an extensive correspondence took place, not on such lofty subjects as the rights of American citizens or the obligations of treaties, but on the harmless, necessary animal, the American hog. In consequence of alleged discoveries of trichinæ in pork imported from the United States, the question was, in 1878, raised in Germany as to the advisability of allowing its consumption. The alarm spread over a great part of Europe; Italy was the first to take action, and on February 20, 1879, she prohibited all pork imports from the United States.

Many of the other countries of Europe soon followed this example. France and Germany, as the largest receivers of our pork, took the alarm, and various restrictions on its importation were established. Of the loss thus caused some idea may be formed from the fact that in 1883 the exports to France amounted only to forty thousand pounds against five millions in 1881. In 1883 the German Government, then in considerable alarm respecting the depressed condition of agriculture, resolved to submit to the Legislature measures to totally exclude American pork; and our Government, with a view of obviating the immense damage to our interests which such a measure would inflict, announced that a commission of investigation was to be appointed, to which it invited the sending of German experts in trichiniasis. This invitation was declined by the German Government, and the

House thereupon declared the sanitary reasons were but pretended. This opinion was strengthened by a letter from Mr. Sargent, the Minister to Germany, who set forth the protectionist motives which influenced Prince Bismarck, in a confidential letter to the State Department. Unfortunately this letter was published, with other documents of the State Department, and afterward with offensive comments reproduced in the *North German Gazette*, the organ of Bismarck. The violation of diplomatic courtesy involved in this publication by the State Department of a confidential dispatch, rendered Mr. Sargent's position as unpleasant officially as it had been socially, and the result was his resignation in the following spring on the occurrence of the Lasker incident. In utter violation of all international decorum the House of Representatives passed an extraordinary resolution of sympathy on the death of Dr. Lasker, a most distinguished member of the German Parliament, and an inveterate enemy of the Prince Chancellor's measures. No objection could have been taken at expression of sympathy at the death of an eminent politician; but when our House of Representatives further affirmed, what was entirely beyond its competence, that "his labors in opposing the Chancellor had been useful to Germany," no surprise need be entertained at the refusal of Prince Bismarck to transmit such resolutions to the Reichstag.

Treaties negotiated by Secretary Frelinghuysen with Spain and Nicaragua were not ratified. The former created a kind of free trade between Cuba and the United States which would have injured two staple industries of the South, sugar and rice, and the latter involved responsibilities which, without further discussion, would have been dangerous to accept.

In domestic as well as in foreign affairs Mr. Arthur's presidency was uneventful. If the saying is true that the country is happiest which has no history, his term must be included in the list of happy presidencies. The silver question still remains to vex the souls of political economists, financiers, and statesmen. The most authoritative utterance on this subject was that of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McCulloch, who succeeded the late Judge Folger in that high office. In his annual report he wrote:

"I have been forced to the conclusion that unless both the coinage of silver dollars and the issue of silver certificates are suspended, there is danger that silver and not gold may become our metallic standard. This danger may not be imminent, but it is of so serious a character that there ought not to be delay in providing against it. Not only would the national credit be seriously impaired if the Government should be under the necessity of using silver dollars or certificates in payment of gold obligations, but business of all kinds would be greatly disturbed; not only so, but gold would at

once cease to be a circulating medium, and severe contraction would be the result."

In May, 1884, occurred a financial crisis. It was caused principally by the inflation which had begun in 1878 and ended during 1881. During that period, from speculation and other causes, stocks and bonds had been forced far above their real values; and when, from the failure of the crops in 1881, these commenced to shrink, many banking and commission houses found themselves burdened with unavailable securities. Speculators had lost heavily; the farmers, having also lost, had no money to invest, and for a time business seemed almost at a standstill. At this critical time disclosures were made regarding the loose management of the Marine, Second National, and Metropolitan Banks, and the crisis was precipitated, and numerous failures occurred in the speculative circles of Wall Street. The revelations of the manner in which the affairs of the Marine Bank were conducted gave a terrible shock to the moral sense of the nation; and as they involved the fortune, and what is more, the good name of General Grant, the public indignation against the reckless men who had caused the disaster was wide and deep. Two years before, one of the sons of General Grant had formed a partnership with a plausible young man named Ward, and General Grant had entered the firm as a special partner—a position which later on, when he embarked the rest of his property in the concern, he changed for that of general partner. Neither of the Grants seem to have given any attention to the practical details of the business, but to have, with inconceivable confidence, left everything to the management of Ferdinand Ward. The last named obtained, on usurious terms, large sums from many wealthy capitalists and the Marine Bank, on the allegation that they were to be employed in executing Government contracts, and it is suspected that he hinted that General Grant was the channel through which these lucrative contracts were obtained. The game was carried on successfully for some time, Ward borrowing from new victims the sums he handed over to his earlier allies. Then the crash came; the Marine Bank, of which Ward was a director, had to suspend payment, and the firm of Grant & Ward followed. No pity need be wasted on the chief actors in this affair, but it was a sad thing for every American to learn that the name of the great General, who had been twice President of the Republic, was mixed up in such discreditable transactions in the slightest degree. General Grant was ruined. He had parted with his houses, and even the swords of honor and other presents which had been bestowed on him by foreign powers, to save, if possible, the credit of the firm; even his wife's money had gone in the wreck. The shame and disgrace in which he was thus involved aggravated the disease from which he had

begun to suffer, and it continued to make steady advance. To be able to leave something at least to his family the sick man resolved to write a "Memoir of his Life," and although the hand of death was upon him, persevered with his work till a few days before his end, in the following year. It was a melancholy sight to see the old soldier, after his years of battle and victory and almost sovereign power, thus ending his days; yet there was heroism in the way in which, in spite of mortal disease and mental anxiety, his firm will kept him alive till his self-imposed task was accomplished.

Again it is our painful duty to report more disasters to the gallant explorers in the Arctic regions—disasters appalling by the loss of many noble lives, and by the hideous circumstances which accompanied the last days of the expedition. No sadder tale marks the long record of suffering than that brought back by the few survivors of the so-called Greely expedition. This was undertaken for the purpose of scientific observation. The place appointed for the station was Discovery Harbor, on the shores of Lady Franklin Harbor. Lieutenant A. W. Greely was appointed to command the party, which consisted of nineteen men, in addition to a surgeon and his three subordinate officers. They were carried to Discovery Harbor by the *Proteus*, which then left them with materials for a house and supplies. Observations were taken and explorations made in all directions. The nearest point to the Pole ever attained by man, $83^{\circ} 24.5' N.$, was reached. As triumphant proof of this, the flag left by the Nares expedition, at the highest point before attained, was brought back. At the beginning of 1883 the fear of famine began to stare the explorers in the face. The two relief expeditions, which had in the two succeeding years been sent out, had been unable to reach Discovery Harbor. In the second attempt the ship *Proteus* had been lost, and but few provisions were saved from the wreck and stored at Cape Sabine. Lieutenant Greely, in February of 1883, started southward, and after great suffering reached the *cache*. With the scanty supply of provisions found there they had to sustain life till aid reached them. This was not till June 22d, and by that date there were but seven survivors, all of whom had endured the most frightful sufferings. They were almost at death's door, hardly recognizable as human beings, wasted to skeletons, rotting away by frost-bites, and covered with filth. The relieving party tenderly bore the wretched survivors to the ship, and then prepared to remove the bodies of the dead for transport to their native land. Then a frightful secret was revealed. From some of the corpses all the fleshy parts had been cut away, and the only explanation possible flashed on every mind that the living had been compelled to feed upon the dead. It was ascertained, too, that it had been impossible to maintain discipline, that the commander had shot one of his men for stealing food

from his comrades, and that general disorganization had prevailed. Lieutenant Greely, and those of the band who could endure transportation, were brought home, where every honor was paid to them. Still the fact can not be disguised that the expedition was badly planned, and the relieving parties of previous years had been dispatched at wrong times and badly managed. "Some one had blundered." To whom the blame must be assigned can not be known till Greely's official report is given to the world. May this be the last of our Arctic explorations!

During President Arthur's term, death removed from us two of our most eminent men of letters, both men of world-wide fame, honored and esteemed wherever the English tongue is spoken. On the 24th of March, 1883, the poet Longfellow passed away full of years and honors. Born at Portland, Maine, in 1807, he became Professor of Modern Languages and Literature at his *alma mater*, Bowdoin, at the early age of nineteen—a position which he resigned in 1835 to accept the corresponding chair at Harvard. There, for twenty years, he taught and labored among successive generations of pupils; and near the famous University he passed the remainder of his days in the historic Craigie Mansion. His mind, although maturing early, maintained its vigor to the last,—clear, vigorous, and cheerful to the close. Without any of the weird, fantastic genius of Poe, Longfellow had a breadth of culture, a classic purity of taste, and a sense of grace and melody which place him in the front rank of our country's bards. From his first utterances to his last lines, there can be found in his poems no ignoble sentiment, no appeal to our baser passions, no malice, hatred, or uncharitableness. Like Tennyson's ideal knight, "he spoke no evil, no, nor listened to it." His associations in Boston strengthened his natural antipathy to the injustice of man to man, and found expression in his "Songs of Slavery." Although his style had been formed on the literature of Germany and of Spain, his great themes were chosen from national events. The compulsory emigration of the Acadians from Gaspé Bay to Louisiana inspired the most famous and the most tender of his poems, his immortal "Evangeline," while the Indian legends collected by Schoolcraft furnished the material for his "Hiawatha." The former did much to popularize the accented hexameter and to demonstrate what power and grace could be developed in that metre even under the harsh laws and linguistic limitations of our tongue. The other introduced successfully the metre of the old Finnish epic of *Kalévala*. His shorter poems show more distinctly the influence of the German popular song, and are household words everywhere. Who knows not the "Psalm of Life," with its appeal for action and duty, "The Bridge of Prague," the "Arrow and the Song," the exquisite garland of translations and countless others? Less popular was

his "Christus," a hazardous theme to touch, and his "Golden Legend," although both contain many passages of great beauty; but, on the other side, his "Tales of a Wayside Inn" are throughout admirable, varied in theme, in treatment, and in form, but all alike in grace. As to Longfellow's position in the hierarchy of poets, we can do no better than take his own estimate, and class him

• "Not with the great old masters,
Not with the bards sublime,
Whose glowing footsteps echo
Through the corridors of time";

but rather,

— "with the humbler poets
Whose songs spring from the heart,
As rain from the clouds of summer,
Or tears from the eyelids start."

Widely different in genius and character was his friend, the philosopher Emerson. As the editor of the *Dial*, and as acknowledged head of the Transcendental School of Philosophy in America, Emerson has exercised an influence as powerful and as wide-spread as that of Carlyle. In many respects he must be pronounced superior to his English friend in equability of temper, in soundness of judgment, and in clearness of thought, as well as in lucidity of style. His poetry has been called philosophy in verse; but it is much more than this—it has the genuine poetic ring in its lines, and a genuine poetic fervor lies below its lines.

The philanthropist Peter Cooper, of New York, must also be included in our obituary. In New York, where he resided, he was, in spite of some pardonable vanities, universally esteemed and respected. Beginning life as a poor boy, he never, in the days of his riches, forgot the claims and wants of those less blessed than he with the riches of this world. His hand was open as day to melting charity, and as long as New York stands, the Cooper Union, which he built and endowed, will perpetuate his memory. In this institution he formed a free library and reading-room accessible to all, and added lecture and class rooms where instruction in drawing, mathematics, and all the useful branches of science is given. It may be added that he built the first locomotive run in this country, and was one of the earliest planners of the Transatlantic cable.

On the 4th of March, 1883, died A. H. Stephens, a man who will be best known as the Vice-President of the Confederate States. He had, from his election to Congress in 1843, taken a leading part in public affairs, and when the threats of secession of the Southern States were first heard, was loud

in denouncing them. All that could be done to prevent the fatal step of secession he did; yet when his own State, Georgia, passed the resolution of secession, he, like many other citizens of the Southern States, reluctantly acquiesced in the measure. So high was his character held by the South, that in spite of his previous actions and speeches, he was elected to fill the office of Vice-President. After the war, his rights as a citizen were restored, and he was returned again by his native State to Congress, where his emaciated figure and his striking face made him a conspicuous object in the Chamber.

During the year 1884 the attention of the nation was directed to the forthcoming electoral campaign. The situation was complicated by the rising power of two widely different parties—the Civil Service Reformers and the Prohibitionists. The exposures of the Star Route trials, the scandals that had accompanied, in one or two States, the election of Garfield and Arthur, and many other corruptions known or suspected, lent to the party which demanded as the first duty of a government, the enforcement of purity in every branch of the administration, an unusual and unexpected degree of strength. A Civil Service Reform Bill had indeed been passed, by which all taking of bribes, and all demands from party leaders or party committees or persons in government employ for contributions to the expenses of the campaign were prohibited, and by which it was ordered that all applicants for political appointments should pass an examination as to their mental and moral qualifications for office. Yet it was known that these requirements of the law were either defied or evaded, and that not only in the Federal Government, but in every State of the Union, and in every municipality in every State, a like evil system prevailed. Nor could it be denied that much of the commercial and financial dishonesty which existed could be traced to the demoralization of the Civil Service. Everywhere men were appointed to office, not because they were fit, but because they had political influence or had contributed largely to the funds of the faction to which they belonged. Hence everywhere the public business was negligently done, extravagance prevailed in every quarter, fraudulent contracts were given out, breaches of contract were connived at, and open rapacity left uncensured. The "Spoils system" ruled the country. Men of both parties, who thought more of their country than of their party alliances, united to demand a purer government, and had to contend against both of the great parties. The Republicans, who had enjoyed twenty-five years of uninterrupted power, desired a continuance of the system, in order to prolong their domination, while the Democratic party contained a strong faction who equally opposed all reform, with the hope of obtaining their share of the spoils if victory should be theirs. The

Civil Reform party, which avowed its intention to vote for whatever candidate would best promote the object it had in view, was one whose numbers could not be even guessed at. Its leaders in the press were the editors of such pronounced Republican journals as *Harper's Weekly*, the *Evening Post*, and the *New York Times*; but behind them stood all those who believed in honest administration. Another party, whose strength had increased powerfully, was the Prohibition party, which, like the Civil Reform party, cast aside all party affiliations, and supported only those candidates who would favor its views. It was known that both these new parties would recruit their strength principally from the Republicans, and that the votes they could control would decide the election.

The Republican Convention met on June 3d in the Exposition Building at Chicago. President Arthur had hoped to be nominated, but his record in New York politics had alienated the Civil Service Reformers, and his course of action since his accession to his high office had rendered hostile the adherents of Mr. Blaine. On the fourth ballot Mr. J. G. Blaine, of Maine, was nominated as the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and on the 15th of July he addressed to the committee deputed to inform him of his nomination a formal letter of acceptance. The Democratic Convention met in the same city on the 8th of July. Grover Cleveland was nominated as the candidate of the party. Mr. Cleveland was known to have discharged admirably his duties as Mayor of Buffalo in opposing municipal corruption. He was elected Governor of New York as a reform Governor, hostile to federal interference in State affairs, and had discharged his duties in a manner which gained the approval of the Civil Service Reformers as well as of the Democrats. His election had been a rebuke of the management of the Republican party as careless of its traditions and of the purpose of a great body of Republicans, and was a declaration of political independence. He was, however, little known beyond the bounds of his State, and was only a hypothetical force in the Presidential problem till Mr. Blaine had been nominated. Immediately after Mr. Blaine's nomination, meetings of Independent Republicans had been called at New York, Boston, New Haven, and other cities, to put on record a formal protest against the Blaine candidacy. These assemblies were for the most part made up of eminent citizens—scholars, clergymen, literati, lawyers, physicians, manufacturers, merchants—men, in a word, who stood for the most advanced interests of their respective communities, and whose names carried the highest respect of the public. While, however, there was vehement denunciation of Mr. Blaine, these meetings guarded against pledging themselves to the support of the Democratic candidate. There was enough yet said to show the almost irresistible drift of private

feeling, and that a tide was setting in favor of Governor Cleveland, should he be the Democratic nominee. It is beyond question that the fact that Mr. Cleveland was the only candidate likely to attract Republican voters gave him from the first his strength in the Convention. On the second ballot he was nominated for the office of President, and Mr. T. A. Hendricks as Vice-President.

In the Democratic as in the Republican camp there were dissensions. A strong faction was resolutely opposed to the candidacy of Cleveland, and did its utmost to defeat him. The organ of this party was the *New York Sun*, and the candidate it put forward to draw votes from Cleveland was General Benjamin F. Butler. The campaign was carried on with unparalleled energy and with a disgraceful amount of personality and slander. It was seen from the first that the great State of New York would cast the decisive vote, and the activity of both parties was concentrated there. The result was that New York went Democratic by a small plurality—only 1,447 votes. Some delay took place in counting the votes, and for a day or two the suspense was great, but the count was formally announced on the 15th of November. The great party that had been in power for twenty-five years was defeated at the polls, and the administration entrusted to their rivals. In no country in the world, except in OUR COUNTRY, could such a transfer of all the functions of government from one party to another have been effected without the slightest symptom of disturbance. On the 4th of March Grover Cleveland was inaugurated at Washington with the usual ceremonies, and nominated as his Cabinet: Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State; Daniel Manning, Secretary of the Treasury; William C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy; William C. Endicott, Secretary of War; L. Q. C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior; Augustus H. Garland, Attorney-General; and William F. Vilas, Postmaster-General.

The first business that attracted the attention of the President was the civil war raging in the Central American States, to the detriment of American interests in that quarter. A naval force was dispatched to the scene of disturbance, and a force of marines landed to protect life and property at Aspinwall, which had been occupied and burned by one of the factions. At home the failing health of General Grant continued to evoke universal sympathy. The last act of President Arthur had been to sign the bill restoring him to his rank in the army, but he was not destined to hold the honor long. He died on the 23d of July, and on the 8th of August his remains were brought from Mount MacGregor, where the death took place, to New York. The body lay in state for two days in the City Hall, and was then transported to a spot on the banks of the Hudson in Riverside Park, which the city had

assigned for that purpose. The procession which accompanied the funeral car was immense. The President, Vice-President, and Cabinet were present, as well as ex-Presidents Hayes and Arthur; Generals Sherman and Sheridan, and hosts of his old comrades, came from far and near to pay the last honors to their chief; the Governors of all the States swelled the throng, and the Senate and House of Representatives were strongly represented. The military display comprehended detachments from all arms of the regular service, and contingents from the National Guard of many States, and from the Grand Army of the Republic and the veteran organizations.

On the 28th of November the Vice-President, Mr. Hendricks, died suddenly. By his decease before the meeting of Congress the succession to the Presidency, in case of the death or disability of the President, was left undetermined. By the Constitution, the Congress has the power to provide for the case of the removal or death of either the President or Vice-President, but the Congress had not yet organized. When it did meet on the 7th of December the Senate elected Senator Sherman its President *pro tempore*, the acting Vice-President thus being the leader of the opposition to the President's policy. So great was the anxiety felt at this unexpected state of affairs that, by the advice of his Cabinet, the President declined to attend the funeral of his colleague. Various proposals have been made with a view to settling beyond peril the question of succession. In the early part of 1883 a bill for this purpose was brought in, and the death of Mr. Hendricks again called the attention of Congress to this important matter. A bill prepared by Senator Hoar was finally passed. By its provisions, in case of the death of both the President and Vice-President, the functions of the office are to be discharged till an election can be held under the articles of the Constitution, by the Cabinet officers, in the order of the seniority of creation of their offices.

SUPPLEMENT.

I.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and

usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.¹

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained, and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.²

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.³

¹ The Colonial Assemblies, from time to time, made enactments touching their commercial operations, the emission of a colonial currency, and concerning representatives in the imperial Parliament, but the assent of the sovereign to these laws was withheld. After the Stamp-Act excitements, Secretary Conway informed the Americans that the tumults should be overlooked, provided the Assemblies would make provision for full compensation for all public property which had been destroyed. In complying with this demand, the Assembly of Massachusetts thought it would be "wholesome and necessary for the public good," to grant free pardon to all who had been engaged in the disturbances, and passed an act accordingly. It would have produced quiet and good feeling; but the royal assent was refused.

² In 1764, the Assembly of New York took measures to conciliate the SIX NATIONS, and other Indian tribes. The motives of the Assembly were misconstrued, representations having been made to the king that the colonies wished to make allies of the Indians, so as to increase their physical power and proportionate independence of the British crown. The monarch sent instructions to all his governors to desist from such alliances, or to suspend their operations until his assent should be given. He then "utterly neglected to attend to them." The Massachusetts Assembly passed a law in 1770, for taxing officers of the British government in that colony. The governor was ordered to withhold his assent to such tax-bill. This was in violation of the colonial charter, and the people justly complained. The Assembly was prorogued from time to time, and laws of great importance were "utterly neglected."

³ A law was passed by Parliament in the spring of 1774, by which the popular representative system in the province of Quebec (Canada) was annulled, and officers appointed by the crown had all power as legislators, except that of levying taxes. The Canadians being Roman Catholics were easily pacified under the new order of things, by having their religious system declared the established religion of the province. But "large districts of people" bordering on Nova Scotia felt this deprivation to be a great grievance. Their humble petitions concerning commercial regulations were unheeded because they remonstrated against the new order of things, and Governor Carleton plainly told them that they must cease their clamor about representatives before they should have any new commercial laws. A bill for "better regulating the government in the province of Massachusetts Bay," passed that year, provided for the abridgment of the privileges of popular elections, to take the government out of the hands of the people, and to vest the nomination of judges, magistrates, and even sheriffs, in the crown. When thus deprived of "free representation in the Legislature," and the governor refused to

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.¹

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.²

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without and convulsions within.³

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners, refusing

issue warrants for the election of members of the Assembly, they called a convention of the freemen, and asked for the passage of "laws for the accommodation of large districts of people." These requests were disregarded, and they were told that no laws should be passed until they should quietly "relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only."

¹ In consequence of the destruction of tea in Boston harbor in 1773, the inhabitants of that town became the special objects of royal displeasure. The Boston Port Bill was passed as a punishment. The custom-house, courts, and other public operations were removed to Salem, while the public records were kept in Boston and so well guarded by two regiments of soldiers, that the patriotic members of the Colonial Assembly could not have referred to them. Although compelled to meet at a place "distant from the repository of the public records," and in a place extremely "uncomfortable," they were *not* fatigued into compliance, but in spite of the efforts of the governor, they elected delegates to a general Congress, and adopted other measures for the public good.

² When the British government became informed of the fact that the Assembly of Massachusetts in 1768 had issued a circular to other Assemblies, inviting their co-operation in asserting the principle that Great Britain had no right to tax the colonists without their consent, Lord Hillsborough, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was directed to order the governor of Massachusetts to require the Assembly of that province to rescind its obnoxious resolutions expressed in the circular. In case of their refusal to do so, the governor was ordered to dissolve them immediately. Other Assemblies were warned not to imitate that of Massachusetts, and when they refused to accede to the wishes of the king, as expressed by the several royal governors, they were repeatedly dissolved. The Assemblies of Virginia and North Carolina were dissolved for denying the right of the king to tax the colonies, or to remove offenders out of the country for trial. In 1774, when the several Assemblies entertained the proposition to elect delegates to a general Congress, nearly all of them were dissolved.

³ When the Assembly of New York, in 1766, refused to comply with the provisions of the Mutiny Act, its legislative functions were suspended by royal authority, and for several months the State remained "exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within." The Assembly of Massachusetts after its dissolution in July, 1768, was not permitted to meet again until the last Wednesday of May, 1769, and then they found the place of meeting surrounded by a military guard, with cannons pointed directly at their place of meeting. They refused to act under such tyrannical restraint and their legislative powers "returned to the people"

to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.¹

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.²

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.³

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.⁴

¹ Secret agents were sent to America soon after the accession of George the Third to the throne of England, to spy out the condition of the colonists. A large influx of liberty-loving German emigrants was observed, and the king was advised to discourage these immigrations. Obstacles in the way of procuring lands, and otherwise, were put in the way of all emigrants, except from England, and the tendency of French Roman Catholics to settle in Maryland was also discouraged. The British government was jealous of the increasing power of the colonies; and the danger of having that power controlled by democratic ideas, caused the employment of restrictive measures. The easy conditions upon which actual settlers might obtain lands on the Western frontier, after the peace of 1763, were so changed, that toward the dawning of the Revolution, the vast solitudes west of the Alleghanies were seldom penetrated by any but the hunter from the seaboard provinces. When the War for Independence broke out, immigration had almost ceased. The king conjectured wisely, for almost the entire German population in the colonies were on the side of the patriots.

² By an act of Parliament in 1774, the judiciary was taken from the people of Massachusetts. The judges were appointed by the king, were dependent on him for their salaries, and were subject to his will. Their salaries were paid from moneys drawn from the people by the commissioners of customs, in the form of duties. The same act deprived them, in most cases, of the benefit of trial by jury, and the "administration of justice" was effectually obstructed. The rights for which Englishmen so manfully contended in 1688 were trampled under foot. Similar grievances concerning the courts of law existed in other colonies; and throughout the Anglo-American domain there was but a semblance of justice left. The people met in conventions when Assemblies were dissolved, and endeavored to establish "judiciary powers," but in vain; and were finally driven to rebellion.

³ As we have observed, judges were made independent of the people. Royal governors were placed in the same position. Instead of checking their tendency to petty tyranny, by having them depend upon the Colonial Assemblies for their salaries, these were paid out of the national treasury. Independent of the people they had no sympathies with the people, and thus became fit instruments of oppression, and ready at all times to do the bidding of the king and his ministers. The Colonial Assemblies protested against the measure, and out of the excitement which it produced, grew that power of the Revolution, the Committees of Correspondence. When, in 1774, Chief-Justice Oliver, of Massachusetts, declared it to be his intention to receive his salary from the crown, the Assembly proceeded to impeach him, and petitioned the governor for his removal. The governor refused compliance, and great irritation ensued.

⁴ After the passage of the Stamp-Act, stamp distributors were appointed in every considerable town. In 1766 and 1767, acts for the collection of duties created "swarms of officers," all of whom received high salaries; and when, in 1768, admiralty and vice-admiralty courts were established on a new basis, an increase in the number of officers was made. The high salaries and extensive perquisites of all of these, were paid with the people's money, and thus "swarms of officers" "eat out their substance."

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.¹

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.²

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:³

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;⁴

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;⁵

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;⁶

¹ After the treaty of peace with France, in 1763, Great Britain left quite a large number of troops in America, and required the colonists to contribute to their support. There was no use for this standing army, except to repress the growing spirit of Democracy among the colonists, and to enforce compliance with taxation laws. The presence of troops was always a cause of complaint; and when, finally, the colonists boldly opposed the unjust measures of the British government, armies were sent hither to awe the people into submission. It was one of those "standing armies" kept here "without the consent of the Legislature," against which the patriots at Lexington, and Concord, and Bunker Hill so manfully battled in 1775.

² General Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, was appointed governor of Massachusetts in 1774; and to put the measures of the Boston Port Bill into execution, he encamped several regiments of soldiers upon Boston Common. The military there, and also in New York, was made independent of, and superior to, the civil power, and this, too, in a time of peace, before the Minute-men were organized.

³ The establishment of a Board of Trade, to act independent of colonial legislation through its creatures (resident commissioners of customs) in the enforcement of revenue laws, was altogether foreign to the constitution of any of the colonies, and produced great indignation. The establishment of this power, and the remodeling of the admiralty courts so as to exclude trial by jury therein, in most cases rendered the government fully obnoxious to the charge in the text. The people felt their degradation under such petty tyranny, and resolved to spurn it. It was effectually done in Boston, as we have seen, and the government, after all its bluster, was obliged to recede. In 1774, the members of the council of Massachusetts (answering to our Senate), were, by a Parliamentary enactment, chosen by the king, to hold the office during his pleasure. Almost unlimited power was also given to the governor, and the people were indeed subjected to "a jurisdiction foreign to their constitution" by these creatures of royalty.

⁴ In 1774 seven hundred troops were landed in Boston, under cover of the cannons of British armed ships in the harbor; and early the following year, Parliament voted ten thousand men for the American service, for it saw the wave of rebellion rising high under the gale of indignation which unrighteous acts had spread over the land. The tragedies at Lexington and Concord soon followed, and at Bunker Hill the War for Independence was opened in earnest.

⁵ In 1768, two citizens of Annapolis, in Maryland, were murdered by some marines belonging to a British armed ship. The trial was a mockery of justice; and in the face of clear evidence against them, the criminals were acquitted. In the difficulties with the Regulators in North Carolina, in 1771, some of the soldiers who had shot down citizens when standing up in defence of their rights, were tried for murder and acquitted; while Governor Tryon mercilessly hung six prisoners, who were certainly entitled to the benefits of the laws of war, if his own soldiers were.

⁶ The navigation laws were always oppressive in character; and in 1764, the British naval

For imposing taxes on us without our consent ;¹

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury ;¹

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences ;³

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies ;⁴

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments ;⁵

commanders having been clothed with the authority of custom-house officers, completely broke up a profitable trade which the colonists had long enjoyed with the Spanish and French West Indies, notwithstanding it was in violation of the old Navigation Act of 1660, which had been almost ineffectual. Finally, Lord North concluded to punish the refractory colonists of New England, by crippling their commerce with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies. Fishing on the banks of Newfoundland was also prohibited, and thus, as far as Parliamentary enactments could accomplish it, their "trade with all parts of the world" was cut off.

¹ In addition to the revenue taxes imposed from time to time and attempted to be collected by means of writs of assistance, the Stamp Act was passed, and duties upon paper, painters' colors, glass, tea, etc., were levied. This was the great bone of contention between the colonists and the imperial government. It was contention on the one hand for the great political truth that *taxation and representation are inseparable*, and a lust for power and the means for replenishing an exhausted treasury, on the other. The climax of the contention was the Revolution.

² This was especially the case when commissioners of customs were concerned in the suit. After these functionaries were driven from Boston in 1768, an act was passed which placed violations of the revenue laws under the jurisdiction of the admiralty courts, where the offenders were tried by a creature of the crown, and were deprived "of the benefits of trial by jury."

³ A law of 1774 provided that any person in the province of Massachusetts, who should be accused of riot, resistance of magistrates or the officers of customs, murder, "or any other capital offence," might, at the option of the governor, be taken for trial to another colony, or transported to Great Britain for the purpose. The minister pretended that impartial justice could not be administered in Massachusetts ; but the facts of Captain Preston's case refuted his arguments in that direction. The bill was violently opposed in Parliament, yet it became a law. It was decreed that Americans might be "transported beyond the seas, to be tried for pretended offences," or real crimes.

⁴ This charge is embodied in an earlier one. The British ministry thought it prudent to take early steps to secure a footing in America so near the scene of inevitable rebellion as to allow them to breast, successfully, the gathering storm. The investing of a legislative council in Canada with all powers except levying of taxes, was a great stride toward that absolute military rule which bore sway there within eighteen months afterward. Giving up their political rights for doubtful religious privileges, made them willing slaves, and Canada remained a part of the British empire when its sister colonies rejoiced in freedom.

⁵ This is a reiteration of a charge already considered, and refers to the alteration of the Massachusetts charter, so as to make judges and other officers independent of the people, and subservient to the crown. The governor was empowered to remove and appoint all inferior judges, the attorney-generals, provost-marshal, and justices of the peace, and to appoint sheriffs independent of the council. As the sheriffs chose jurors, trial by jury might easily be made a mere mockery. The people had hitherto been allowed, by their charter, to select jurors ; now the whole matter was placed in the hands of the creatures of government.

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.¹

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.²

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.³

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.⁴

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.⁵

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.⁶

¹ This, too, is another phase of the charge just considered. We have noticed the suppression of the Legislature of New York, and in several cases, the governors, after dissolving Colonial Assemblies, assumed the right to make proclamations stand in the place of statute law. Lord Dunmore assumed this right in 1775, and so did Sir James Wright of Georgia, and Lord William Campbell of South Carolina. They were driven from the country in consequence.

² In his message to Parliament early in 1775, the king declared the colonists to be in a state of open rebellion; and by sending armies hither to make war upon them, he really "abdicated government," by thus declaring them "out of his protection." He sanctioned the acts of governors in employing the Indians against his subjects, and himself bargained for the employment of German hirelings. And when, yielding to the pressure of popular will, his representatives (the royal governors) fled before the indignant people, he certainly "abdicated government."

³ When naval commanders were clothed with the powers of custom-house officers, they seized many American vessels; and after the affair at Lexington and Bunker Hill, British ships of war "plundered our seas" wherever an American vessel could be found. They also "ravaged our coasts and burnt our towns." Charlestown, Falmouth (now Portland, in Maine), and Norfolk were burnt, and Dunmore and others "ravaged our coasts," and "destroyed the lives of our people." And at the very time when this Declaration was being read to the assembled Congress, the shattered fleet of Sir Peter Parker was sailing northward, after an attack upon Charleston, South Carolina.

⁴ This charge refers to the infamous employment of German troops, known here as Hessians.

⁵ An act of Parliament passed toward the close of December, 1775, authorized the capture of all American vessels, and also directed the treatment of the crews of armed vessels to be as slaves and not as prisoners of war. They were to be enrolled for "the service of his majesty," and were thus compelled to fight for the crown, even against their own friends and countrymen. This act was loudly condemned on the floor of Parliament as unworthy of a Christian people, and "a refinement of cruelty unknown among savage nations."

⁶ This was done in several instances, Dunmore was charged with a design to employ the Indians against the Virginians as early as 1774; and while ravaging the Virginia coast in 1775

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.¹

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war—in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved, and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

and 1776, he endeavored to excite the slaves against their masters. He was also concerned with Governor Gage and others, under instructions from the British ministry, in exciting the *Shawnoese*, and other savages of the Ohio country, against the white people. Emissaries were also sent among the *Cherokees* and *Creeks* for the same purpose; and all of the tribes of the *Six Nations*, except the *Oneidas*, were found in arms with the British when war began. Thus excited, dreadful massacres occurred on the borders of the several colonies.

¹ For ten long years the colonists petitioned for redress of grievances, "in the most humble terms" and loyal manner. It was done by the Colonial Congress of 1765, and also by the Continental Congresses of 1774 and 1775. But their petitions were almost always "answered only by repeated injuries."

² From the beginning, the colonists appealed, in the most affectionate terms, to "their British brethren." The first address put forth by the Congress of 1774 was, "To the People of Great Britain;" and the Congress of 1775 sent an affectionate appeal to the people of Ireland.

II.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

ON the 11th of June, 1776, the Continental Congress resolved that a committee should be appointed to prepare, and properly digest, a form of confederation to be entered into by the several States. The committee appointed under the resolution consisted of one delegate from each State.¹ John Dickenson of Pennsylvania was chosen chairman, and through him the committee reported a draft of Articles of Confederation on the 12th of July. Almost daily debates upon the subject ensued until the 20th of August, when the report was laid aside, and was not taken up again for consideration until the 8th of April, 1777. In the meanwhile, several of the States had adopted constitutions for their respective government, and Congress was practically acknowledged the supreme head in all matters appertaining to the war, public finances, etc. It emitted bills of credit, or paper money, appointed foreign ministers, and opened negotiations with foreign governments.

From the 8th of April until the 15th of November following, the subject was debated two or three times a week, and several amendments were made. As the confederation might be a permanent bond of union, of course local interests were considered prospectively. If the union had been designed to be temporary, to meet the exigencies arising from the state of war in which the colonies then were, local questions could hardly have had weight enough to have elicited debate; but such was not the case, and of course the sagacious men who were then in Congress looked beyond the present, and endeavored to legislate accordingly. From the 7th of October until the 15th of November the debates upon it were almost daily, and the conflicting interests of the several States were strongly brought into view by the different speakers. On that day the following draft, containing all of the amendments, was laid before Congress, and after a spirited debate was adopted:

1. The committee consisted of Messrs. Bartlett, Samuel Adams, Hopkins, Sherman, R. R. Livingston, Dickenson, McKean, Stone, Nelson, Hewes, Edward Rutledge, and Gwinnett.

ARTICLE 1. The style of this confederacy shall be, "The United States of America."

ARTICLE 2. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE 3. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ARTICLE 4. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State to any other State, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided, also, that no imposition, duties or restriction shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them.

If any person guilty of or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor, in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall upon demand of the governor or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offence.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

ARTICLE 5. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the Legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year.

No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate

for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emoluments of any kind.

Each State shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the committee of the States.

In determining questions in the United States, in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE 6. No State, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty, with any king, prince, or State; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States, in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or State, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessel of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States, in Congress assembled, for the defence of such State or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State in time of peace, except such number only as in the judgment of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and have constantly ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United

States, in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States, in Congress assembled, can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States, in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or State, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States, in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States, in Congress assembled, shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE 7. When land forces are raised by any State for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel shall be appointed by the Legislature of each State respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE 8. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States, in Congress assembled, shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion shall be paid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several States, within the time agreed upon by the United States, in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE 9. The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article; of sending and receiving ambassadors; entering into treaties and alliances—provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever; of establishing rules for deciding in all cases what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of

marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures; provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also be the last resort, on appeal, in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties, by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination; and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or, being present, shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the Secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such person absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear, or to defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive—the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned; provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the Supreme or Superior Court of the State, where the cause shall be

tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment without favor, affection, or hope of reward;" provided, also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil, claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdiction as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority or by that of the respective States; fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States; regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the States—provided that the legislative right of any State within its own limits be not infringed or violated; establishing and regulating post-offices from one State to another throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office; appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers; appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States; making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have authority to appoint a committee to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated "a Committee of the States," and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction; to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of President more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States—transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted; to build and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of land forces, and to

make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State, which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the Legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them, in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled; but if the United States, in Congress assembled, shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, or that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped, in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the Legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same; in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip, as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same; nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined unless by the votes of a majority of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months; and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State on any question, shall be entered on the journal when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the Legislatures of the several States.

ARTICLE 10. The committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States, in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the articles of confederation, the voice of nine States, in the Congress of the United States assembled, is requisite.

ARTICLE 11. Canada, acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to, all the advantages of this union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

ARTICLE 12. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted, by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE 13. Every State shall abide by the decision of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by this confederation, are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterward confirmed by the Legislature of every State.

Congress directed these Articles to be submitted to the Legislatures of the several States, and, if approved of by them, they were advised to authorize their delegates to ratify the same in Congress, by affixing their names thereto. Owing to local considerations, the influence of the idea of State sovereignty, and a dread of consolidated political power, these Articles were not ratified until the first day of March, 1781. On the 2d of March the Congress assembled under the new powers.¹

The following are the names of the delegates from the several States appended to the Articles of Confederation:

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Josiah Bartlett, John Wentworth, Jr.

MASSACHUSETTS—John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Elbridge Gerry, Francis Dana, James Lovell, Samuel Holten.

RHODE ISLAND—William Ellery, Henry Marchant, John Collins.

CONNECTICUT—Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, Oliver Wolcott, Titus Hosmer, Andrew Adams.

NEW YORK—James Duane, Francis Lewis, William Duer, Gouverneur Morris.

NEW JERSEY—John Witherspoon, Nathaniel Scudder.

PENNSYLVANIA—Robert Morris, Daniel Roberdeau, Jonathan Bayard Smith, William Clingan, Joseph Reed.

DELAWARE—Thomas McKean, John Dickenson, Nicholas Van Dyke.

MARYLAND—John Hanson, Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA—Richard Henry Lee, John Banister, Thomas Adams, John Harvie, Francis Lightfoot Lee.

NORTH CAROLINA—John Penn, Cornelius Harnett, John Williams.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Henry Laurens, William Henry Drayton, Jonathan Matthews, Richard Hutson, Thomas Hayward, Jr.

GEORGIA—John Walton, Edward Telfair, Edward Langworthy.



III.

THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.¹

Object.

WE the People of the United States,² in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity,³ do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

¹ In 1853, the writer made a very careful copy of the Constitution of the United States, from the original in the State Department at Washington City, together with the autographs of the members of the Convention who signed it. In orthography, capital letters, and punctuation, the copy here given may be relied upon as correct, it having been subsequently carefully compared with a copy published by Mr. Hickey, in his useful little volume, entitled *The Constitution of the United States of America*, etc., and attested, on the 20th of July, 1846, by Nicholas P. Trist, Chief Clerk of the State Department.

² Previous to the Revolution, there were three forms of government in the Colonies, namely, *Charter*, *Proprietary*, and *Provincial*. The charter governments were Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. They had power to make laws not inconsistent with those of England. The proprietary governments were Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Their governors were appointed by their proprietors, and these and the proprietors usually made the laws. The provincial were New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. In these the governor and his council were appointed by the crown, and these, with chosen representatives of the people, made the laws.

The Union is older than the Constitution. It was formed in the first Continental Congress by the representatives of thirteen separate but not independent nor sovereign provinces, for they had ever been subject to the British crown. Then the inhabitants of those colonies were solemnly leagued as one people, and two years later they declared themselves collectively independent of Great Britain, and recognized the supremacy of the Continental Congress as a central government. See Curtis's *History of the Constitution*, i. 39, 40. The plan of independent State governments then adopted having failed, a national one was formed, and the framers of the Constitution, to give emphasis to the fact, said in the preamble of the instrument, "We the people of the *United States*," instead of "We the people of Massachusetts, New York," et cetera. So argued the Supreme Court. See *Wheaton's S. C. Reports*, i. 304.

³ Six objects, it is seen, were to be obtained, each having a national breadth of purpose.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.¹ *Legislative Powers.*

SECTION 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.² *House of Representatives.*

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.³ *Qualifications of Representatives.*

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other Persons.⁴ The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for *Apportionment of Representatives.*

¹ The members of the House of Representatives are elected to seats therein for two years, and they hold two regular sessions or sittings during that time. Each such term is called a Congress. Senators are elected by the State legislatures, to serve for six years.

² There is a Senate and House of Representatives, or Assembly, in each State. Any person qualified to vote for a member of his State Assembly, may vote for a member of the National House of Representatives.

³ A person born in a foreign country, may be elected a representative after he has been for seven years a citizen of the United States.

⁴ It has been decided that this does not restrict the power of imposing direct taxes, to States only. The Congress of the United States has power to do so, but only for the purpose of paying the national debts and providing for the national welfare. See Kent's *Commentaries on the Constitution*, abridged edition, page 330. Direct taxes had been laid three times by the National Congress, previous to the Great Civil War that broke out in 1861, namely, in 1798, 1813, and 1815. The "other persons" here mentioned were slaves. In making the apportionment, every five slaves were accounted three persons. The Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution renders this sentence a dead letter.

every thirty Thousand; but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.¹

Vacancies, how filled.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

Speaker, how appointed.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Number of Senators from each State.

SECTION 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.²

Classification of Senators.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the Second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second year;³ and if Vacancies happen by Resignation or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

Qualification of Senators.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen

¹ The apportionment is made as soon as practicable after each enumeration of the inhabitants is completed. The ratio based on the census of 1790, was one Representative for every 33,000 persons. The ratio according to the census of 1870, was one for every 137,000 persons.

² This gives perfect equality to the States, in one portion of the legislative branch of the Government. The small States of Rhode Island and Delaware have as much power in the National Senate as the large ones of New York and Ohio.

³ This is a wise provision. It leaves representatives of the people in that branch, at all times, familiar with the legislation thereof, and therefore more efficient than if an entirely new delegation should be chosen at the end of six years.

of the United States,¹ and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.²

Presiding officer of the Senate.

The Senate shall choose their other Officers,³ and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments:⁴ When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath, or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside: and no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Senate a court for trial of impeachments.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and Disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of Honor, Trust, or Profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment, and Punishment, according to Law.⁵

Judgment in case of conviction.

SECTION 4. The Times, Places, and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.⁶

Elections of Senators and Representatives.

¹ This was to allow a foreign-born citizen to make himself familiar with our institutions, before he should be eligible to a seat in that highest legislative hall.

² He is not a representative of any State. By this arrangement, the equality of the States is preserved.

³ Secretary, clerk, sergeant-at-arms, door-keeper, and postmaster.

⁴ The House of Representatives, it will be observed, accuse the alleged offender, and the Senate constitutes the court wherein he is tried.

⁵ This was a modification of the British Constitution, giving greater exclusive jurisdiction to the National Judiciary. In Great Britain, the House of Commons accuses, and the House of Lords (answering to our Senate) tries the offender. The latter is also invested with power to punish in every form known to the laws, by ordering the infliction of fines, imprisonments, forfeiture of goods, banishment, and death.

⁶ This provision was to prevent the mischief that might arise at a time of intense party excitement, when the very existence of the National Congress might be at the mercy of the State Legislatures. The place of choosing the Senators is where the State Legislature shall be in session at the time.

Meeting of Congress. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different day.¹

Organisation of Congress. SECTION 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns, and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Rules of proceeding. Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Journal of Congress. Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same,² excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secresy;³ and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.⁴

Adjournment of Congress. Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.⁵

Compensation and privileges of members. SECTION 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States.⁶ They shall in all cases, except Treason, Felony, and Breach

¹ This secured an annual meeting of the National Legislature beyond the control of State legislation. The second, or last session of every Congress, expires at twelve o'clock at noon on the 4th of March.

² The object is to preserve, for the use of the sovereign people, and make public for their benefit, every act of Congress.

³ There are occasions when the public good requires secret legislation, and a withholding from the people a knowledge of measures discussed and adopted in Congress, as in a time of war, of insurrection, or of very important diplomatic negotiations.

⁴ The object of this is to make a permanent record of the votes of members, so that the constituents of each may know their action on important questions. It is a salutary regulation.

⁵ This is to prevent a majority, in either House, from interrupting, for more than three days, the legislation of Congress.

⁶ Formerly the members were paid a certain amount per day, with a specified amount for each mile traveled in going to and returning from the National capital. The present compensation is a fixed sum for each Congress, with mileage.

of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.¹

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in office.²

Plurality of offices prohibited.

SECTION 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.³

Bills, how originated.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States: if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it.⁴ If, after such Reconsideration, two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the

How bills become laws.

¹ This was to prevent the interruption of their duties, during the session of Congress, and to give them perfect freedom of speech.

² This serves as a check to the increase of the power of the executive over the legislative department of the Government, by the means of appointment to office. It prevents wide-spread political corruption. A person holding an office, when elected to Congress, is compelled to resign it before he can take his seat.

³ The members of the House of Representatives are more immediately elected by the people, and are supposed to better understand the wishes and wants of their constituents, than those of the Senate. The Senate, being the representative of the equality of the States, stands as a check to legislation that might impose too heavy taxation on the smaller States.

⁴ This power is given to the President to arrest hasty or unconstitutional legislation, and to operate as a check on the encroachment on the rights and powers of one department over another, by legislation. It is not absolute, as the context shows, as it may be set aside by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives, who passed it.

Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Approval and veto powers of President.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.¹

Powers vested in Congress.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have power—

To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts, and Excises; to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts, and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;²

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;³

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;⁴

To establish a uniform Rule of Naturalization,⁵ and

¹ This requirement is made that Congress may not pass, with the name of order, resolution, or vote, what, as a bill, the President has already *vetoed*, as his method of returning a bill, with his objections, is called.

² The power of Congress to *lay and collect duties*, etc., for national purposes, extends to the District of Columbia, and to the Territories of the United States, as well as to the States; but Congress is not bound to extend a direct tax to the District and Territories. The stipulation that the taxes, etc., shall be uniform throughout the United States, is to prevent favors being shown to one State or section of the Republic, and not to another.

³ This was to enable the Government to provide for its expenses at a time of domestic insurrection or a foreign war, when the sources of revenue by taxation and impost might be obstructed.

⁴ This power was lacking, under the *Articles of Confederation*. It is one of the most important powers delegated by the people to their representatives, for it involves national development and prosperity.

⁵ The power of naturalization was possessed by each State under the Confederation. There was such want of uniformity of laws on the subject, that confusion was already manifested, when the people, by the Constitution, vested the power exclusively in Congress. Thus a State is prohibited from discouraging emigration, or casting hindrances in the way of obtaining citizenship. By a decision of the Attorney-General of the Republic, every person born within its borders is entitled to the rights of citizenship. It is a birthright.

uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies¹ throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;²

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and Post Roads;

To promote the progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;³

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;⁴

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies; but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the Land and Naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections, and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States—reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers,

¹ Since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, a State has authority to pass a bankrupt law, provided such law does not impair the obligations of contracts within the meaning of the Constitution (Art. I., Sec. 10), and provided there be no act of Congress in force to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy conflicting with such law.

² This was to insure uniformity in the metallic currency of the Republic, and of weights and measures, for the benefit of the people in commercial operations.

³ The first copy-right law was enacted in 1790, on the petition of David Ramsay, the historian, and others. A copy-right, or patent-right to an invention, is given for a specified time. A copy-right is granted for twenty-eight years, and a renewal for fourteen years. Patents are granted for seventeen years, without the right of extension.

⁴ Congress has power to provide for the punishment of offences committed by persons on board of an American ship, wherever that ship may be.

and the Authority of training the Militia according to the Discipline prescribed by Congress;¹

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States,² and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, Dockyards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Immigrants, how admitted.

SECTION 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or Duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.³

Habeas Corpus.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus⁴ shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

¹ Clauses eleven to sixteen inclusive, define the war powers of the Government, such as granting licenses to privateers, raising and supporting armed forces on land and sea, calling out the militia, etc. See Article II. of the Amendments to this Constitution. These powers, used by the hand of an efficient and judicious Executive, are quite sufficient. The President cannot exercise any of them, until the power is given him by Congress, when he is bound by his oath to take care that all the laws shall be executed.

² Congress has authority to impose a direct tax on the District of Columbia, in proportion to the census directed by the Constitution to be taken.

³ The object of this clause was to end the slave-trade, or the importation of negroes from Africa, to become slaves in the United States, after the 1st of January, 1808. The Articles of Confederation allowed any State to continue the traffic indefinitely, for the States were independent of each other, and the organic law was silent on the subject. The importation of slaves after the beginning of 1808 was prohibited under severe penalties by the Act of March 2, 1807. Acts on the subject have since been passed by Congress from time to time. That of 1820 declared the foreign slave-trade to be piracy. In July, 1862, Congress made provisions for carrying into effect a treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade. A domestic slave-trade was kept up until the beginning of the Civil War, in 1861. It was Virginia's largest source of revenue.

⁴ This is a writ for delivering a person from false imprisonment, or for removing a person from one court to another. The act of suspending the privilege of the writ must be done by the Executive, in the cases specified, under the authority of an Act of Congress.

No Bill of Attainder¹ or ex post Facto law shall be passed.²

Attainder.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.³

Taxes.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.⁴

Regulations regarding duties.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.⁵

Money, how drawn

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any Present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or Foreign State.⁶

Titles of nobility prohibited.

SECTION 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid

¹ A deprivation of power to inherit or transmit property, a loss of civil rights, etc.

² Declaring an act criminal or penal, which was innocent when committed.

³ This was to secure uniformity in taxes laid on persons or on lands.

⁴ To secure free trade between the States, that one might not have an advantage over another, was the object of these two clauses.

⁵ This gives to Congress the control of the money belonging to the Republic, and places it beyond the reach of the Executive.

⁶ This was to secure equality of rights and privileges among the citizens, and to check the bad effects of foreign influences in the form of aristocratic distinctions.

by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

Powers of States defined.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships-of-War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of Delay.¹

ARTICLE II.

Executive power, in whom vested.

SECTION 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years,² and together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Presidential electors.

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

President and Vice-President, how elected.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government

¹ By this section the people of the several States who, in conventions, ratified the National Constitution, invested the General Government with the supreme attributes of sovereignty exclusively, while reserving to themselves, or their respective commonwealths, the powers peculiar to the municipal authority of a State, which are essential to the regulation of its internal affairs, and the preservation of its domestic institutions from interference by another State, or by the National Government in a time of domestic tranquillity. The National Government is hereby empowered to act for the people of the whole Republic as a nation. Having no superior it is sovereign. See Story's *Commentaries on the Constitution*, Chapter XXXV.

² The Executive is a co-ordinate but not coequal branch of the Government with the legislative, for he is the agent provided in the Constitution for executing the laws of a superior, the Congress or legislature.

of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the votes shall be taken by States—the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.^{1]}

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.²

Time of choosing electors.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

Qualifications of the President.

¹ This clause was afterward annulled, and Article XII. of the Amendments to this Constitution was substituted for it. Originally the electors voted by ballot, for two persons, one of whom, at least, should not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. The one who received the highest number of votes was declared to be President, and the one receiving the next highest number was declared to be Vice-President.

² See Amendments to the Constitution, Article XII. By an Act passed in 1845 (January 23), the electors must be chosen, in each State, on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in the month of November of the year in which they are to be elected. In the preceding portion of this history, when the election of a President is spoken of, it is meant that electors favorable to such candidates were chosen at that time.

Resort in case of his disability.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.¹

Salary of the President.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.²

Oath of Office.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

Duties of the President.

SECTION 2. The President shall be Commander in chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States;³ he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant

¹ Provision has been made for the President of the Senate, for the time being, or if there shall be no such officer, the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall perform the executive functions.

² The salary of the President was fixed by the first Congress at \$25,000 a year, and that of the Vice-President at \$8,000. Now the salary of the President is \$50,000, and the Vice-President, \$10,000. The salary for each entire term was so fixed, that the executive might be independent of the legislative department for it.

³ This was to insure unity and efficiency in action, when foreign war or domestic insurrection should call for the services of the army and navy. His large powers as Executive are directed by constitutional provisions. He is the arm of the nation to execute its bidding.

Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.¹

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein hitherto provided for, and which shall be established by Law;² but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

His power to make treaties, appoint ambassadors, judges, etc.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.³

May fill vacancies.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient;⁴ he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them,⁵ and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other

Power to convene Congress.

¹ It is presumed that the Executive is above the personal, local, or sectional influences that might be brought to bear, in these cases, on the courts or on legislative bodies. The Executive, according to a decision of the Supreme Court, has power to grant a pardon before trial or conviction. See Brightley's *Analytical Digest of the Laws of the United States*, page 7, note (e).

² The President is presumed to be more fully informed concerning the foreign relations of the Republic, and the fitness of men for the highest offices. The Senate represents the legislative department of the Government in treaty-making and the appointment of high officers, and is a check on the Executive against any encroachments on the rights of Congress in the matter.

³ This limitation to executive appointments is to prevent the President from neutralizing the action of the Senate as a co-ordinate power.

⁴ It is the practice of the President to submit to Congress, at the opening of each session, a statement of national affairs. This is called his Annual Message. Washington and John Adams read their messages in person to the assembled Congress. Jefferson first sent his message to them by his private secretary. That practice is still kept up.

⁵ The President, with his better information concerning national affairs, can best judge when an extraordinary session of Congress may be necessary.

public Ministers;¹ he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the officers of the United States.

How officers may be removed.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President, and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes or Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

Judicial power, how vested.

SECTION 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.²

To what cases it extends.

SECTION 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party; to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States;³—between citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

¹ He may also refuse to receive them, and thereby annul or prevent diplomatic relations between the United States and any country.

² This section provides that the Supreme Court shall be a co-ordinate branch of the National Government, yet independent of and distinct from both the legislative and executive departments. The powers of the National Government, it will be seen, are threefold, namely, *legislative, judicial, and executive*. The first enacts laws, the second interprets them, and the third enforces them. The Supreme Court consists of one Chief Justice and several Associate Justices, who hold an annual session at the national capital, commencing on the day when Congress meets—first Wednesday in December.

³ A citizen of the District of Columbia is not a citizen of a State, within the meaning of this Constitution. The District is under the immediate control of Congress, and has neither a legislature or governor.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be a Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.¹

Rules respecting trials.

SECTION 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort.²

Treason defined.

No Person shall be convicted of Treason, unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.³

How punished.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State.⁴ And the Congress may by general

Rights of States defined.

¹ See Amendments to the Constitution, Articles V., VI., VII., VIII.

² At the trial of Aaron Burr, Chief Justice Marshall said: "Any combination to subvert by force the Government of the United States; violently to dismember the Union; to compel a change in the administration, to coerce the repeal or adoption of a general law, is a *conspiracy to levy war*. And if conspiracy be carried into effect by the actual employment of force, by the embodying and assembling of men for the purpose of executing the treasonable design which was previously conceived, it amounts to levying war."

³ The limit as to forfeiture applies only to the real estate of the criminal, which, at his death, must be restored to his heirs or assigns. The dower right of his wife also remains untouched. See Kent's *Commentaries on American Law*, ii. 464. This is more humane than the English law of treason. It does not punish the innocent wife and children of a criminal on account of his crimes.

⁴ A judgment of a State court has the same credit, validity, and effect, in every other court within the United States, which it had in the court where it was rendered; and whatever pleas would be good to a suit thereon in such State, and none others, can be pleaded in any other court within the United States.—*Hampton v. McConnell*, 3 *Wheaton*, 234.

Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.¹

Privileges of citizens.

SECTION 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.²

Executive regulation.

A person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.³

Law regulating service or labor.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof escaping to another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.⁴

New States, how formed and admitted.

SECTION 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union;⁵ but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.⁶

¹ On the 26th of May, 1790, Congress, by act, gave effect to this section.

² This is a recognition of nationality—the supreme rights of the people as citizens of the United States. It decrees the right to all fundamental privileges and immunities which any State grants to its citizens, excepting those granted to corporations, or conferred by special local legislation. It is intended to secure and perpetuate a friendly intercourse throughout the Republic. It sets aside the erroneous assumption that National citizenship is subordinate to State citizenship.

³ This is to aid the claims of justice, by preventing one portion of the Republic becoming an asylum for the criminals of another portion.

⁴ This is the clause of the Constitution on which was based the provisions of the Fugitive-Slave Law of 1850. It applied to runaway slaves and apprentices. Congress gave effect to it by an act on the 12th of February, 1793, and another on the 18th of September, 1850. At the time when the Constitution was framed, slavery existed in all the States of the Union, excepting Massachusetts. By the operation of the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, this clause has no relation to any other persons excepting fugitive indentured apprentices.

⁵ The Congress is not compelled to admit a new State. It is left to the option of that body, whether any new State shall be admitted.

⁶ States have been admitted in three ways: 1. By joint action of the Congress and a State, by which a portion of a State has been made a separate commonwealth, as in the case of Vermont, Kentucky, Maine, and Virginia. 2. By an act of Congress, creating a State directly from a Territory of the United States, as in the case of Tennessee. 3. By a joint resolution of Congress and a foreign State, such State may be admitted, as in the case of Texas.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.¹

Power of Congress over public lands.

SECTION 4. The Constitution shall guaranty to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government,² and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature can not be convened) against domestic violence.³

Republican government guaranteed.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress;⁴ Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first

Constitution, how to be amended.

¹ This provides for the establishment, under the authority of Congress, of Territorial governments, which is the first step toward the formation of a State or States. The first government of the kind was that of the Northwestern Territory, established in 1787, and adopted by Congress under the National Constitution of the 7th of August, 1789.

² No other form of government could exist within the United States, without peril to the Republic. By this section, the National Government is empowered to assume positive sovereignty as to the fundamental character of the State Government, leaving to the State territorial sovereignty, as to its municipal laws and domestic institutions, so long as they are consonant with a republican form of government.

³ The States are prohibited from keeping troops as a standing army, or ships of war, in time of peace, individually; therefore it is made the duty of the sovereign power of the United States to protect the States against invasion and "domestic violence," such as treason, rebellion, or insurrection. When these exist in any State, it is the duty of the National Government to use its power in suppressing it.

⁴ This article effectually checks any fundamental change in the Constitution, excepting in a way which recognizes the source of all true sovereignty, the PEOPLE, unless it be by sudden and violent revolution.

and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article;¹ and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.²

ARTICLE VI.

*Validity of Debts
recognized.*

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.³

*Supreme law of the
land defined.*

This Constitution and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.⁴

*Oath, of whom re-
quired, and what
for.*

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution;⁵ but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.⁶

ARTICLE VII.

Ratification.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

¹ See Section 9, page 747. The adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution renders this section a dead letter.

² Here, again, is a provision for securing the smaller States from encroachments on their rights by the larger States.

³ This was for the security to the creditors of the United States, of the payment of debts incurred during the Revolution. It was a national and positive recognition of the postulate in international law, that "Debts due to foreigners, and obligations to other creditors, survive a change in the Government."

⁴ A clear and positive declaration of the supremacy of the National Government, resistance to which is treason.

⁵ State officers are bound to support the Constitution because they may be required to perform some service in giving effect to that "supreme law of the land," in other words, of the Republic.

⁶ This is to prevent a political union of Church and State, which is always prejudicial to the best interests of both.

DONE in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present, the Seventeenth Day of September, in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States the Twelfth. IN WITNESS whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.

GEO. WASHINGTON,
President, and deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

MASSACHUSETTS.

NATHANIEL GORHAM.
RUFUS KING.

CONNECTICUT.

WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON
ROGER SHERMAN.

NEW YORK.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

NEW JERSEY.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WILLIAM PATERSON,
JONATHAN DAYTON.

PENNSYLVANIA.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBERT MORRIS,
GEORGE CLYMER,
THOMAS FITZSIMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

DELAWARE.

GEORGE REED,
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACOB BROOM.

MARYLAND.

JAMES MCHENRY,
DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER,
DANIEL CARROLL.

VIRGINIA.

JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

NORTH CAROLINA.

WILLIAM BLOUNT,
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY.
JOHN RUTLEDGE,
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA.

WILLIAM FEW,
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

Attest : WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS¹

TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, RATIFIED ACCORDING TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE FOREGOING CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Freedom in religion and speech, and of the press.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.²

¹ At the first session of the First Congress, begun and held in the city of New York, on Wednesday, the 4th of March, 1789, many amendments to the National Constitution were offered for consideration. The Congress proposed ten of them to the legislatures of the several States. These were ratified by the constitutional number of State Legislatures in the middle of December, 1791. Another was proposed on the 5th of March, 1794, and was ratified in 1798 and still another on the 12th of December, 1803, which was ratified in 1804. These, with the other ten, became a part of the National Constitution. A thirteenth amendment was proposed by Congress on the 1st of May, 1810, but has never been ratified. It was to prohibit citizens of the United States accepting, claiming, receiving, or retaining any title of nobility or honor, or any present, pension, office, or emolument of any kind whatever, from any "person, king, prince, or foreign Power," without the consent of Congress, under the penalty of disfranchisement, or ceasing to be a citizen of the United States.

The Thirteenth Amendment was adopted by Congress on the 31st of January, 1865, and its ratification by the requisite number of State Legislatures was announced on the 18th of December following. A Fourteenth Amendment was proposed by a joint resolution adopted on the 13th of June, 1866, the object of which was to complete the work done by the Thirteenth Amendment, by guaranteeing to *all* citizens an equality of civil and political rights, and the payment of the public debt; also to forbid the payment, by the general or any State government, of any debt or obligation incurred in aid of the rebellion, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave. This amendment was ratified, and on the 20th of July, 1868, the Secretary of State proclaimed it to be a part of the National Constitution. A Fifteenth Amendment was adopted by Congress on the 26th of February, 1869, and subsequently ratified. This was to secure the elective franchise for the colored race in our country, and is the crown of the Emancipation Act.

The Amendments to the Constitution, excepting the Twelfth, are authoritative declarations securing to the people and the several States certain rights, against any possible encroachments of Congress. They form a Bill of Rights.

² This article gives an additional assurance of religious freedom. See clause 3d, Article VI., of the Constitution. It also secures the invaluable right of the freedom of speech and of the press; and the privilege for the people of making their grievances known to the National Government.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated Militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Militia.

ARTICLE III.

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in a time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.¹

Soldiers.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.²

Search-warrants.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger;³ nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.⁴

Capital crimes.

¹ This is to protect citizens, in time of peace, from the oppressions of military power, and to secure uniformity in the rules for quartering soldiers upon citizens in time of war.

² The security of the private citizen from an infringement of his rights by public officers, herein guaranteed, is in accordance with the English maxim that "Every man's house is his castle."

³ In such cases offences are within the jurisdiction of the military and naval courts-martial.

⁴ These prohibitions do not relate to State governments, but to the National Government, according to a decision of the Supreme Court. The several States make their own laws on these subjects.

ARTICLE VI.

Trial by Jury.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have Compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favour, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

Suits at common law.

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Bail.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.¹

ARTICLE IX.

Certain rights defined.

The enumeration, in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.²

ARTICLE X.

Rights reserved.

The powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.³

¹ These several amendments, concerning the operations of law through the instrumentality of the courts, are all intended to secure the citizen against the arbitrary exercise of power on the part of the judiciary.

² That is to say, because certain rights and powers of the people are not enumerated in the Constitution, it is not to be inferred that they are denied.

³ This is simply an enunciation of the broad democratic principle, that the people are the true sources of all political power.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any foreign State.¹

Judicial power limited.

ARTICLE XII.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to The President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever

Amendment respecting the election of President and Vice-President.

¹ This is to limit the judicial power of the National courts. Previous to the adoption of this amendment, the Supreme Court had decided that the power of the National judiciary extended to suits brought by or against a State of the Republic. Now, no person has a right to commence a personal suit against a State, in the Supreme Court of the United States, for the recovery of property seized and sold by a State.

the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

Slavery forbidden.

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or in any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

Citizenship.

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

*Apportionment
regulated by the
elective franchise.*

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed; but when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and

Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, (being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States,) or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.¹

Disabling conditions.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties, for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States, or any State, shall assume or pay any debt or obligation, incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims, shall be held illegal and void.

Treatment of the public debts.

SECTION 5. Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this Article.

¹ Under the provisions of the Amnesty Act, passed May 22, 1872, the political disabilities have been removed from all persons excepting members of the Thirty-sixth Congress, heads of departments, members of diplomatic corps, and officers of the Army and Navy engaged in rebellion.

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION 1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

IV.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

WHEN the second period of four years of Washington's administration of the duties of President of the United States approached its close, the critical condition of public affairs caused his friends to earnestly press him to accept a renomination for a third term. He was wearied with public life, and refused; but six months before his retirement from office, he fully advised his countrymen of his determination, by a published Farewell Address to them.

That Address was received with unbounded admiration. It was an earnest appeal for Union, and the cultivation of Public Virtue. It embodied the results of Washington's long experience in public affairs, and marked out a system of policy which, in his opinion, was the best suited to ensure to his country the blessings of Union, Peace, Prosperity, and the Respect of the civilized World. The admiration for that paper, which its first appearance inspired, is still felt with ever-increasing force.

"TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

"FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:—The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom the choice is to be made.

"I beg you at the same time to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction, that the step is compatible with both.

"The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me have been an uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

"I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

"The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed toward the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

"In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead—amidst appearances sometimes dubious—vicissitudes

of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing wishes that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption, of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

“Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

“Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

“The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual,

and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

“For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

“But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

“The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *south*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamer of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated—and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *east*, in like intercourse with the *west*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which

the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

"While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Here likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

"These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

"In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—*northern* and *southern*—*Atlantic* and *western*: whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other,

those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

“To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed; adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation; completely free in its principles; in the distribution of its powers uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendments, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish a government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

“All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction; to give it an artificial

and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

“However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

“Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the Constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true characters of governments, as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

“I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

“This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its

root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

“The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

“Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

“It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channel of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

“There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of party liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

“It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the depart-

ments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our own country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

"It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

"Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

"As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible,

avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace; but remembering also, that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

“Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! it is rendered impossible by its vices.

“In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

“Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war

the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

"So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another, produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which are apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, (who devote themselves to the favorite nation,) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation to a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

"As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

"The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

"Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote, relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

"Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

"Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

"It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world: so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise, to extend them.

"Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

"Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed,—in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them,—conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present

circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

"In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit; to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue; to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

"How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

"In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

"After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

"The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

"The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any-

thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

"The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

"Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

"Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

"G. WASHINGTON.

"UNITED STATES, *September 17, 1796.*"

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